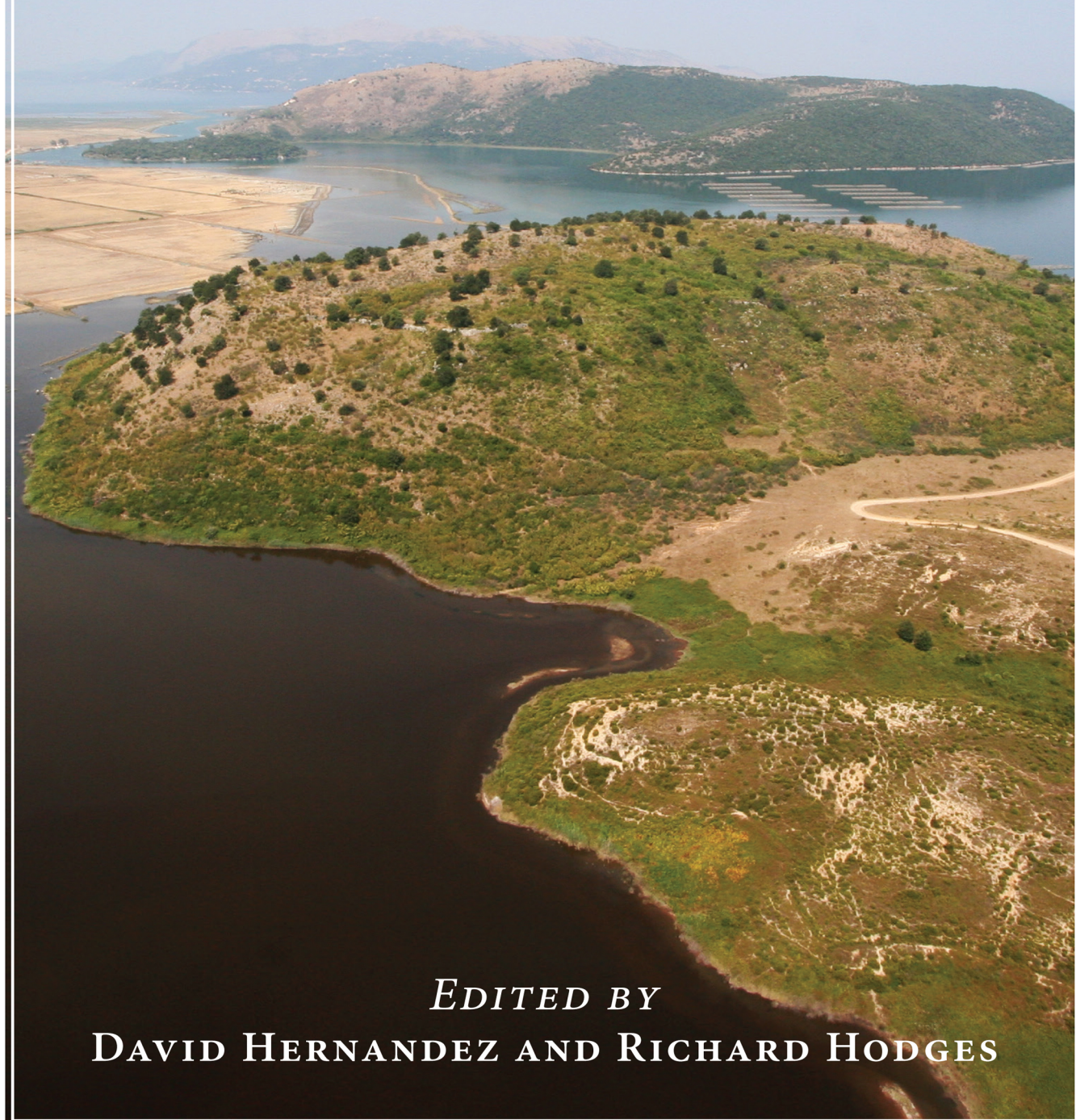


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KALIVO, MURSI, ÇUKA E AITOIT, DIAPORIT AND THE
VRINA PLAIN. SURVEYS AND EXCAVATIONS IN THE
PAVLLAS RIVER VALLEY, ALBANIA, 1928–2015



EDITED BY
DAVID HERNANDEZ AND RICHARD HODGES

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Edited by

David Hernandez and Richard Hodges

With contributions by

Nadia Aleotti, Elena Baldi, David Bescoby, William Bowden,
William Bubelis, José C. Carvajal López, Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros,
Andrew Crowson, Karen Francis, Oliver J. Gilkes, Emily Glass, David Hernandez,
Richard Hodges, Valbona Hysa, the late Selim Islami, Sarah Lima, Belisa Muka,
the late Alfredo Nuccitelli, Ilir Parangoni, Alessandra Pecci, Luan Përzhita,
Paul Reynolds, Louise Schofield, and the late Luigi Maria Ugolini

Illustrations by

Sarah Leppard

OXBOW BOOKS FOR THE BUTRINT FOUNDATION

 **OXBOW** | books
Oxford & Philadelphia

Published in the United Kingdom in 2020 by
OXBOW BOOKS
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JE

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

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Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78925-433-4
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78925-434-1 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020947362

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Printed by Short Run Press, Exeter, UK
Typeset in the UK by Frabjous Books ~ www.frabjousbooks.com

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Front cover: View of Kalivo looking west toward Butrint and Corfu (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)

Back cover:

1. Pan statuette (BF archive)
2. Kalivo from the Vrina Plain (Photo by Richard Hodges)
3. Luigi Maria Ugolini at Çuka e Aitoit (BF archive)
4. The southwestern gate at Çuka e Aitoit (Photo by Will Bowden)

For Dhimitër Çondi



*Dhimitër Çondi, Roman Forum, Butrint, 2013
(Photo by David Hernandez)*

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Abbreviations

BF	Butrint Foundation, London
IA	Instituti i Arkeologjisë, Tirana
MCR	Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome

Introduction and Acknowledgements

David Hernandez and Richard Hodges

*Ἀμφίβιοι γὰρ τρόπον τινά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον χερσαῖοι
ἢ θαλάττιοι.*

For we are amphibious in a sense and are no more tied
to land than to sea.

Strabo 1.1.16

This volume brings together unpublished Italian and Albanian archaeological reports and new archaeological studies from recent fieldwork, assembled with the purpose of throwing new light on the archaeology and history of the Pavllas River Valley, the Mediterranean alluvial plain in the territory of Butrint, ancient *Buthrotum*, in southwestern Albania.

On his first visit to Butrint in 1924, the Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission, Luigi Maria Ugolini, recalled with evident delight, ‘avevo ritrovato quindi tre antiche città in soli due giorni’.¹ Of these three ancient ‘cities’ in the Pavllas River Valley, this book gives prominence for the first time to the two that have been variously studied in the past, but always in the shadow of Butrint: Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit. As will become clear from the reports in this book by the Italian Archaeological Mission, the Albanian-Soviet Archaeological Mission and the work of the Butrint Foundation, Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit, besides being significant sites, played major roles in the early history of Butrint as it evolved in the later first millennium BC to emerge as the key city of Chaonia in Epirus.

Butrint itself is a quintessential small port that prospered significantly in Roman times, having been an Archaic Greek hilltop site and a Hellenistic sanctuary, and briefly prospered again as a Mid-Byzantine town from the 11th to 14th centuries AD. Excavations by the Butrint Foundation between 1994 and 2015 showed, in effect, that it was an urban community intermittently from the 2nd century BC until the later Byzantine period. In the Venetian period (1386–1797), it was reduced to several fishing properties protected by the Venetian Tower and the substantial

Triangular Fortress. Much of its lasting status was drawn from the brief description of Butrint in Vergil’s epic poem, *Aeneid*. In the Ottoman period (1798–1913) and until recently it had a very different reputation; first as a liminal place on Istanbul’s western frontier, and then as a southern borderland when Albania was a closed Communist nation for almost half a century (1945–1991).²

Like Nikopolis, Octavian’s Victory City founded 100 km south of Butrint (the subject of major archaeological field surveys in the 1980s³), the coastal port of Butrint occupies a lagoonal landscape, adjacent to the Straits of Corfu, but with connections by way of a fluvial corridor into the Epirote mountainous interior (Fig. 0.1).⁴

The Butrint Foundation project also endeavoured to establish the town’s relationship with its environs in order to test and develop Horden and Purcell’s thesis (in their seminal book *The Corrupting Sea*⁵) that a Mediterranean port was not ‘conceptually detachable’ from its hinterland.

The project promoted several different investigations to examine the relationship of the town through time with its immediate hinterland. Beginning in 1995, the Butrint Foundation initiated a systematic field survey of the port’s surroundings that provided the context for re-evaluating previous surveys and excavations by the Italian Archaeological Mission and the Albanian Institute of Archaeology (Fig. 0.2).⁶ Taking account of this survey, the Butrint Foundation then undertook a programme of limited and large-scale excavations. These included excavations of the Early Imperial Roman Bridge connecting the isthmus (by way of the Vivari Channel) to the Vrina Plain.⁷ It also involved large-scale excavations of the suburb on the Vrina Plain created in the Early Roman period that was connected by bridge to the main town and included a section of a road heading southward down the valley.⁸ Beyond this suburb, the project undertook surveys and studies of this ecologically diverse hinterland, following ground-breaking surveys by Luigi Maria Ugolini’s Italian Archaeological Mission in the 1920–1930s and by Dhimosten Budina for the Albanian Institute of Archaeology during the 1960s.

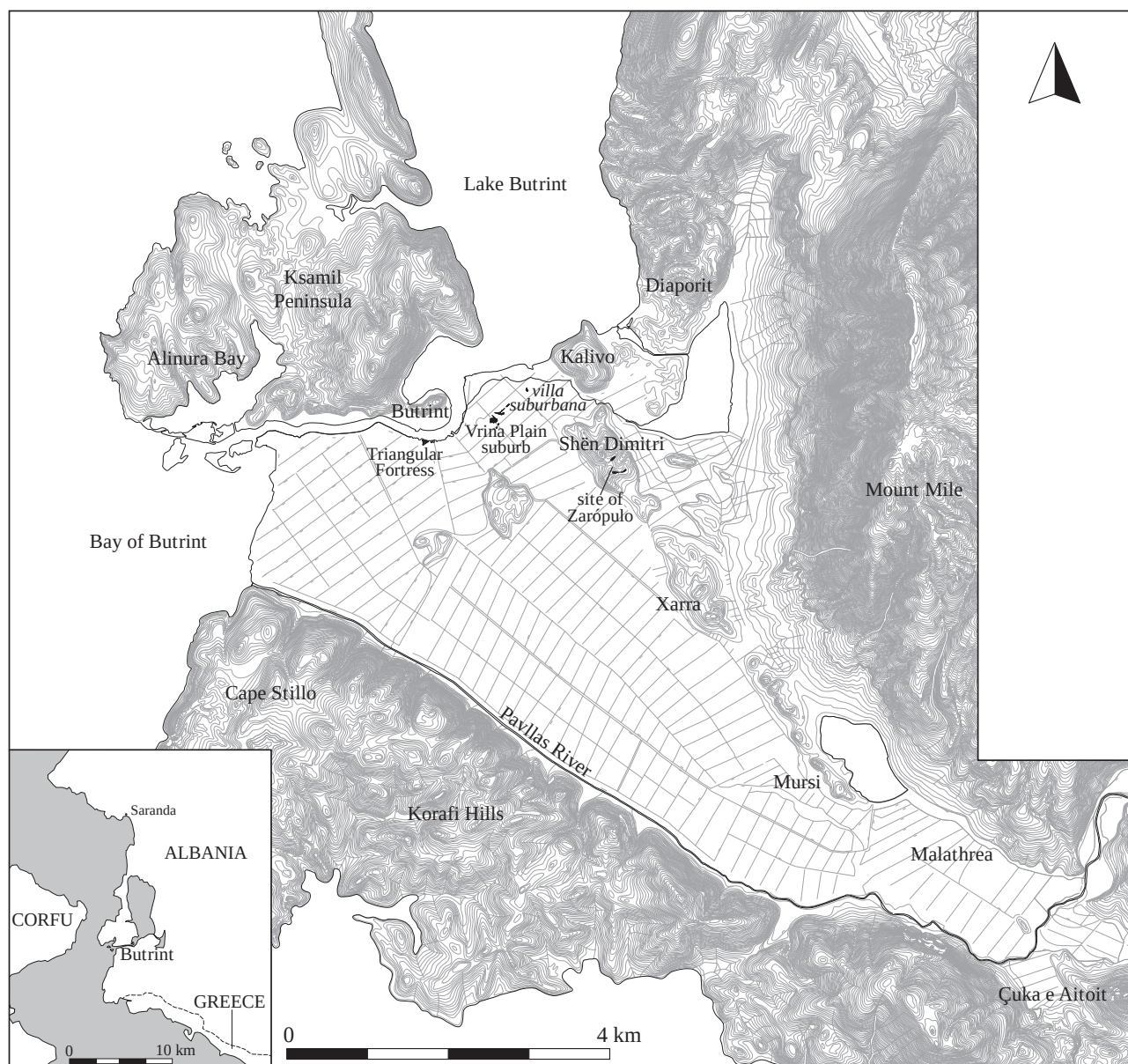


Figure 0.1. Principal sites mentioned in this volume: Butrint and the Pavllas River Valley (Drawn by Sarah Leppard/BF archive)

Some chapters in this volume are partly based upon an earlier online version, I. L. Hansen, A. Crowson and O. J. Gilkes (eds.) (2005) *Kalivo and Çuka e Aitot, Albania. Interim Report on Surveys and Excavations 1928–2004*, at <http://www.butrintfoundation.co.uk>, London. The new reports now further complement the series of Butrint research monographs and essays supported by the Butrint Foundation. *Butrint 7* provides detail on the many different periods of occupation between the Upper Palaeolithic and the modern era broadly in the Pavllas River Valley extending from the high uplands at Konispol down to the Mediterranean shore.

The first part of the volume is devoted to the early Italian and Albanian surveys and excavations at the prominent hilltop sites of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit. It begins with a



Figure 0.2. Field survey team, 1995: left to right, Petra Damco, Luan Përzhita, Mark Pluciennik, John Moreland, and Gjergj Saraçi (Courtesy of John Moreland)

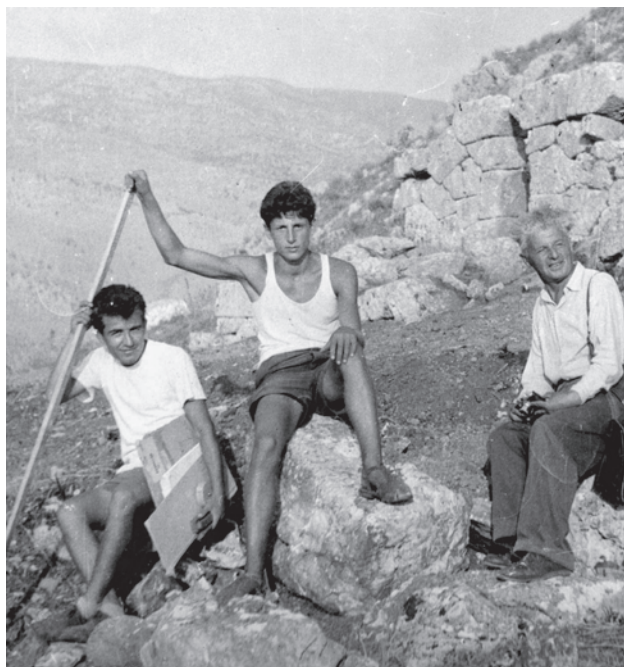


Figure 0.3. Neritan Ceka (centre) with Hasan Ceka (right) at Çuka e Aitoit, 1960 (Courtesy of Neritan Ceka)

short examination of the unpublished diaries of the British School at Athens student-archaeologist S. S. Clarke, who visited this borderland in 1922 to study its antiquity, an enterprise that was ultimately cut short by his untimely death. Following this, there are several unpublished reports by Luigi Maria Ugolini, Director of the inter-war Italian Archaeological Mission, devoted to the prominent hilltop sites of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit. Ugolini undertook excavations and, but for his untimely death in 1936, planned to publish these reports principally from his fieldwork in 1929 as volume VI in his series *Albania Antica* (following volumes I, the survey of Albanian archaeology; II, the results of his Phoinike research;⁹ III, the Butrint acropolis;¹⁰ IV, the Theatre;¹¹ and V, the Baptistry which exists in note-form only). Some of the reports for *Albania Antica VI* are in a very preliminary state, yet they show Ugolini's desire to present diligently his fieldwork to the highest academic standards of the age. The last chapter in this first part of the volume is a translation by Brikena Shkodra with Oliver Gilkes of a comprehensive report prepared by Selim Islami around 2000 (and first published in Albanian in 2008) describing his extensive investigations in 1979 at Çuka e Aitoit (Figs 0.3 and 0.4).¹²

The second part of the volume describes the results of the Butrint Foundation surveys and excavations in the hinterland of Butrint. These include expeditions at Kalivo and at Alinura Bay where a small Roman site with a Venetian afterlife was found on the northern shore, and a small Roman site, possibly a villa, was identified near the disused Customs House where the bay meets the Vivari Channel. Two chapters then report on excavations beside the Vivari Channel opposite Butrint. These include new



Figure 0.4. Left to right, Kosta Lako, Selim Islami and Dhimosten Budina at Saranda, 1970s (BF archive)

excavations at Butrint's Triangular Fortress, as well as a geophysical survey of its surroundings, once an islet at the mouth of the Pavllas River, and then a short interim report on the *villa suburbana* and the mausoleum located to the east of the Vrina Plain suburb. This is followed by a recent survey of the hill known as Shën Dimitri, previously associated with Roman cemeteries. In this short report it is proposed that the lost Venetian settlement of Zarópulo was located here. Further to the north, the new surveys and excavations of Kalivo in 2002 and 2004–2005 are described in detail (Figs 0.5 and 0.6). Two further major excavations are then discussed: first, a contextual examination of the late Hellenistic and Roman villa on the shore of Lake Butrint at Diaporit; then, a full report on the excavations (and environmental context) of the Late Bronze Age and Hellenistic fortified site at Mursi. The excavations revealed the first stratified deposits from the Late Bronze Age in the Butrint region, with dates confirmed by radiocarbon and thermoluminescence evidence. The report includes contextualised studies of the site and its finds, with separate chapters devoted to Late Bronze Age pottery, Hellenistic pottery and coins. Finally, the volume features a new study of the worship of Pan at his sanctuary at Butrint and an analysis of the fine bronze statuette of Pan reportedly discovered in the city's hinterland on Mount Mile.

Together, drawing upon earlier environmental and field surveys in the hinterland of Butrint,¹³ as well as previously published small-scale excavations, the port of Butrint now boasts one of the best studied and documented multi-period hinterlands in the Mediterranean region.

The presentation and publication of the Ugolini manuscripts would not have been possible without the help and support of a host of institutions and individuals. A great debt of gratitude is owed to the late Mrs Drue Heinz and the Drue Heinz Trust for their generosity and support which has been exceptional. Warm thanks are also due to the trustees of the Butrint Foundation – especially Lord Rothschild and Lord Sainsbury of Preston Candover, and to the Packard Humanities Institute whose support has widened the scope of the archaeological and research programme at Butrint immeasurably. Thanks, too, to Fabia Bromovsky,



Figure 0.5. Aerial view of Kalivo looking northwards towards Lake Butrint (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)

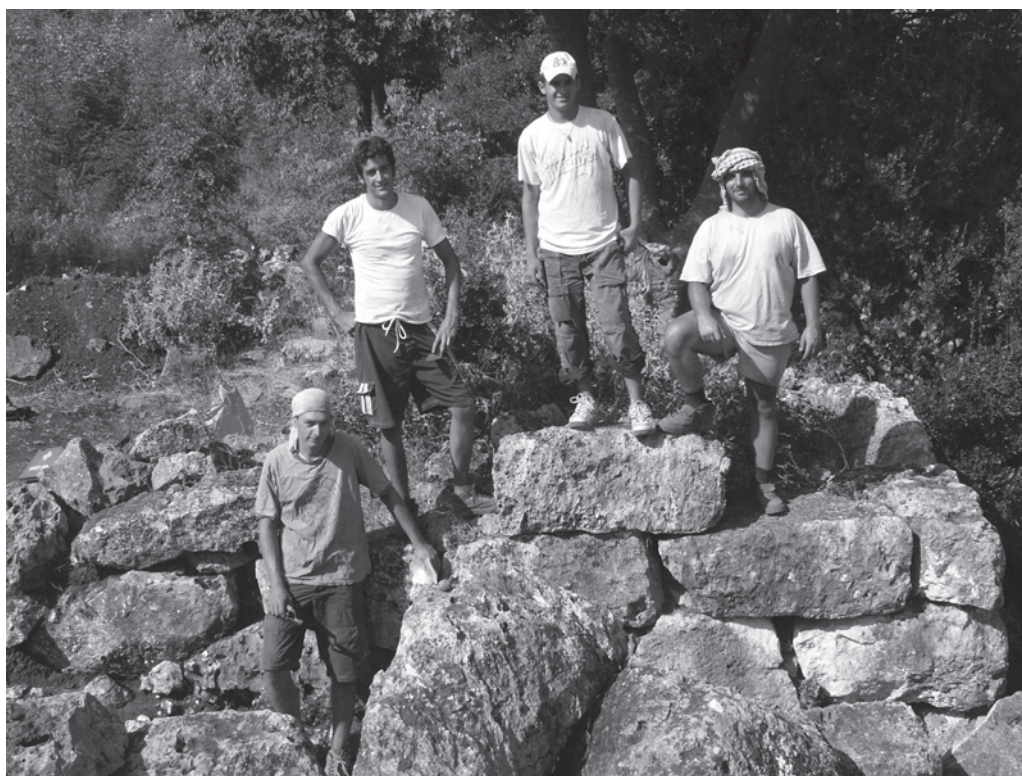


Figure 0.6. Excavating the southern gate at Kalivo, 2004: left to right: Benen Hayden, David Hernandez, Gjoni Marko and José C. Carvajal López (BF archive)

of the Rothschild Foundation for patiently and generously arranging a grant towards the publication of this volume.

We are indebted to the University of Notre Dame and in particular its Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, as well as to the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, for the grants and fellowship awards that provided the funding to support the excavations and post-excavation research of the Mursi Archaeological Research Project.

In the case of the Ugolini and Islami archives, the curators of institutes, museums and archives in Rome and Tirana have provided vital aid in bringing manuscripts and photographs together; particular appreciation go to Anna Maria Liberati, the erstwhile Director of the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome, and to Muzafer Korkuti, former Director of the Instituti i Arkeologjisë in Tirana and Argon Islami. Our gratitude, too, is due also to Diana Ndrenika and Iris Pojani for invaluable practical assistance and help.

In the preparation of the Ugolini texts, we have been fortunate to receive the help of many individuals. Valentina Vulpi undertook the unenviable task of transcribing the original Ugolini manuscripts, highlighting problems and suggesting solutions along the way; Christian Biggi edited the Italian texts in preparation for publication, and improved the elegance and clarity of the final version; and Nevila Molla redrew the original site plans.

All the illustrations belonging to the Butrint Foundation are taken from the archive now housed at Waddesdon Manor (Bucks) UK.

Successive directors of the Butrint Foundation have been unbelievably patient as well as kind: to Martine d'Anglejan, Patrick Fairweather, Danny Renton, Rupert Smith and Brian Ayers we are much obliged. We are indebted to the Butrint Foundation for the illustrations including scans taken from the Albanian Institute of Archaeology's archive of earlier project photographs. We have used air photographs taken by Alket Islami and photographs of finds by James Barclay Brown.

We dedicate this volume to Dhimitër Çondi, whom we thank for his unwavering devotion to the study of Butrint and also for many years of collaboration and friendship (Fig. 0.7). The staff of the Institute of Archaeology, our partner since the creation of the Butrint Foundation, were particularly helpful. We should like to acknowledge our gratitude to Gjergj Saraçi, Ilir Gjipali, Muzafer Korkuti, Sphresa Gjongecaj and Luan Përzhita, as well as Valter Stylla, Gjerak Karaskaj, Reshad Gega, Guri Pani, Lorenc Bejko and Artan Shkreli of the Institute of Monuments.

Thanks to many dedicated colleagues, family and friends, especially Richard Abdy, Nadia Aleotti, Danny Andrews, Elena Baldi, David Bescoby, Giovanna Bianchi, Anna Zsófia Biller, Dave Boschi, Will Bowden, Kim Bowes, James Barclay Brown, William Bubelis, Patricia Caprino, José C. Carvajal López, Neritan Ceka, Stavros Chamuli, Dhimitër Çondi, Rod and Chris Conway-Morris,



Figure 0.7. Dhimitër Çondi (left) and Faik Drini examining the Greek manumission inscriptions at the so-called Tower of Inscriptions at Butrint, 1977 (BF archive)

Pete Crawley, Thomas Crist, Andy Crowson, Steve Diehl, Brian Donovan, Todd Fenton, Oliver Gilkes, Ilir Gjipali, Emily Glass, Blendi Gonxha, Simon Greenslade, Inge Lyse Hansen, Benen Hayden, Adalheid Heil, Julie Hernandez, Odessa Hernandez, Viosa Hernandez, Charlotte Hodges, Raphael Hodges, Will Hodges, Valbona Hysa, Alket Islami, Julia Jarrett, the late Sarah Jennings, Solinda Kamani, Aldi Kola, Kosta Lako, Muzafer Laze, Sarah Leppard, Sarah Lima, the late Matthew Logue, Gjoni Marko, Sally Martin, John Mitchell, Nevila Molla, Sam Moorhead, Etleva Nalbanni, the late Astrid Nanaj, Diana Ndrenika, Jacques Neguer, Jerry O'Dwyer, Ilir Papa, Pagona Papadoulou, Ilir Parangoni, Pippa Pearce, Dana Phelps, Iris Pojani, Adrienne Powell, Eriona Qilla, Paul Reynolds, Rene Rice, Elenita Roshi, Nicole Rousmaniere, Louise Schofield, Sandro Sebastiani, Liri Shامتaj, Mirgen Shامتaj, Brikena Shkodra, Martin Smith, Karen Stark, Sabina Veseli, Giulia Vollono, Joanita Vroom and Massimo Zanfini, as well as Tomasso Astolfi, Maria Pia Malvezzi, Roberto Nardi, Anna Paterlini, Cassy Payne and Valerie Scott at the British School at Rome and The American University of Rome, respectively, and hundreds of others, including Albanian local excavators, who know, from our shared commitment, that their efforts have been valued.

In preparing *Butrint 7* we have hugely benefitted from lively and helpful discussions with Will Bowden, Michael Galaty, Oliver Gilkes, Sarah Leppard and Iris Pojani. Our thanks to Julie Gardiner and the staff at Oxbow Books who, as in the preparation of the previous monographs, have been marvellously patient and helpful. Finally, we owe a great debt of gratitude to Sarah Leppard for preparing the illustrations in this volume and Erin Chase and James R. Mathieu for the copyediting.

Notes

- 1 Ugolini 1937, 18, fn.1.
- 2 See Hodges, Bowden and Lako 2004; Hansen and Hodges 2007; Hodges 2006; Bowden and Hodges 2011; Hansen, Hodges and Leppard 2013; Hernandez 2017a; 2017b; 2019; Greenslade 2019a.
- 3 Wiseman and Zachos 2003; Tartaron 2004.
- 4 For a cartographic overview, see Metallinou 2008.
- 5 Horden and Purcell 2000; see also Harris 2005.
- 6 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004; *cf.* Lafe 2006.
- 7 Leppard 2013.
- 8 Greenslade 2019a.
- 9 Ugolini 1932.
- 10 Ugolini 1942.
- 11 Gilkes 2003a.
- 12 Islami 2008, 263–328.
- 13 See Lane 2004; Pluciennik *et al.* 2004; Hodges *et al.* 2016; Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016; Morellón, Sinopoli *et al.* 2016.

PART I

ITALIAN AND ALBANIAN
SURVEYS AND EXCAVATIONS

1 A Colonial Indifference to Butrint, 1923–1924.

S. S. Clarke's 'Survey' of the Hinterland of *Buthrotum*

Richard Hodges

Introduction¹

On 4 May 1923, Stewart Studdert Clarke (1897–1924) (Fig. 1.1), a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford and student of archaeology at the British School at Athens, crossed the newly established Albanian–Greek frontier near Sagiada (in Greece) and began the first of four forays on foot into Albania, recording its then largely unknown archaeology.² Further visits were made to other parts of the new state in July–August 1923 and in January 1924 when he returned briefly to Saranda.

Clarke's untimely death in a boating accident off Salamis almost exactly a year later on 2 May 1924, however, meant that his Albanian research was never published. Instead, his diary-notes for a thesis on the *Historical Geography and Topography of Epirus* were eventually used by N. G. L. Hammond in his thesis and later monograph on Epirus, after he followed in Clarke's footsteps some seven years later in 1930.³

Clarke made his first visit to southwest Albania in early May 1923, aided by a 1914 Austrian military map. His diary-notes are especially interesting because Clarke made the first survey of this region after Albania was granted nation status in August 1913. These notes, however, are as revealing for what Clarke did *not* record as for the sites that he found. Interpreted in this way, the diary-notes also throw a little tangential light on why Luigi Maria Ugolini, the Italian excavator of Butrint from 1928 onwards, chose to launch his Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania at nearby Phoinike in 1926–1927 after his first reconnaissance to Butrint in 1924.

Any archaeologist travelling to northern Epirus in the early 1920s was taking a risk. Southern Albania had experienced much political upheaval in the previous decade. After the

Greek army invaded the region in the late winter of 1913, defeating the Ottoman administration, it was assumed that southern Albania would become part of Greek Epirus. However, after the Treaty of London was signed later that year, following lobbying by the Italians, the region was given to the new state of Albania.⁴ Initially this was resisted by the local population who, in 1914, sought independence as the Autonomous Republic of Northern Epirus.⁵ This new republic comprised a tract of largely mountainous countryside encompassing what is now southern Albania, from Saranda to Korça.⁶ After diplomatic intervention by the Greek government, the leaders of the autonomous republic ceded the region to Albania with certain conditions. As a result, Greek troops safeguarded the area until 1917 when a firm agreement was reached with the nascent state of Albania, following which Italian troops provided security for the Greek minority community. The Italians remained until after the Armistice in November 1918.⁷ The final southern border of Albania was ultimately fixed by the conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers in a decision released on 9 November 1921, but possession of southern Albania continued to be disputed even after Albania was admitted to the League of Nations in 1921.

Table 1.1 is a timeline including the first visits to the region by American, British, Greek and Italian archaeologists.

S. S. Clarke's Fieldwork in the Butrint Region

In early May 1923, S. S. Clarke spent four days in southwest Albania, entering the country by way of the customs post at Konispol. His attention was immediately galvanised by the prominent fortified Hellenistic citadel of Çuka e Aitoit, which he visited on 4 May, the day he arrived in



Figure 1.1. Sketch portrait of S. S. Clarke, c. 1923 (Courtesy of the British School at Athens)

Albania.⁸ Every walk was recorded in great detail, with timed entries being made often at quarter-hour intervals following the fashion of the British School at that time (Fig.1.2).⁹ Reading the diary-notes today, of course, the apparent aimlessness of his forays is striking. So little was then known about the archaeology of this remote corner of southwestern Albania that every hill and potentially every village held a fascination for Clarke. But the most apparent

feature in Clarke's unpublished narrative is his abortive attempt to reach the place that today would be the very first point of reference of any archaeological foray to this region: Butrint.

The archaeological remains of Roman and Medieval Butrint had been amply described a century earlier by Colonel W. M. Leake after his visit in 1805, and by F. Pouqueville in the same year.¹⁰ Both Leake and

Table 1.1. Timeline of early explorations at Butrint

Timeline	Events
August 1913	Treaty of London: Butrint and the area around it were assigned to Albania as opposed to Greece.
February–May 1914	Autonomous Republic of Northern Epirus: Butrint and its region were part of this short-lived republic. Greek archaeologist Demetrios Evangelidis made small archaeological investigations of sites in the Saranda region.
17 August 1921	Bert Hodge Hill, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, visited Phoinike to consider an excavation.
4–8 May 1923	S. S. Clarke visited the Butrint region.
27 August 1923	General Enrico Tellini and his team surveying the disputed frontier between Albania and Greece were murdered, leading to the Corfu incident when Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini sought reparations from Greece by bombing and then occupying Corfu on 31 August.
Spring 1924	Luigi Maria Ugolini visited Butrint.
10 August 1926	Ugolini began two seasons of excavations at Phoinike.
January 1928	Ugolini inaugurated his excavations at Butrint.
Spring 1930	N. G. L. Hammond visited Ugolini at Butrint.

Pouqueville had associated Butrint with Vergil's epic, the *Aeneid*, an observation that certainly resonated with subsequent visitors to the region such as the artist Edward Lear, who made sketches here in 1857, and the Reverend E. Tozer, who briefly passed this way in 1864.¹¹ Clarke's diaries contain a synopsis of Leake's description of Butrint as well as references to these earlier accounts. These notes make his decision not to visit Butrint on 6 May all the more interesting.

His diary-notes account for that day read as follows:¹²

May 6th–Sunday

Murzi – detained by service – saw the Vlachs at church.

Kastro – between Komat and Kesarat on a *βουνάκι* (little mountain [he does not use the word for hill (*λόφος*)]), called Machalás, apparently the one shown between those two villages, said to be 3½ hours from Tchifliki, with ancient walls like those here only towers *λίγο χαλασμένο* (a bit destroyed [he uses plural for towers, but singular for the adjective]) (reserved for next journey).

Tchifliki – depart 9.05. Cross Pavla wooden bridge 9.20. Travel across plain by winding path through corn to 9.55 – foot of Murzi. Cross little bridge and ascend to bazaar 10.05 (English speaking Theodoros Kolontzes).

Murzi – depart 11.30, follow right bank of Pavla which cross by tree, 12.00 turn sharp back [illegible word]

belt of bush, two [illegible word] ft and in scrub meet several groups of ancient stones, one thus: Dimensions of top block is 0.90 × 0.60 × 0.48, bottom ones 80 × 40 × ?30 and 69 × 45 × ?35. These in scrub at mouth of prominent gorge, two m. on return to bearing on Murzi (top of village) 90° MB. Get back 1.20, crossing by another route up W bank of Pavla and cross by first bridge, all in 32 minutes. Murzi depart 2.30, walk by path between central foothills and E side of plain through to 3.15 *Çura* (pronounced Zarà). At Zarà papers (and others confirm) say that in 1885 was destroyed a statue of Demeter in flowing robes, sitting on a throne of white marble of beautiful Greek workmanship, also that another *ἀγάλμα* (instead of *ἄγαλμα-statue*) was removed by an Englishman 10 or 15 years ago, 4 ft long, chap called *ὁ Κόκκινος Λόρδος* (the Red Lord – lord is a title). Inscription reported at Dhiministras (10 mins East direction from Buthrotos and the potami (the river) is between them) of which I heard at Murzi are unknown here. At Dhiministras is *ἡ πέτρα τοῦ Βράϊμ* (Braim's stone [he actually writes the stone of Vráim, but he is probably transcribing Braím, that is Ibrahim, hence the apostrophe at the beginning of the name]).

Building referred to two pages back: mass of masonry 3 m high, top part is practically detached, almost cubic 1 m core of stones and mortar.

[Sketch]

Height of interior c. 1.20 m – is lined like a cistern.

Leave the pillbox 5.05 and going SW reach house at Vivari 5.15 – no barca. At place named Buthroton on Austrian map – acropolis inaccessible (no ferry) as photograph from Turkish (?Or Venetian) castle on near SW side. Just opposite in foreground is a ruined tower? of Turkish epoch.

Barka came, but first wanted 300 dr (or 30 lirettas) for fare to Karalibej (see Fig. 20.1) and then said it was too late. Returned to *Çurà* (1 hour) – on leaving Vivari, on R front is wooded hill topped by chapel called Shindoli, on left front towards *Çurà* is another church of Hag. Demetrios. On way down good view of Lakes Riza and Vivari in between this line of hills called first Kalivo and then Dhiapori, and on right front 'toward' (E of) Armiro mount Kokkali, and above *Çurà* mount Milá. Skala Soren pás is hill on road Amiro-Karalibej.

Of 700 population in Murzi only 200 can read (Kolontzes).

Clarke's description indicates that he sought out and eventually found a boat on the opposite side of the Vivari Channel from Butrint (which he describes as 'the acropolis'), probably at the (Ottoman, later Venetian) Triangular Fortress. However, his diary indicates he was aiming to cross to the northeastern corner of Lake Butrint rather than to visit Butrint itself, and the resulting price of the boat at 300 drachmas, Clarke concluded, was too high.

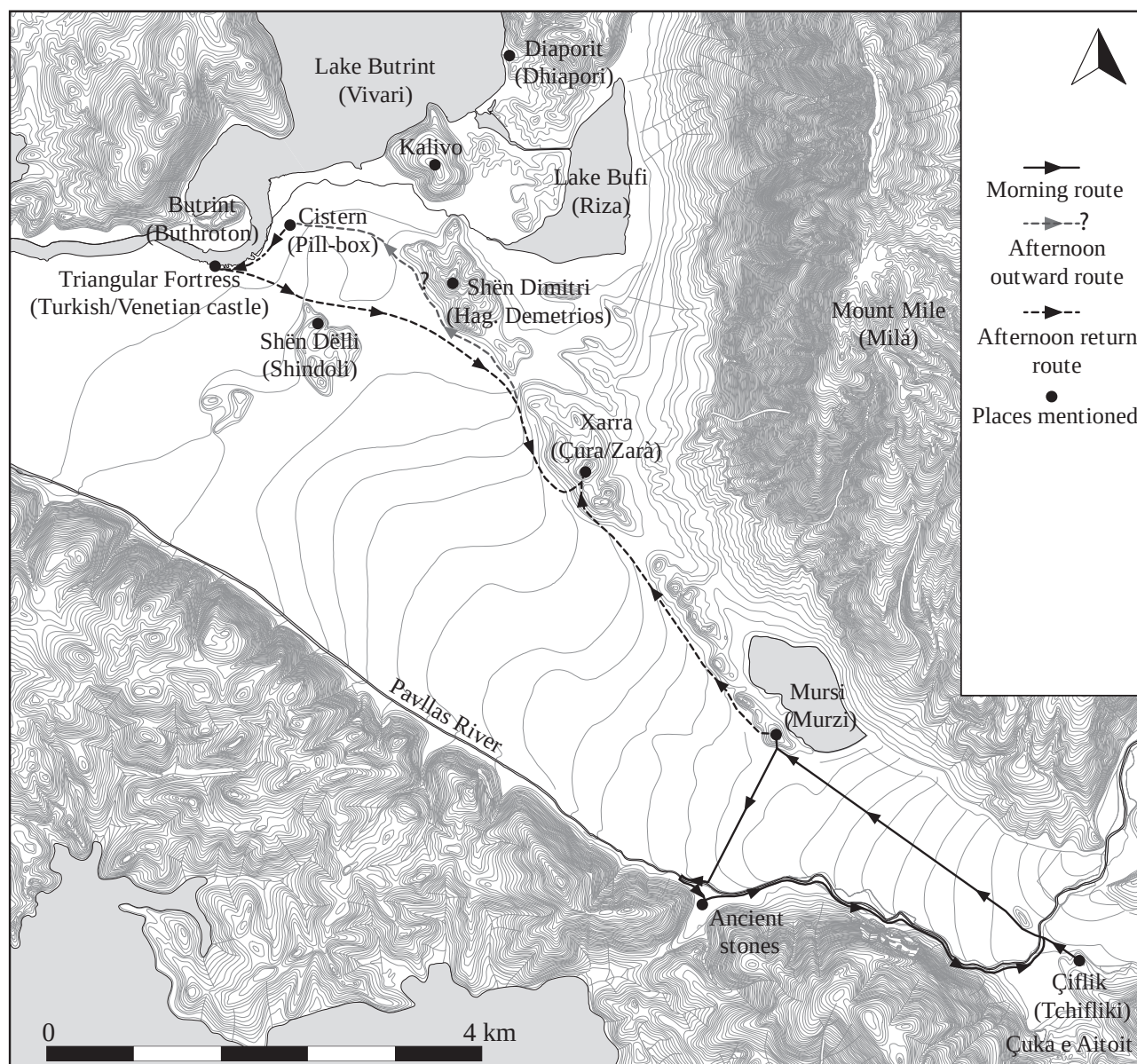


Figure 1.2. S. S. Clarke's route across the Vrina Plain, 8 May 1923 (Drawn by Sarah Leppard)

He, then, walked northwards across, what is now known as, the Vrina Plain, visiting the low hill of Shën Dëlli and its church, before proceeding towards Kalivo, the prominent hill crowned by fortifications probably of Hellenistic date and then continued over Shën Demetrius (Shën Dimitri: see Chapter 18) towards Çurà (modern Xarra), viewing the two lakes (Lake Butrint [called Vivari in the diary] and the small associated Lake Bufi [called Riza in the diary] to the south) as well as the site of Diaporit, where Luigi Maria Ugolini a few years later found the remains of a Roman villa (see Chapter 19).¹³

Clarke, then, left the Butrint area, continuing his journey first to Saranda and then to Phoinike, which he reached two days later on 8 May. His diary again contains notes by Leake about Phoinike as well as his own detailed description of this major fortified Hellenistic town.¹⁴ After

this Clarke proceeded northwards along the coast before turning inland and finally following the Drinos Valley southwards back to Greece.

So why did Clarke not pursue finding a boat to reach Butrint, as Hammond was to do when he visited the area in 1930? Indeed, the fact that Clarke passed by Butrint and visited Saranda and Phoinike without returning down the Ksamil Peninsula to Butrint indicates that he simply did not consider it merited the effort.¹⁵ Hammond in conversation in 1995 stated that he made the journey, because he was curious to see what Ugolini and the Italian Archaeological Mission had discovered at Butrint since excavations started in 1928, though this is not mentioned in his 1983 account of his first visit to the region and, indeed, Butrint is even omitted from the accompanying map.¹⁶

Clarke's indifference towards 'the acropolis' at Butrint



Figure 1.3. Luigi Maria Ugolini at Phoinike, 1926–1927 (BF archive)

– curious as it seems now – is almost certainly because his principal interest was to discover and survey pre-Roman and especially Hellenistic sites. For this reason, the hilltop settlement of Phoinike was of singular interest, primarily because Polybius in his *Histories*¹⁷ described it as the most powerful Hellenistic city in the region, and perhaps too because two years earlier Bert Hodge Hill, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, had motored up to see it with a view to an excavation there.¹⁸ Butrint, notwithstanding Leake's description from 1805, was first and foremost associated with Vergil, but considered to be a deserted Medieval, Venetian and Ottoman town with indeterminate origins in the Roman and pre-Roman period. Clarke's otherwise puzzling indifference to the ancient port, not that he explains it in the terse notes in his diary, may help to shed light upon a bigger issue: why did Luigi Maria Ugolini decide initially to excavate at Phoinike on behalf of the Italian Archaeological Mission, and then change his mind two years later and launch the Butrint excavations, with which his name will always be associated?

Luigi Maria Ugolini's Volte-face in 1927–1928

Ugolini's exploratory mission to Albania in 1924 was at the request of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry had selected Ugolini for this venture because of his training at the Italian Institute of Archaeology in Athens, as well as his distinguished war record and affiliation with Italy's new, governing Fascist party.¹⁹ The opportunity was to establish Ugolini as an archaeologist, best-known today, as it later turned out, for his large-scale, multi-period excavations at Butrint.

Looking back on his 1924 mission to investigate the prospects for an Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania, Luigi Maria Ugolini concluded:

‘... quando visitai il territorio meridionale, che fu quello più colonizzato dai Greci e migliorato dai Romani, io volsi di preferenza l'attenzione ai molti monumenti di queste civiltà. Sovente essi erano in condizioni assai miserevoli, ma sempre tutt'altro che privi d'interesse’²⁰

‘... when I visited the southern territory, which was the most colonized by the Greeks and improved by the Romans, I preferred to pay attention to the many monuments of these civilizations. Often, they were in very poor conditions, but always far from uninteresting’

In retrospect in his 1927 writings, it seems that three years earlier Ugolini was interested in both Greek and Roman archaeological sites. Butrint, however, appeared to be a place dominated *poeticamente* by its Venetian and Ottoman castles covered in ivy. He notes the fortifications with *blocchi regolari ben squadrati*, but does not speculate about their antiquity as he would have known these were Greek.²¹ These walls led him to believe that this might well be the site of ancient *Buthrotum*, a place described in the sources. But he allows for an element of uncertainty in this identification. Indeed, he dwells first upon Strabo's description of its location and then Vergil's description of the place, concluding that the latter called it lofty, while the small hill (at Butrint) is less than 60 m high.²² By contrast, Ugolini's report includes a long detailed account of ‘Feniki’ (Phoinike), which he identifies with *la più potente, e la più ricca città dell'Epiro* in Hellenistic times, paraphrasing Polybius's description.²³ He also



Figure 1.4. View of Butrint and the Vrina Plain looking southeast towards Çuka e Aitoit, photo taken by Luigi Maria Ugolini (BF archive)

records that the town continued to be important in Roman and even early Byzantine times.²⁴ Ugolini's 1924 survey shows a preference for Phoinike as the site of the first excavation by the Italian Archaeological Mission, because the remains were clearly evident, unlike Butrint where the Medieval and Ottoman presence complicated the prospect of discovering the ancient city – if, indeed, it really was the site of *Buthrotum*.

It is not difficult to explain Ugolini's choice of Phoinike (Fig. 1.3) as the first excavation in Albania by the Italian Archaeological Mission, and then his significant change-of-mind. Butrint, after all, was difficult to reach, and, by late 1927, Ugolini was encountering problems with the landowners at Phoinike.²⁵ Let us look at each point in turn.

Butrint in the 1920s was most easily reached by boat either from Saranda (often known as Santa Quaranta) or by fishing boat from the area to the southeast of Butrint (Fig. 1.4). In the early 1920s the trip was undoubtedly expensive (as S. S. Clarke noted in his diary) and not without its dangers, as Italians by challenging Greek autonomy of the area, cannot have been popular (as General Tellini fatally discovered in 1923).²⁶ Butrint was located in a porous and occasionally dangerous border zone. Ugolini first visited Butrint in 1924, arriving by boat, which took two hours from Saranda.²⁷ The present road down the Ksamil Peninsula was barely passable at this time and

was not to be a surfaced road until the occasion of Nikita Khrushchev's visit in May 1959.²⁸ By selecting to work first at Phoinike, close to the paved Delvina–Saranda road, access was comparatively simple.

There was possibly also a larger political motive for Ugolini's choice of Phoinike. The Italian Archaeological Mission was ensuring that neither the Americans nor the French would seek a permit to dig in this area. Ugolini makes no mention of Bert Hodge Hill's visit to the archaeological site in 1922. Being an alumnus of the Italian Institute of Archaeology in Athens, he must have been aware of the tentative interest of the Director of the American School of Classical Studies. However, one of Ugolini's first letters to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, dated 19 December 1923, does explicitly express a concern that the Albanian authorities would not grant a permit as the French had signed a comprehensive agreement covering the issue of archaeological investigations in the entire country, although, in fact, they had chosen to concentrate upon the Illyrian and Greek city site of Apollonia.²⁹ Once Ugolini and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had decided to test the resolve of the Albanians (and the French), it made sense to select a place for excavations that resonated with the archaeological paradigm of the era, which also happened to be accessible. Phoinike was a quintessentially 'Greek' site, familiar from Polybius as well as later ancient sources.³⁰



Figure 1.5. The Lake Gate (the so-called Scaean Gate) at Butrint before excavation, with substantial Late Antique and Medieval walls above it, photo taken by Luigi Maria Ugolini (BF archive)

By contrast, in 1924, when Ugolini first visited Butrint, as previously discussed, it appeared to him to be principally a post-Roman abandoned town with impressive Medieval to Venetian fortifications (Fig. 1.5).³¹ He may also have anticipated the complicated problems with water-logging if he excavated to any depth.³² Plainly, judging from his first report, the archaeological investment at Phoinike was far more likely to produce results.

Clarke's abortive visit then offers a clue to Ugolini's thinking in 1924 that altered remarkably in 1927. Encouraged, so-to-speak, by the difficulties with the local prefect as well as the landowners at Phoinike, he changed his mind about Butrint and decided to take the twin risks of supporting a dig in this isolated spot as well as confronting post-Roman remains in his quest for proof of its ancient urban origins.³³

As it happened, by 1927, the Italian government was getting into its ideological stride. Benito Mussolini sought its origins in the unified imperial world of Rome, focused of course on Rome as a city. Central to Fascist doctrine was the theory of *Romanità*, which postulated and celebrated a dialectic between the Classical and Modern

worlds.³⁴ Archaeology, not surprisingly, was critical to this nationalist agenda, providing justification for the policies of the Fascist government at home as well as abroad.³⁵ Being a Fascist party member, Ugolini must have been well aware of the ideological importance of his work. The opportunity in 1927 to bring his mission in Albania into the forefront of the Italian government's ideological thinking must have appeared too good to miss. The bi-millennium of Vergil's birth was three years away in 1930. As Gilkes and Miraj put it: 'the brief sojourn of Aeneas at the city [Butrint] *en route* for Italy was an attractive element that was fitted to the precept of *Romanità*'.³⁶ By now, too, Butrint was scheduled to be one destination of the prestigious *Crociera Virgiliana* of 1930, sponsored by the Royal Academy of Italy.³⁷ The celebrations, therefore, connecting the myth of Aeneas's visit to Butrint, further provided a justification for Italian cultural (and political) intervention in Albania. In other words, the serendipity of the political and local circumstances, and possibly improvements in local security encouraged by the League of Nations (following General Tellini's assassination in August 1923 and the 'Corfu incident' that followed), persuaded Ugolini – a prehistorian,

not a classicist by training – that shifting his mission's attention from the archaeology of a Hellenistic city to a Roman one (promoted by Caesar, Augustus and Vergil) would be signally advantageous, helping him to procure Italian government resources.³⁸

Only after Ugolini transferred his mission to Butrint in 1928 and began excavating what he assumed to be a Roman basilica on the lower slope facing the Vivari Channel (in fact, a Hellenistic theatre) did the town begin to appear to be as archaeologically interesting as Phoinike.³⁹ Indeed, Ugolini proceeded with the support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to artfully shape the story of Butrint as (Vergil's) Troy, consciously seeking to emulate H. Schliemann's skillful promotion of the importance of Mycenae.⁴⁰ As a result, he joined the pantheon of archaeological placemakers, shaping Butrint to the myth of Aeneas, when much of its archaeology and history, in fact, relates not to Classical Antiquity, but to its modest role in the later Byzantine and Venetian ages.⁴¹

As we have seen, Ugolini's initial indifference to the archaeological potential of Butrint, notwithstanding Leake's ample description from 1805, followed S. S. Clarke's decision not even to visit the ruins in May 1923. Both assumed the place to be ephemeral to their study of pre-Roman Epirus. Both were subscribing to a Hellenism that was the prevailing paradigm for research in the region at this time and indeed for decades to come. "Hellas," was a generalised ideal, a symbol of cultural superiority which could and did survive innumerable changes in the moral and political order'.⁴² Roman and Rome were considered to be authoritarian and unsophisticated rather than democratic and cultured, while the Middle Ages were considered 'a time of ethnic regression'.⁴³

In 1927, Luigi Maria Ugolini overcame his intellectual indifference as he prioritised the future of his mission to Albania as an ideological venture before any personal academic considerations he might have harboured. As a result, he boldly shifted his focus from investigating Greek archaeology to understanding a Roman town.

Had Clarke lived beyond 1924, Ugolini's decision to concentrate upon Butrint rather than Phoinike probably would have puzzled him, as it appears to have puzzled Hammond (in conversation, Cambridge, February 1995). Today, from a 21st-century perspective, shorn of its ideological mantle, Ugolini's bold project proved to be a major step towards the ground-breaking venture of defining the diachronic history of an ancient Balkan port.

Notes

1 My thanks to the British School at Athens, the then director James Whitley and its archivist A. G. Kakissis, for their help with the S. S. Clarke diary-notes. Thanks, too, to P. Papadopoulou for assistance with the Greek translation,

and to O. J. Gilkes, I. L. Hansen and D. Hernandez for their useful comments. A version of this paper was originally published as Hodges 2017a.

2 Winniffrith 2004a, 161–169; 2004b.

3 Hammond 1967, vii; 1983.

4 Kondis 1997, 387–388.

5 Heaton-Armstrong 2005.

6 Greek archaeologist Demetrios Evangelidis (1913, 276–288; 1919) conducted archaeological investigations in the Saranda region.

7 Davis 2000, 83; see Puaux 1963, 158 for Greek antipathy to the Italians.

8 Clarke, diaries CLA-1 p49R and p50L. See also Bogdani 2008.

9 Waterhouse 1986, 138; Hammond 1967, 98–99. See, for example, (John) Pendlebury 1939, 7 on walking to Cretan sites: 'times alone matter.'

10 Leake 1835, 95; Pouqueville 1820, 34–35.

11 Sherrard 1988, 95–97; Tozer 1869, 232–233.

12 Clarke, diaries CLA-1 p51R and p52L; cf. Hammond 1967, 95.

13 Bowden and Përzhita 2004a.

14 Clarke, diaries, CLA-6.

15 Hammond 1967, 99.

16 Hammond 1983, 20, 46.

17 Polybius 2.1–8.

18 Davis 2003, 152.

19 Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 122.

20 Ugolini 1927, xi.

21 Ugolini 1927, 169. Cf. Hammond 1967, 100–110; Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007, 55.

22 Ugolini 1927, 153–154.

23 Ugolini 1927, 125–138.

24 Ugolini 1927, 137–138.

25 Ugolini, *Letter to the Italian consul*, 22–xi–27 (Butrint Foundation archive).

26 Barros 1965; cf. Puaux 1963, 158.

27 Ugolini 1927, 153.

28 Hodges 2009.

29 Ugolini, *Letter to the Ministero degli Affari Esteri* 160196, 21 December 1923 (Butrint Foundation archive).

30 Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 113; Rambaldi 2006.

31 Cf. Ugolini 1937, figs. 62 and 64, showing the fortifications before excavation.

32 Cf. Ugolini 1937, 43–45.

33 Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 113. Ugolini, *Letter to the Italian consul*, 22 November 1927 (Butrint Foundation archive).

34 Duggan 2008, 498–550.

35 Manacorda 1982; Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 110.

36 Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 114.

37 Ugolini 1937, 62.

38 Cf. Hansen 2007; 2008.

39 Gilkes and Miraj 2000, 117; Gilkes 2003a; 2003b; cf. Ugolini 1937, fig. 76.

40 Ugolini 1937, 11–12.

41 Hodges 2013.

42 Herzfeld 1982, 5.

43 Herzfeld 1982, 409.

2 The History of Archaeological Investigations at Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit

Oliver J. Gilkes

Introduction

For the past 200 years travellers and archaeologists have taken an interest in the fortified hilltop sites at Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit in southern Albania. The surviving accounts, of which the two manuscripts prepared by the Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission, Luigi Maria Ugolini, form the most substantial and detailed part, reveal the underlying differences in approach, as well as the similarities in incentive, that motivated the investigations of these two sites (Fig. 2.1). Broadly speaking, three principal phases of exploration can be identified: (1) 19th-century travellers detailing these two prominent hills in their descriptions of the region; (2) the Italian Archaeological Mission of 1924–1943 undertaking major archaeological surveys and excavations; and (3) the joint Albanian–Soviet archaeological mission of the later 1950s, conducting archaeological surveys which continued intermittently until the 1980s.

The striking thing from these three main phases is less their differences in scope or political analyses than their similarities in motivation. The investigations of both Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit are intimately linked to the status of Butrint as a site described in the ancient sources, and to that of the surrounding region as an area of desirable political influence. How direct the link between these two motivating factors is varies over time. The presence of Butrint throughout provides an important point of reference for the interest in the hilltop sites and for the excavators' perception of the archaeology of the region. In the mid-19th century the classical history of the area provided reference points for the early geographical descriptions by the diplomatic representatives of various Western European governments, and – obliquely – became a method to establish cultural links in a region under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Unsurprisingly, the most

explicit articulation of the classical heritage of the region is provided by the Italian Archaeological Mission in the period before the Second World War. Nevertheless, it was the perceived prehistoric character of Çuka e Aitoit and Kalivo that prompted Ugolini's initial interest in the two

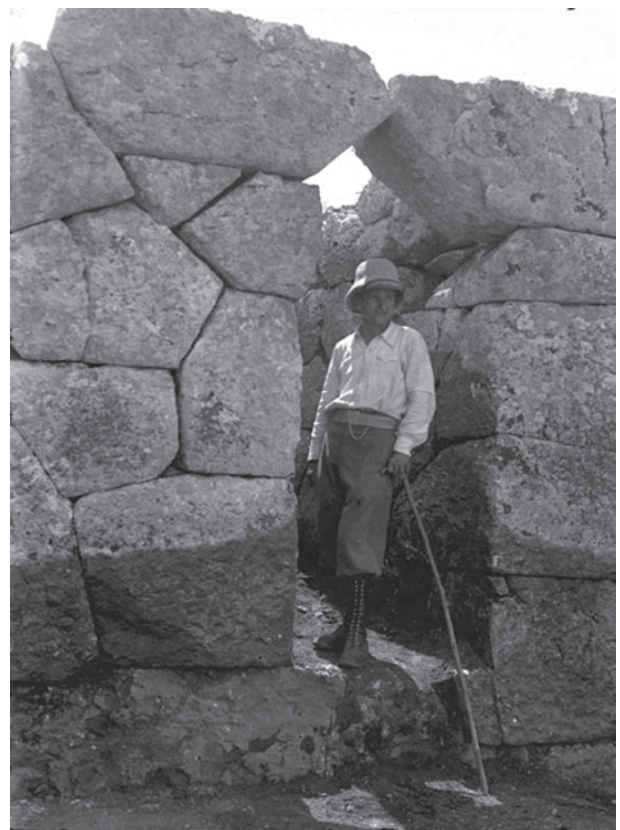


Figure. 2.1. Luigi Maria Ugolini at Çuka e Aitoit, 1924 (IA)

sites. In the case of Kalivo, the surviving notes illustrate the intellectual effort made to link the site with the legendary history of Butrint, and the direct associations Ugolini makes between archaeological data and ancient narratives in order to accomplish this. In post-war Albanian excavations, archaeological investigations were used to highlight an Illyrian past of no lesser antiquity than the Graeco-Roman history emphasised by Ugolini.¹ Yet, establishing a particular cultural hegemony over the region's past was only one way of expressing political control over the area in general. This was a motivating force for instigating, funding and maintaining archaeological research that should not be underestimated.

At the same time, the history of archaeological investigation at Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit is very much a history of thorough academic research. As is evident from the published plans, as well as from the 2001 survey of Kalivo made by the Butrint Foundation (Chapter 12), the documentation has stood the test of time as accurate descriptions of both sites. As a body of work, the investigations undertaken at these places over the past 200 years have provided a considerable contribution to understanding ancient settlement in the region as a whole.

Early Visitors

The earliest exploration of the environs of Butrint coincided with the rediscovery of the ancient city itself. Initially, interest naturally focused on the highly visible remains at Butrint: the many Hellenistic and later walls and the crumbling Venetian fortifications situated on the southern bank of the Vivari Channel. These monuments were the primary structures recorded by travellers and plotted by map-makers of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the surrounding countryside, and the rich scattering of fortifications, villas, settlements and churches, soon became an object of investigation as the political and archaeological interest in the region grew. The foundations for the later systematic surveys by the Italian Archaeological Mission were laid during the period of the Napoleonic wars; in particular by William Martin Leake, the British diplomat and spy, and his rival the French consul François Pouqueville. Leake, in particular, became an authority on the topography and archaeology of ancient Greece. Both men were assigned to the court of the Vezir of Ottoman Epirus, Ali Pasha, whose favour the two Western European powers sought in the struggle for influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Both Leake and Pouqueville undertook extensive travels throughout the southern Balkans sending back copious reports on their journeys to their respective governments. The memoranda were later turned into published accounts, the extensive nature of which suggests that certainly Leake must have had commercial publication in mind even as he was composing his secret despatches.

Naturally both men visited Butrint, Leake arriving by sea and Pouqueville travelling overland. While both went out of their way to investigate and record the ancient

remains that they encountered during their journeys, numerous sites escaped detection. One was Kalivo, which at that time apparently was heavily wooded and difficult to access. Pouqueville passed to the south of it and observed the ruins of Butrint scattered across the Vrina Plain but failed to notice the circuit of fortification walls on the hill to the north.

Unsurprisingly, both men were aware of Çuka e Aitoit. The hill is the single most evident natural feature in the local landscape and the wall circuits are highly visible on its treeless and rocky slopes. Leake visited the area in January 1805 during an expedition to investigate Konispol, then a significant Ottoman town. His description is somewhat sparse and the lack of any mention of the isolated mountain suggests that he may not actually have made the ascent to view the ruins. Leake commented as follows:

‘Konispol is a scattered town of four or five hundred Albanian families, conspicuous from Corfu by its situation on the summit of the maritime ridge, which stretches from the plain at the mouth of the Kalamá, as far as the bay of Vutzindró Inland, the plain extends southwards from Vutzindró behind this ridge for a distance of about five miles, and a river flows through it into the lake. The southern part of the plain belonged to a Hellenic city, of which remains are found on the edge of the plain to the north of Konispol; the other end was obviously a part of the territory of Buthrotum.’²

Pouqueville certainly did climb the steep slopes and he identified the site as Phanote, unsuccessfully besieged by Appius Claudius in 168 BC, though this place was subsequently shown to exist some way further to the southeast. He wrote as follows:

‘Deux milles au N. O. de Conispolis, autour d’une montagne isolée, on aperçoit l’enceinte pélasgique d’une acropole, et un demi-mille au-dessous une seconde ville abandonnée, que je crois être Phanote. Cette place, dans laquelle Cleve gouverneur de Persée soutint et repoussa les assauts des Romains commandés par Appius Claudius, paraît avoir eu depuis une seconde enceinte, qui fut probablement construite par les Césars de Byzance.’³

Early 20th-century Visitors

The difficulty of access into the interior of Albania in the later 19th century meant that few visitors to the region penetrated further than Butrint or the coastal strip. In fact, the Butrint area remained remote well into the 20th century. A road to Butrint was only constructed in 1959, for example, and English visitors to the area recorded the problems and absurdities associated with travel even in the 1930s.⁴ Nevertheless, scholars did visit and study the ancient remains. The two English students, S. S. Clarke and N. G. L. Hammond (see Chapter 1), both undertook walking tours through this region of Epirus. Hammond noted both Çuka e Aitoit and Kalivo, though he focused

his later published account on the remains of the former, Çuka e Aitoit:

‘The site is built on an isolated conical limestone hill (272 m), which is locally known as Aetòs. It controls the entry into the Pavla gorge as well as into the upper valley towards Konispoli. The sides of the hill are steep, with precipices on the north face, so that the site is very picturesque and has great natural strength. The summit is a narrow spine, some 20 paces wide. The outer circuit is built of well-fitting polygonal masonry with large blocks between which small blocks are commonly used. On the southeast side the wall is built in ashlar style but with oblique vertical joints, the blocks being mainly large. Clarke noted one tower on the northeast side. On the south side the polygonal wall is standing to a height of 4 m in nine courses, and on the southeast side the ashlar wall to a height of 2.40 m in five courses. An inner circuit wall is built of mixed rectangular and polygonal blocks, inferior in workmanship to the outer circuit; the corner stones at the angles are deeply recessed, and rabbeting is used. There are many terrace walls and foundation walls within the outer and inner circuits, the style being mainly good polygonal. The northwest angle of the outer circuit wall was excavated by L. M. Ugolini. Here a gateway 2.60 m wide penetrates the outer circuit. It is flanked on the inner south side by a wall 12 m long. From the inner part of the passageway a drainage channel is cut for a distance of 8 paces and terminates on the outer face of the main circuit in a projecting block, the channel used in this block being 0.31 m wide. The buildings cleared by L. M. Ugolini are known locally as ‘the palace’. The doorway is 0.91 m wide and 2.25 m high. The rock has been cut to form emplacements for blocks.’⁵

The presence of the Italian Archaeological Mission working on nearby Kalivo prevented him from making any detailed survey of that place.

The Italian Archaeological Mission

The Italian Archaeological Mission was conceived in 1923 as a political tool to further the nationalist ambitions of Mussolini’s government to the east of the Adriatic Sea.⁶ The catalyst was provided by the presence of a small French Archaeological Mission, in the north and centre of Albania, led by the archaeologist Leon Rey.⁷ The Italian response was seen as an easy and inexpensive way of counteracting this and as a means of developing favourable relations with the Albanians. Despite the area traditionally forming part of the Italian sphere of interest, there had been minimal Italian academic interest in the archaeology of Albania prior to this time. Some research had been carried out by Paolo Orsi and Antonio Baldacci in the 19th century, and Roberto Paribeni, who by 1924 had become Director of the Archaeological Mission to the Levante and the National

Roman Museum, had explored northern Albania in the first years of the 20th century.⁸ It was to Paribeni that the Italian government sought advice on how to approach the matter. His suggestions were succinct and left little room for ambiguity. A small, low-cost mission, he said, might be despatched to excavate some prehistoric tombs as this would: ‘satisfy up to a point the fanatical and puerile national pride of the Albanians: their desire to be able to know and illuminate their ancestors the Illyrians’.⁹ The young archaeologist selected as head of the mission, Luigi Maria Ugolini, tried to do just this.

During 1924 he travelled through the country, criticised the French archaeologists, and studied a series of tombs, which he published in 1927.¹⁰ He found it a difficult experience, not least because of the lack of infrastructure and amenities of the country and the reluctance with which the foreign ministry dispensed funds.¹¹

Early Archaeological Projects

The presence of the French Mission in northern and central Albania necessitated that expeditions after 1924 focus on the south of the country, and hence Ugolini explored and excavated at Phoinike (1925–1927) and Butrint (1928–1936) in the province of Gjirokastra in northern Epirus.¹² Ugolini was a capable and thorough archaeological practitioner, establishing his own intellectual and academic strategy for the work undertaken, but also a loyal servant of the regime and subject to its orders. He was trained as a prehistorian and a specialist in the Bronze Age archaeology of the Romagna, and his continued interest in prehistory, even while excavating at Butrint, can be seen in the efforts to include pre-Classical sites within his programme. This much is clear from a lecture he delivered in Rome in 1928. The Italian embassy in Tirana instructed him to underscore the relevance of his talk with insertions of a kind considered particularly appropriate: ‘such additions beyond the strict archaeological field may enter into the field of history and even that of politics’.¹³

The Italian surveys and excavations at Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit fell into this scheme; as did the initial work of Luigi Cardini, investigating Palaeolithic and Neolithic settlements in the Butrint area and along the Albanian Riviera. In fact, the Italian project had a holistic approach, combining disciplines in a manner very unusual for its time. The project incorporated prehistoric, ancient, Late Antique and Medieval archaeology, anthropology, and fine arts. A considerable, inclusive publication programme spanning six major monographs and a host of scientific and popular articles was proposed to make results available to the academic and general public.

The excavations at Phoinike revealed an interesting archaeological sequence fitting relatively well the template provided by the ministry. The ‘Illyrian’ finds were few, but parallels could be made with better-known materials from northern Albania. Moreover, Ugolini recognised that the material culture recovered had affinities with the Iron Age



Figure. 2.2. Italian postage stamp quoting Vergil and depicting Helenus bidding farewell to Aeneas setting off to Italy from the Lake Gate (so-called Scaean Gate) at Butrint, c. 1930 (Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Esteri, Rome)

of southern Adriatic Italy.¹⁴ To the Italian government this was an opportunity to be exploited. The political situation had changed, and in 1926 and 1927 two economic and military pacts were signed between Italy and Albania. Ugolini's lecture in Rome took place in the spring of 1928, when these events were still part of the public debate. However, despite discussing the cultural links between the two countries, he clearly chose to emphasise archaeology over politics in his lecture: the 'friendship of three thousand years' as the English-language *Italian Mail* put it.¹⁵ Indeed, Ugolini commenced writing a book on Albanian, Illyrian and Italian cultural contacts provisionally entitled *Albania Preistorica*.

Ugolini at Butrint

The manuscript on the prehistory of Albania was never published, probably due to a change of emphasis in the archaeological objectives of the Italian Archaeological Mission.¹⁶ In 1928, the excavations at Phoinike were brought to an end, and Butrint, instead, became the primary focus of archaeological investigation. The reason for this change must be understood in the light of the ideology of *Romanità*, which was gathering increasing momentum in Italy. This view looked to a Roman Imperial past as the myth-of-origin of the nation and was increasingly being used by the Fascists as a symbol of identity, as well as a process by which to explain and corroborate political ideology and policy. The myth of Aeneas was one of the philosophical underpinnings of the regime, and, according to Vergil, Aeneas had visited Butrint during his wanderings.¹⁷ Consequently the bi-millenary celebrations of Vergil's death in 1930 were to be accompanied by appropriate

events; such as, the *crociera vergiliana*, a high-profile cruise to retrace his steps across the Mediterranean, which included a visit to Butrint.¹⁸ An issue of commemorative stamps not only contributed financially to the Mission's archaeological project but also provided widespread publicity for the message of *Romanità* (Fig. 2.2).¹⁹

Similarly, the shift in emphasis towards working at Butrint, rather than at Phoinike, contributed politically to Italian efforts in Albania. The influence in Albanian political and social life could now be promoted as being strengthened, and the ultimate Italian aim of hegemony over the area could be reinforced and justified through selective publication of archaeological material.

The main efforts of Ugolini and his team were directed within the walled area of Butrint: the sanctuary of Asclepius and the associated theatre were excavated between 1928 and 1932; the Late Antique Baptistery was unearthed in the space of a month in 1928; and numerous other sites were investigated throughout the later 1920s and 1930s. Nevertheless, significant attention was directed to the surroundings of Butrint and excavations and survey were conducted at a number of nearby sites. The intention was to publish the work undertaken at these sites in one volume as part of Ugolini's proposed monograph series. The fifth book in this series, *Albania antica V: Dintorni di Butrinto*, was to have included the work at Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit); Kalivo; Diaporit; Vagalatti; Malathrea and Shën Marina (the prehistoric cave site investigated by Luigi Cardini in the Bogazi Gorge of the Pavllas River). Ugolini's untimely death in 1936 brought an end to this ambitious project; the last volume in the series, *Albania antica III: L'acropoli di Butrinto, Il Sacello di Asclepio*, was published in 1942.²⁰ The remainder of his archive was placed in storage at the



Figure. 2.3. Kalivo in the centre, photo taken by Luigi Maria Ugolini (BF archive)

Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome and lost for the subsequent 60 years.²¹

The surviving skeletal notes for the introduction to the paper on Kalivo highlight Ugolini's intellectual and analytical interest in the site.²² The terse, descriptive text on the fortifications and Kalivo's geographical position in relation to the surrounding landscape is combined with preparatory notes for a more interpretative discussion on the site. Ugolini highlights the problems of dating the standing structures, sketches in etymological relationships, and clearly viewed the site in relation to Butrint. Particularly interesting are his notes on the ancient sources. The debate he is outlining is based on the difference in expression between Vergil (and with him Ovid), in which Butrint is described as a Troy in miniature founded by Helenus; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (and following him, Stephanus of Byzantium) who suggest that the links between Butrint and Troy are established by a hill near Butrint on which the Trojans encamped and which afterwards took the name Troy.²³ Ugolini had already published an account of the links between Butrint and Aeneas following the Vergilian narrative, but his survey of Kalivo suggested to him that that hill could be the one intended as linked with Troy, as described in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.²⁴ As he makes clear in his notes, he sees no problem in revising his earlier assertion in the light of new evidence, but he finds it impossible

to decide which of the two ancient versions to favour.²⁵ In particular, Ugolini's notes reveal how immersed in the mythology of Aeneas he had become. Beyond the purely academic and historical interest the ancient sources may throw on the two sites, he attempted to find archaeological relationships to prove the veracity of the Trojan legend. Despite dating the perimeter walls to the Archaic Greek period and despite noting that the existing walls were too substantial to have been those of a temporary encampment, he stressed the description of them as Mycenaean in style. Similarly, Ugolini's reference to Strabo may not be casual. Strabo does not discuss the Trojan past of Butrint but states that it has 'foreign settlers consisting of Romans'.²⁶ If one accepts that Ugolini intended to discuss this passage in connection with that in Dionysius of Halicarnassus it suggests a conflation between 'Roman' and 'Aeneid Trojan' entirely in keeping with the ideology of the Fascist regime. Notwithstanding this, the prehistoric history of Kalivo was advocated also by archaeologists in the post-war period.

Ugolini arrived at Butrint in the spring of 1924, making a brief visit during his tour of the country. He sailed across Lake Butrint to Diaporit where he passed the night in a shepherd's hut. The next morning he set out on foot in search of the 'regno di Eleno' and described, with a certain amount of poetic licence, how he found the sites of Kalivo (Fig. 2.3) and Monte Actòs (Fig. 2.4).²⁷



Figure. 2.4. Çuka e Aitoit/Monte Aetòs, photo taken by Luigi Maria Ugolini (BF archive)

‘Ma poi sorse l’aurora di un fortunato giorno. Infatti partito di buon mattino per i consueti giri di sopralluogo, ebbi la fortuna di trovare un’acropoli arcaica, nella collina denominata Calivò presso il lago di Vivari. Questa però non poteva essere l’antica Buthrotum di cui parla Virgilio a motivo nella mancanza di corrispondenza con alcuni particolari topografici troppo chiaramente espressi da Virgilio. Tale gioia mi fu riserbata nel pomeriggio dello stesso giorno, scoprendo i ruderi sorgenti su una collinetta posta non lungi da Calivò e pure presso lo stesso lago di Vivari. Molte ragioni, che non sto qui ad enumerare, provano che le rovine di questa acropoli sono quelle dell’antica Buthrotum. I Veneziani che qui costruirono un castello, corrompero il nome Buthrotum in Butrinto e i pastori chiamano Vuthrotò quella collina.

La mia fede aveva vinto! A mezzogiorno poi del giorno seguente ero in contemplazione di una terza antica città del tutto ignorata, situata su di una erta collina denominata Monte Aetòs; circondata da mura di tipo poligonale. In due giorni avevo scoperto ben tre antiche città sconosciute.²⁸

(Monte Aetòs) took place in 1928 and 1929, respectively; Dario Roversi Monaco undertook both surveys. Roversi Monaco was Ugolini’s principal assistant during the early years of the Mission and had been responsible for the survey of the ruins of Phoinike. Undoubtedly, the experience of the rocky and near vertical hillsides there served him well at the two new sites. The accuracy of both the major surveys that he produced has stood the test of time. That of Çuka e Aitoit/Monte Aetòs corresponds well with the later survey undertaken by the Soviet-Albanian Archaeological Mission, and the elements of the Kalivo wall circuit, which Monaco was able to trace, differ little from the Butrint Foundation’s modern total station survey and satellite survey data (see Chapter 12). Characteristically, Ugolini in his manuscript report mentions little or nothing concerning the arduous task of producing accurate and levelled plans. Roversi Monaco, however, did publish brief accounts, which are valuable in documenting this important and generally unrecorded process.²⁹

‘Il lavoro di rilievo
(20 feb – 30 giugno 1928)

Italian Archaeological Mission Surveys of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit

The survey and excavation of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit

Altro rilievo, pure disegnato nella scala 1:500, fu quello eseguito a Calivò, collina boscosissima orientata da nord a sud, ed avente il fianco volto al lago assai ripido. Da un torrione a quota 24,7 ed a picco sul lago parte

un muro ad irregolarissimi blocchi poligonali appena sbazzati, che, seguendo il ciglio del lato orientale per m 750, sale fino a quota 65; si volge nel fianco meridionale lungo m 330; di nuovo svolta bruscamente formando il lato occidentale, visibile solamente per altri m 320 fino alla quota 26.

Con somma fatica (il bosco è quasi impenetrabile) e con battute generalmente brevissime (276 punti da 26 stazioni), mi è stato possibile seguire tutto il muro e chiudere esattamente la poligonale attorno ad una superficie di ha 50.

III Campagna a Butrinto e Monte Aetòs (1 marzo – 30 luglio 1929)

Iniziato con regolarità il lavoro per sbandare l'alto cumulo (m 7 – 8) di detriti e di massi precipitati nella cavea del Teatro, lasciai gli amici ai loro speciali lavori per installarmi a Ciflik, villaggio formato da poche casupole di rami intrecciati ed intonacati con fango, alle falde di un colle ove una città fu racchiusa da belle mura, costruite a tratti ora in blocchi poligonali ora parallelepipedi.

Dalla bassa pianura della Kestrine, ove le acque indugiano a lungo, sorge isolato Monte Aetòs, che di lontano appare nella regolare forma di un cono, mentre da vicino, per i suoi ripidissimi fianchi tormentati e coperti da scoscesi roccioni calcarei, e per la sua cima ridotta ad una strettissima digradante cresta disseminata di rocce e massi, cambia profondamente aspetto; tanto da rivelarsi come un immenso cumulo di sassi, povero di erbe, spoglio di alberi. Tale sua natura rende particolarmente pesante il lavoro al rilevatore.

Da quota 269 e proprio a picco sulle pendici settentrionali, corre il muro greco che in m 320 scende a quota 195; ha un breve lato di m 60, e poi un lungo tratto ben conservato, che corre per m 500 sulle pendici meridionali a più dolce declivio, mantenendosi fra quota 180 e 200. Di qua impostandosi sopra un alto sprone roccioso, volta nuovamente per terminare dopo altri m 180 a quota 205, per l'appunto sotto il suo inizio e contro lo stesso alto ed impervio scosciamento. A quota 230 del lato settentrionale si stacca un muro che mantenendosi a quella quota circonda tutta la parte alta del colle, alla quale non mi è possibile dare il nome di pianoro per la sua natura eccessivamente tormentata.

Entro le mura innumeri murelli trovano calda sede su rocce opportunamente preparate, al certo muri di case, o di casette formate da fianchi del colle per avere punti-quota. La loro esatta chiusura angolare, planimetrica ed altimetrica mi confermò che anche questo faticosissimo lavoro era stato ben condotto e ben riportato. Per avere quote sufficienti a ricavare le curve di livello ho battuto lungo le pendici 550 punti da 20 stazioni, interessando ha 90; per il rilievo del muro e delle interne vestigia che occupano solo ha 9, ho dovuto battere invece ben 418 punti da altre 20 stazioni. Da tanto elevato numero si

può avere un'idea delle difficoltà che il terreno opponeva al lavoro di rilievo, impedito da continui salti o roccie o roccioni o dislivelli.

Risultato di tale lavoro è la pianta archeologica di questo monte nella scala 1:500. recante la rappresentazione grafica delle zone rocciose e le curve di livello con equidistanza di 5 metri.'

At Phoinike, the team had consisted only of Ugolini and Roversi Monaco working with a crew of workmen, but at Butrint they were joined by assistants and specialists, which permitted other projects to be undertaken concurrent with that at Butrint. While we know that Roversi Monaco surveyed both sites, it is uncertain who oversaw the actual excavations at Kalivo. Most probably Ugolini himself would have taken charge here, given his interest in prehistory. At Çuka e Aitoit (Monte Aetòs), the work was supervised by Alfredo Nuccitelli, one of Ugolini's young assistants; he also kept the *Giornale di Scavo* on which the final report was based (see Chapter 10).

The Albanian–Soviet Archaeological Mission

Following the Second World War, Albanian–Soviet cooperation led in 1958 to the establishment of a series



Figure. 2.5. The Albanian Archaeological Mission at Çuka e Aitoit. From left to right: (rear row) Skender Anamali, Aleksandra Mano, Dhimosten Budina; (front row) Neritan Ceka, Selim Islami, Fatmir Arapi c. 1959 (BF Archive)

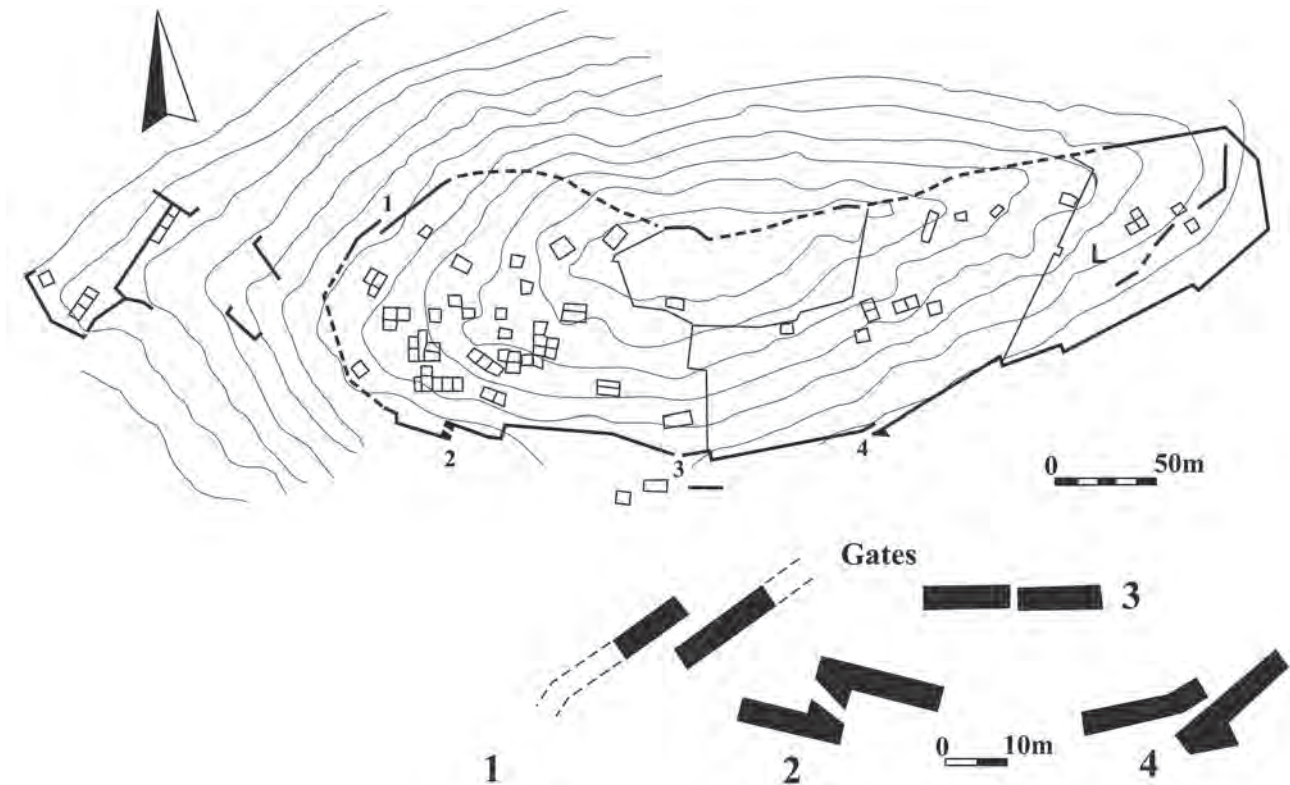


Figure 2.6. Çuka e Aitoit: Survey by the Albanian-Soviet Archaeological Mission (BF archive)

of joint archaeological projects in Albania. At Apollonia, a major programme was jointly directed by Vladimir Dmitriyevich Blavatsky and Hasan Ceka; with the participation of around 200 specialists, students and workmen. A second Russian–Albanian team explored the Classical site of Oricum; directed by Tatiana V. Blavatskaya (Vladimir Blavatsky’s wife) and Dhimosten Budina. The most ambitious element in this programme was the creation of an archaeological map of Albania, for which wide-ranging landscape surveys recording the monuments and sites that existed in profusion were undertaken. These archaeological projects further functioned as a training school for Albanian archaeologists; almost all the students enrolled to study archaeology at the University of Tirana participated in the projects. The southern Albania survey was directed by Selim Islami and V. D. Blavatsky. Three projects were developed. They began their surveys at Çuka e Aitoit and Kalivo, where Islami was director, at Ripes, which was directed by Dhimosten Budina and T. V. Blavatskaya, and at the Hellenistic site of Malathrea. Following the political split with the Soviet Union in 1961, Budina continued the survey project as the principal director, and extended it into the Drinos Valley and along the coast as far north as Himara (Fig. 2.5). As part of the Albanian–Soviet examination of Kalivo, a new topographic survey of the hill and its walls was undertaken.

The work at Çuka e Aitoit was never published in full and the archive remains in various hands in Tirana and

Moscow. In effect, it seems as if the aims of the project were very similar to those of Ugolini and his colleagues. However, this new project was more intensive and wide-ranging in its scope than that of the 1920s, and involved a new survey of the defences, excavations in the cemetery and, in particular, a focus on the examination of the domestic dwellings. The results represent a significant contribution to the history of this region of Epirus.

Despite the lack of published material it is possible to gain an impression of the work undertaken at both sites from the few published sources and some archival material.³⁰ At Çuka e Aitoit, for instance, the walls were little changed from Ugolini’s time when the gateways had first been identified and cleared. The four surviving gateways were identified as being spaced along the western and southern sides of the wall (Fig. 2.6).³¹ Three of these were simple tangential entrances – two on the west (see Figs 5.1, 5.2 and 11.16) and one on the south (see Figs 5.6 and 11.15), an arrangement probably dictated by the need to climb the hill along a winding path much as the modern visitor must attempt – while the fourth was a simple axial gateway in the southern wall (see Figs 5.5 and 11.17). None of these appear to have had towers, evidence for which is lacking along the whole wall circuit. The walls were dated to one phase in the middle of the 4th century BC. Neritan Ceka was later to argue that the cluster of buildings on the lower western slopes of the mountain was enclosed in their enceinte in the 3rd century BC as an extension of the main

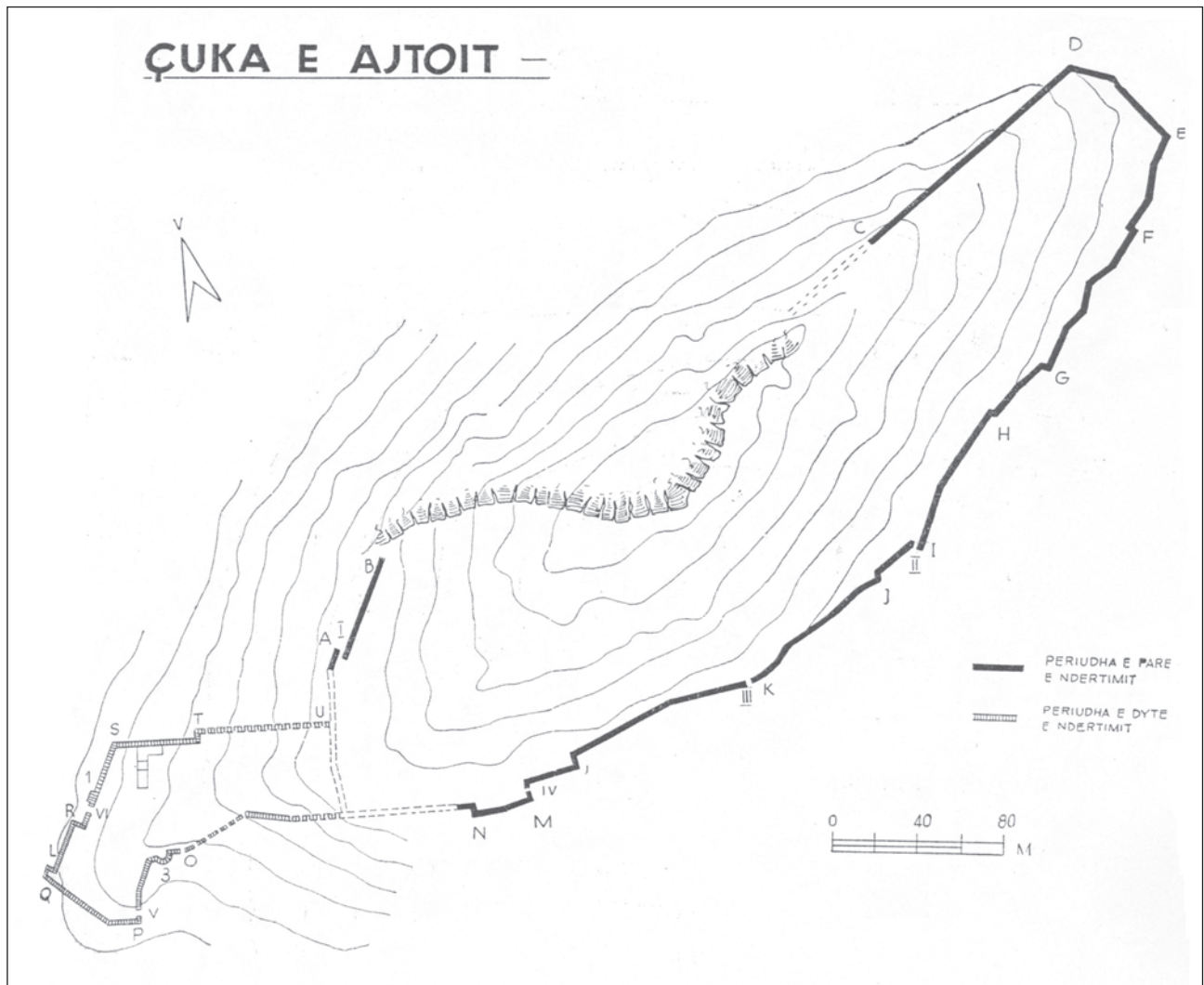


Figure. 2.7. The fortifications at Çuka e Aitoit, with the extension on the western slope proposed by N. Ceka in 1976 (After Ceka 1976/BF archive)

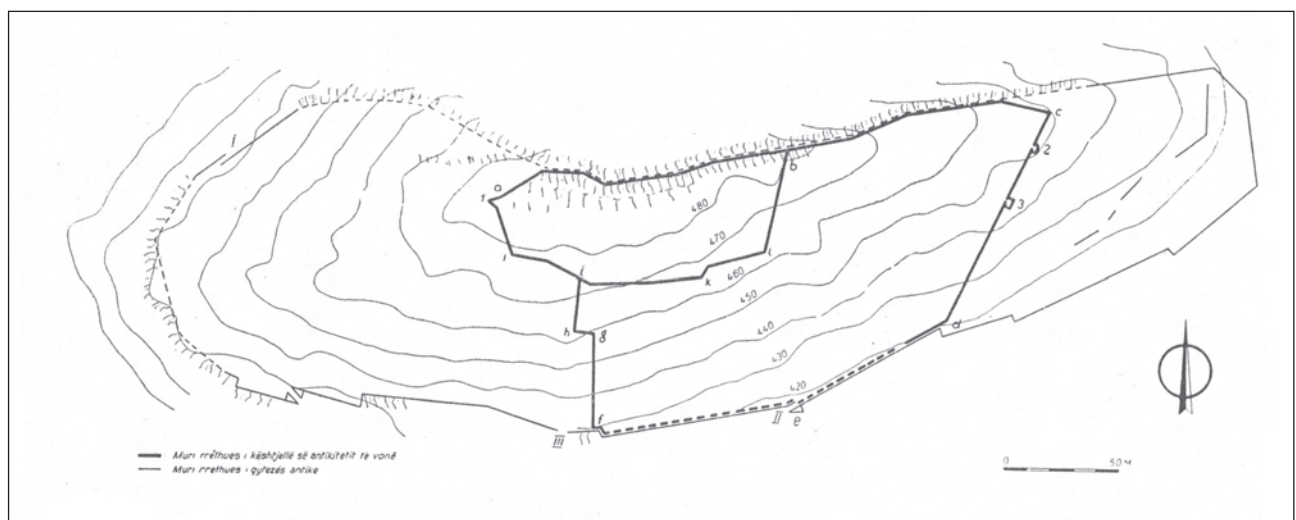


Figure. 2.8. The fortifications (grey) at Çuka e Aitoit, showing the citadel and bailey (black) on the acropolis (After Lako 1982/BF archive)

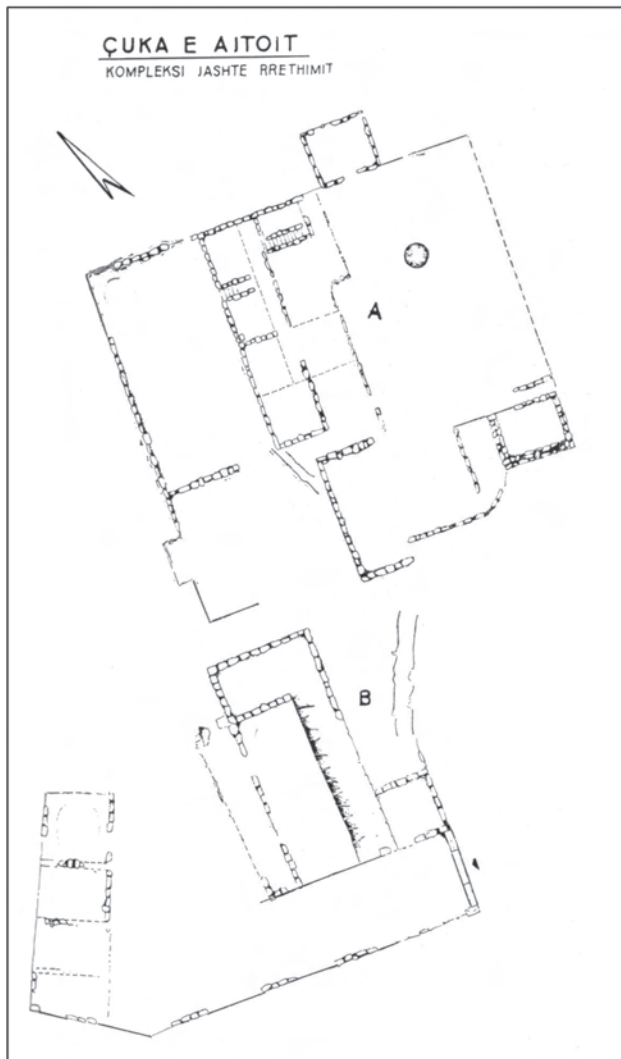


Figure. 2.9. Plan of 'Buildings A and B' of the so-called 'Palace' on Çuka e Aitoit (After Baçe and Bushati 1989/BF archive)

town walls (Fig. 2.7).³² This is a debatable point; many of the walls are clearly those of substantial building terraces, while these do relate to substantial stone walls on their outer edges, the flanking walls do not in themselves seem substantial enough to have acted as a set of town walls. They may hence simply be evidence of further levelling and terracing. The 'Medieval' mortared circuit walls, built using some *spolia* from the earlier Hellenistic walls, that were noted by Ugolini were further examined in the 1980s.³³ This survey made by Kosta Lako confirmed the general course of the walls as well as the tracing made fifty years earlier by Ugolini. However, it became clear that the very top of the mountain had been completely enclosed by a wall forming part of this refortification, creating in effect a citadel and bailey (Fig. 2.8). The entrance to the outer area lay on the southern side of the mountain and reused, Lako proposed, the old eastern Hellenistic entrance, which was narrowed with mortared masonry for the purpose.

Two small towers/bastions, originally surveyed by the Italian Archaeological Mission, were interpreted as having been placed on the eastern wall to reinforce the relatively gentle approach from this side.

A series of more than 34 distinct buildings were identified within and without the circuit walls at Çuka e Aitoit, several of which had been previously examined by Ugolini. Most of the structures were clustered at the western end of the hill with a few along its eastward extent. More structures were documented outside the defences. In an article published in 1989, Apollon Baçe and V. Bushati analysed the house forms.³⁴ The houses were generally of the *oikos* type found elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, but Baçe and Bushati suggested that they represented a form differing from the norm. Three main types were identified. Firstly, elaborate, partly rock-cut houses of two storeys consisting of a central room with a fireplace surrounded by other spaces, which, it was suggested, defined social function. Three of these were identified on the southern slopes of the hill; one in particular produced evidence for storage and domestic milling in the form of *pithoi* and fragments of millstones. Secondly, a series of simpler dwellings with associated byres/storerooms; these were identified at the western end of the walled area. Thirdly, a complex of structures with storage facilities was identified on the western part of the hill outside the main wall circuit. This was described as constructed on a relatively level area and possibly enclosed by the putative second phase of walls (Fig. 2.9). This considerable complex is that which Ugolini called 'the palace' after the local accounts and described as consisting of an extensive series of building terraces and possible perimeter walls.

Baçe and Bushati identified three distinct structures: a room in the northwestern corner, which may have been used for storage; adjacent to this, the so-called 'Building B' consisting of a series of rooms on two levels that included a byre/storeroom (Fig. 2.10); and, to the east within a separate dividing wall, two other buildings situated on separate terraces (Building A), both apparently with porticoes. The intermediate terrace wall was finely built with an elaborate corbelled gateway permitting access to the interconnecting staircase. The eastward facing portico of the upper structure looked out onto a flat area with a stone lined cistern in its centre. Excavations within Building A revealed three horizons, the earliest belonged to the 4th to 3rd centuries BC; a level of the 1st to 2nd centuries AD; and finally, a horizon of the 3rd to 4th centuries AD. It was suggested that this whole complex comprised a *prytaneum*, a town hall that also served visitors outside the principal enceinte.

Among the many ancient parallels found for these buildings, the article also discussed the similarities between the buildings at Çuka e Aitoit and Medieval and Post-Medieval dwellings in Albania. This highlights the influence of the Nationalist paradigm of Illyrian-Albanian continuity in archaeological work. The argument was further developed by stressing the perceived 'egalitarian' nature of the structures on Çuka e Aitoit in keeping with

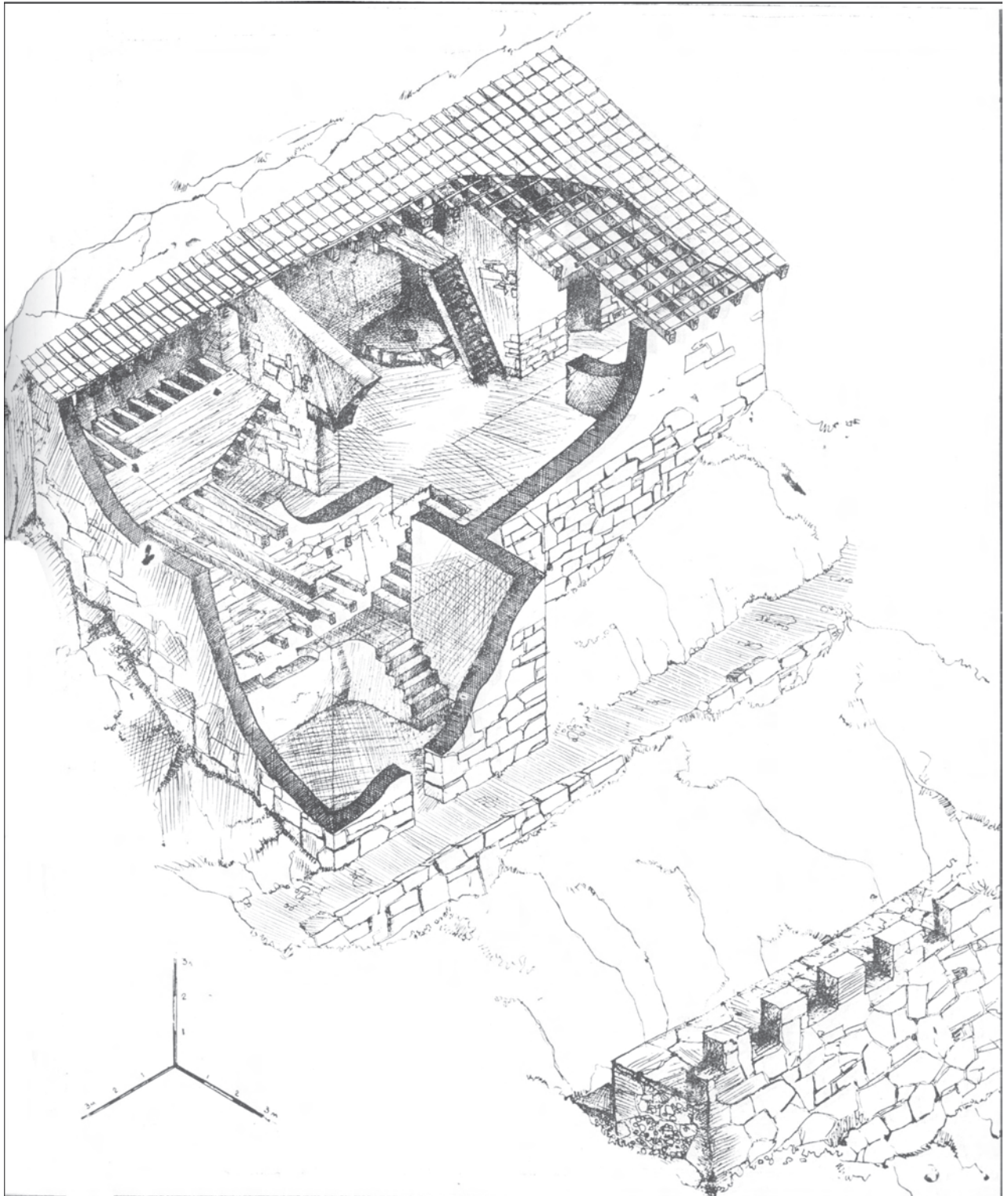


Figure. 2.10. Reconstruction drawing of 'Building B' on Çuka e Aitoit (After Baçe and Bushati 1989/BF archive)

the philosophy of Communist ‘self-reliance’ promoted by the Albanian state and its archaeologists at this period.

Notes

- 1 Though, see also Bejko (1998) for an overview of the methodological context of post-war Albanian archaeology.
- 2 Leake 1835, 98.
- 3 Pouqueville 1820, 47–48.
- 4 Newman 1930; Swire 1937. See also Zuber 1942, for an Italian view of these same problems.
- 5 Hammond 1967, 94–95.
- 6 A full account of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Albania and the work of Luigi Maria Ugolini can be found in Gilkes 2003a; 2003c and Miraj 2003.
- 7 See note 10 below, as well as Gilkes 2003c, 3–4; Gilkes and Miraj 2000.
- 8 For the results of Antonio Baldacci and Paolo Orsi, see Baldacci 1917; Orsi 1883.
- 9 Archivio Storico Ministero degli Esteri (ASME) Affari Politici (AP) 1924 Pacco 723/1.
- 10 Ugolini 1927.
- 11 Arkivi Quendror i Shtetit (AQS) F.263, V.1925, D175.
- 12 The Italian Archaeological Mission at Butrint was continued after Ugolini’s death in 1936 under the directorship of Pirro Marconi and, after Marconi’s death in 1938, by Domenico Mustilli until 1943.
- 13 Arkivi Quendror i Shtetit (AQS) F.263, V.1927, D.205.
- 14 The cultural interaction across the opposing shores of the southern Adriatic has been more fully acknowledged in modern research; see, for example, Lomas 1993.
- 15 *The Italian Mail* 3 March 1928.
- 16 The unpublished manuscript is currently stored at the Museo della Civiltà Romana (MCR); Archivio Storico, UG30.
- 17 Vergil *Aeneid* 3.294–505. See also Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.51.1; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.719–721.
- 18 See also Thomas 2001, chapter 7.
- 19 Archivio Storico Ministero degli Esteri (ASME) AP 1932 19/19.
- 20 Ugolini 1942.
- 21 For a history of the Ugolini manuscripts at the Museo della Civiltà Romana, see Liberati 2003.
- 22 See Chapter 3.
- 23 Vergil *Aeneid* 3.349–351; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.721; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.51.1; Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Τροία.
- 24 Cf. Ugolini 1930; his book *Butrinto: Il mito d’Enea* was published posthumously in 1937. It was clearly a subject of key interest for him, and the archives at the Museo della Civiltà Romana includes the typescript of an article entitled ‘I Trojani in Epiro’ (Ug. 73).
- 25 A fuller discussion can be found in Ugolini 1937, 68–80, highlighting the importance of further archaeological results in respect to these issues.
- 26 Strabo 7.7.5 (Loeb 1924, translation by H.L. Jones).
- 27 Ugolini 1937, 17.
- 28 Museo della Civiltà Romana (MCR); Archivio Storico UG26. Ugolini published a slightly different account of the discovery in his 1937 book, *Butrinto: Il mito d’Enea*, 18 and footnote 1: ‘Nella primavera del 1924 compii il primo viaggio di esplorazione archeologica in Albania. Partito dalle regioni settentrionali (provincia di Scutari), attraversando l’Albania centrale, e mantenendomi piuttosto verso la costa, giunsi all’estrema parte meridionale dell’Albania, nella regione di Santi Quaranta. Era questa la zona che prometteva d’essere la più fruttuosa di rinvenimenti, sia a motivo della forte colonizzazione quivi estesa dai Corinzi fin dall’VIII secolo a. Cristo, sia perchè essa era stata grandemente beneficata dal lungo dominio di Roma.
Dopo alcune vane ricerche della precisa sede ove la letteratura antica poneva il regno caonio di Eleno e Andromaca, sorse per me l’aurora di un fortunato giorno passata una notte poco ristoratrice, a Diapori (presso il lago di Butrinto) in una piccola capanna di cordiali, ma miseri pastori, di buon mattino mi avviai verso un colle che per la conformazione e per speciali indizi mi faceva bene sperare. Nella prime luci mattutine (“iamque rubescebat stellis aurora fugatis” come Virgilio avrebbe detto) un bianco stormo di cicogne, disposte a ipsilon, si dirigeva anch’esso verso la collina. Il desiderio mi fece trarre buoni auspici. Salii sulla collina, denominata Calivò, e vi ritrovai una cinta di mura, in parte poligonali e in parte di tipo “pelasgico”.
Non poteva essere questa l’antica Buthrotum, mancando alcuni dei particolari topografici sì chiaramente espressi da Virgilio e ancor più dagli antichi geografi. Sicchè rimasi deluso, per quanto fossi lieto di aver trovato i resti di una antica città fortificata, fino allora totalmente sconosciuta. Dalla cima di Calivò vidi un piccolo promontorio, situato dall’altra parte del lago. Verso di esso rivolsi i miei passi, e, attraversato il canale emissario del lago con un monoxilo (specie di poco stabile piroga di tipo primitivo, ottenuta scavando un tronco d’albero) raggiunsi il colle e pervenni nello stesso tempo alla mèta dei miei desideri.
Quando giunse il mezzogiorno, ero immerso nella folta e spinosa boscaglia, in mezzo alla quale apparivano cenerognoli, piccoli e appena affioranti alcuni resti di belle mura greche: notevoli fortificazioni medioevali accrescevano il campo delle ricerche. Non vi potei restare quanto avrei voluto perchè ero solo, e il luogo troppo selvaggio e frequentato da pericolosi animali; il sole poi stava per volgere verso il tramonto ed io dovevo recarmi a pernottare nel villaggio di Zara, distante circa un’ora di cammino. [Footnote 1] Nella mattinata del giorno seguente ero in contemplazione di un’altra acropoli: Monte Aetòs. Avevo ritrovato quindi tre antiche città in soli due giorni.’
- 29 Monaco 1934.
- 30 Budina 1971a; Baçe and Bushati 1989.
- 31 See Plate 6.1, for an updated and annotated plan of the site.
- 32 Ceka 1976.
- 33 Lako 1982.
- 34 Baçe and Bushati 1989.

3 L'acropoli di Calivò (with an appendix of preliminary notes)

Luigi Maria Ugolini (transcribed and edited by Oliver J. Gilkes)

Posizione

Sulla costa meridionale del lago di Vivari, o di Butrinto che dir si voglia, trovasi la collina ora denominata Calivò. Essa dalla parte del lago – quindi a settentrione – si erge a pareti molto scoscese; che sono anche abbastanza ripide verso levante e verso mezzogiorno; invece a più lento declivio scendono verso la pianura di Zara le pendici occidentali. Il colle nella sua conformazione generale è piuttosto oblungo. La vetta è rotondeggiante e a diversi livelli. La punta più alta raggiunge [...] metri d'altezza.¹ Il colle può dirsi isolato, poiché prima di raggiungere il vicino monte Milè – alto circa 800 metri – vi sono alcuni cocuzzoli alti qualche decina di metri e, prima di essi, un pantano ed il laghetto di Riza.

A settentrione termina nel lago la pianura denominata Vurco – ove ci sono i villaggi di Ciuca e Vrioni – si diparte da Feniki; in fondo, chiude la vista l'alta catena del Macricampo che si profila come un ampio scenario. A levante vi sono le colline che da Carali giungono a Diapori. Quest'ultimo è un piccolo villaggio di pastori valacchi, al quale si approda per andare a Calivò, distante poche centinaia di metri. A levante c'è anche il monte Milè e ai suoi piedi il laghetto di Riza. Verso mezzogiorno si distendono i monti di confine con la Grecia e la pianura di Zara che occupa parte della vista rivolta a occidente. Da questo lato però il panorama è occupato dal canale di Corfù, da quest'isola, e da Butrinto. I luoghi importanti dal punto di vista archeologico sono già stati descritti altrove, ed alcuni avranno in seguito una trattazione più particolareggiata.² Mi limito quindi a nominarli: Butrinto, il muro di Dema, e via dicendo.

Panorama

Calivò, trovandosi a poco più di 2 chilometri di distanza

da Butrinto, partecipa alla bellezza del panorama che si gode da questa seconda acropoli. Ma Calivò si trova in posizione privilegiata rispetto a Butrinto: è più elevato e in località più aperta. Di conseguenza, il panorama offerto da Calivò è, sotto molti punti di vista, assai migliore di quello di Butrinto stesso. A settentrione vi è il lago di Vivari,³ piuttosto piccolo (circa 6 chilometri di lunghezza da settentrione a mezzogiorno, e circa 4 di larghezza), ma assai pittoresco. Sembra un piccolo lago alpino, poiché le colline circostanti sono alquanto erte e vi scendono a ripido pendio. Il lato occidentale del lago è formato dalla penisola di Esamili. Un promontorio di Calivò si avvanza nel lago e termina a picco su di esso con un gruppo di rocce scaglionate a vari ripiani. È sul più alto di questi ammassi rocciosi che è piantato il torrione terminale della cinta di mura, che poi continua seguendo dapprima la cresta del promontorio, poi il piano meridionale del monte.

Questa cinta di mura non è perfettamente compiuta: essa circonda la montagna per tutto il suo lato orientale e meridionale ed è riconoscibile per un lungo tratto di quello occidentale (il lato appunto che guarda Butrinto); per il resto del lato occidentale e per quello settentrionale non è stato possibile rintracciarne alcun resto; anche il torrione sul promontorio settentrionale non mostra di essere in relazione con un muro di cinta a settentrione (Fig. 3.1). Del resto, prima di pensare che la fortificazione non sia stata compiuta, si noti che a occidente il monte scende – sia pure dolcemente – nel mare; a settentrione le pendici sono come fasciate da zone tagliate a picco sul mare, rocce che costituiscono esse stesse una specie di muraglia di difficile accesso; il monte doveva comunicare con la terraferma solo per un tratto a oriente e a mezzogiorno, proprio dai lati dove si aprono le porte. Il muro di cinta non solo dunque proteggeva l'accesso da terra, ma anche quelle pendici che pure sboccando sul mare, o su terreno da immaginare anche



Figure 3.1. Plan of the fortifications at Kalivo by the Italian Archaeological Mission, 1928 (Roversi Monaco, MCR)

allora paludoso, potevano essere accessibili dalla lingua di terra che unisce Calivò alla pianura. Una fortificazione era indispensabile in questi tratti ove la roccia di per se stessa non poteva costituire uno sbarramento; era meno necessaria dalla parte del mare, da cui evidentemente non si temeva nessun nemico. I blocchi delle mura sono ricavati dalla roccia del colle su cui sorgono.

Il lato orientale

Dal torrione di N-O alla prima porta (I)

Il primo tratto di mura corre sulla diramazione settentrionale del monte: all'estremità, sopra un ammasso di punte rocciose, è piantato il torrione (Fig. 3.2). Esso è di pianta trapezoidale: ha una testata larga alla base m. 6,30, rivolta a N (più precisamente a N-N-O) e i suoi fianchi si dirigono rispettivamente verso S-S-E (150°) (quello orientale) e verso S-S-E (165°) (quello occidentale). Tuttavia, mentre quest'ultimo fianco si può seguire solo per m. 8,50, quello orientale fa parte della cortina esterna della vera cinta di muro, che conserva – per questo primo tratto – la direzione

N-N-O-S-S-E (330°–150°). La roccia su cui s'è posato il torrione ha ricevuto una preparazione, in quanto è stata spianata per dare il piano di posa alla costruzione, e si osserva subito un particolare che ritornerà poi spesso nella cinta: il primo filare è di blocchi piuttosto irregolari che sporgono sempre di parecchi millimetri, fino a 300, dal muro che su essi posa; è chiaro l'intento per cui furono collocati: quello di costituire una superficie piana, che si potrebbe chiamare *euthynteria*. Perciò solo la faccia superiore di questi blocchi, di varia altezza, è stata lisciata per posarvi il blocco soprastante, le facce anteriori sono di taglio assai irregolare. Questa fila di blocchi aggettanti è servito soprattutto a ristabilire un piano orizzontale dove la roccia mancava e, fa come da passaggio tra la roccia e il muro; notevole specialmente all'angolo N-O del torrione il blocco d'appoggio, alto m. 55, largo m. 0,70 × 0,75.

Il torrione, o baluardo, sorge perciò su un piano ottenuto sia preparando la roccia a superfici orizzontali, sia costruendo questa specie di costruzione artificiale. I muri sono a leggera scarpata su tutti e tre i lati: è una rastremazione uniforme verso l'alto.

L' altezza massima è raggiunta presso lo spigolo di



Figure 3.2. Luigi Morricone at the northern wall terminus at Kalivo (wall section I), c. 1928 (IA)

N-O (alto m. 2,35) nei due tratti adiacenti di ambedue le facce, ed è di m. 2,85 (a partire sempre dalla superficie dei blocchi di base). Sempre riguardo l'angolo di N-O, si noti ancora che immediatamente sopra al blocco di base vi è un altro blocco (alto m. 0,68) che pur esso sporge disotto al muro vero e proprio di mm. 80–100; così che l'angolo ha un aspetto digradante: il muro si innalza su due successivi gradini. Il muro del baluardo è costruito con una certa regolarità, che non ritroveremo altrove facilmente in tutta questa cinta. La presenza di due angoli esigeva già piani di posa orizzontali per i blocchi, ne consegue che il tratto volto ad occidente ha conservato l'orizzontalità dei suoi corsi, così che l'opera muraria è quasi parallelepipeda: i tagli laterali dei massi sono verticali od obliqui, così che i massi stessi appaiono talora parallelepipedi, oppure trapezoidali. Le altezze dei vari massi sono da m. 0,50 a 1,0; un blocco raggiunge la lunghezza eccezionale di m. 1,30. Nel tratto settentrionale invece, i filari sono orizzontali solo nell'adiacenza all'angolo di N-O (l'unico rimasto); per il resto, la regolarità dei piani orizzontali si interrompe per dar luogo all'opera poligonale. Si potrebbe forse con più proprietà chiamare *pelasgica* o *ciclopica*, perché questi termini ci richiamano alle mura di Micene o di Tirinto con cui quelle di Calivò hanno le maggiori analogie, almeno per l'aspetto. Difatti il termine poligonale farebbe supporre che i massi avessero una precisa forma geometrica, mentre qui i tagli sono sempre irregolari e grossolani: raramente si hanno connessioni accurate di tagli obliqui e questo dipende, come si è detto, anche dalla struttura porosa del calcare adoperato. I blocchi più grandi in questa faccia settentrionale hanno m. $0,78 \times 1,00$; m. $0,70 \times 0,95$; m. $0,68 \times 1,05$ di dimensioni; i più piccoli si aggirano sui m. $0,50 \times 0,50$. L'aspetto è quindi grandioso, sia per le dimensioni notevoli dei massi, sia per l'altezza del tratto conservato (m. $1,80 \times 2,85$).

Finalmente il lato orientale, alto allo spigolo solo m. 0,80, va salendo di altezza a mano a mano che il muro sale la pendice del colle, fino a raggiungere m. 2,45; poi continua a salire, ma conservato per un'altezza minore. La costruzione offre un tipico esempio di mescolanza di caratteristiche: i blocchi hanno in gran parte un piano di posa orizzontale, ma questi piani non sono continui, invece formano una curiosa linea d'andamento sinuoso; i tagli laterali tutt'altro che regolari, conferiscono un aspetto quasi di poligonale. Il muro è costruito a scarpata: tra i blocchi v'è un predominio di quelli di forma allungata (m. $0,50 \times 0,95$; $0,60 \times 1,00$), altri invece hanno le dimensioni d'altezza e lunghezza quasi uguali (m. $0,55 \times 0,55$; $0,60 \times 0,50$), e sono appunto quelli il cui taglio è meno regolare. Il muro sale ancora l'erta collina, ma diminuisce a mano a mano di altezza, finché non se ne trova più traccia a ridosso di una serie di picchi rocciosi. Si riconosce però per un buon tratto la sua costituzione interna di blocchi irregolari e scaglie, forse di lavorazione, e uno spessore di m. 4,80. Al di sopra delle rocce si può forse discernere solo qualche piano di lavorazione per la posa dei blocchi.

Appena cessato il gruppo roccioso, e addossato alla

parete meridionale di esso, ricomincia la parte visibile della cinta. Il muro prosegue nella direzione N-N-O-S-S-E (340° – 160°), ma in qualche tratto ne è visibile solo piccola parte; le caratteristiche sono le stesse che nel tratto precedente: si scorge sempre quella specie di piano di posa (*euthynteria*) costituito da sporgenze di rocce o da blocchi lisciati solo nella faccia superiore. Il muro, rispetto all'orlo di queste pietre, è circa m. 0,20 più indietro; il filo del muro non è verticale, ma molto leggermente a scarpata. A m. [...] dal masso roccioso, si nota un grosso blocco di taglio pressappoco trapezoidale e dalle dimensioni di m. $1,10$ di altezza $\times$ $1,70$ di base; la sua faccia anteriore è anch'essa lisciata, o meglio spianata; le combaciature coi blocchi adiacenti non sono perfette, ma anche qui hanno quell'irregolarità propria dei muri di tipo *pelasgico*. Le maggiori altezze a cui si arriva sono di m. 1,90 a m. [...] dal roccione, m. 2,50 a m. [...] più a S-E.

Qualche metro dopo, il muro si riduce a zero: per circa 3,50 m. è crollato ogni blocco del muro; poi lo si segue soltanto nel suo filare di base, ma è sicuro (come ha provato un saggio di scavo eseguito sul posto), che l'interruzione è dovuta solamente a rovina dei blocchi, non all'esistenza di una porta.

Specialmente nel tratto più accosto alle rocce è possibile riconoscere anche qui la larghezza del muro, di circa m. 3,40; dalla parte occidentale la terra è a ridosso fino in cima al muro, così che si vede affiorare a mala pena l'orlo del filare più alto conservato. Non è possibile accertare se per tutta la sua corsa il muro avesse due cortine – come è il caso del torrione terminale – oppure, se la parte lavorata a vista fosse solo quella esterna, rivolta cioè ad oriente. Come nel tratto precedente, anche qui vi è un riempimento di blocchetti di pietra ben stipati insieme a piccole scaglie, che sono da ritenere i probabili avanzi della lavorazione dei blocchi. Fino alla prima porta il muro corre quasi in piano, con poca altezza per i primi metri, raggiunge vicino alla porta m. 2,50 rimanendo per un buon tratto a quest'altezza quasi costante. La costruzione è irregolare: sopra il basamento, il primo filare è di blocchi bassi (fino a m. 0,50) con piani superiori di posa orizzontali, poi si innalzano i blocchi di taglio irregolare, di modiche dimensioni, e solo più in alto sono i blocchi di dimensioni maggiori (m. $0,90 \times 1,00$; m. $1,00 \times 1,00$; m. $0,65 \times 1,00$).

La prima porta (P1) (Fig. 3.3)

La prima porta si apre normale al filo del muro, cioè rivolta ad oriente (E-O; 80° – 260°): l'ampiezza è di m. 2 all'esterno e di m. 2,20 all'interno; l'angolo di N-E è quasi del tutto perduto; il muro settentrionale raggiunge un'altezza di m. 1,35 al massimo sul piano roccioso che è lievemente in discesa verso l'esterno; lo spessore del muro che viene da N, che è poi la profondità del lato settentrionale della porta, è di quasi esattamente m. 4. La costruzione è in opera poligonale. Il lato meridionale della porta invece è conservato un po' meglio. All'angolo di S-E raggiunge l'altezza di m. 1,40 dal piano ed è notevole specialmente un grosso blocco quasi rettangolare di m. 0,82 di altezza



Figure 3.3. The small eastern gate (P1) at Kalivo, c. 1928 (IA)

e m.1,50 di lunghezza. La profondità della porta dal lato meridionale resta per un tratto di poco superiore ai 3 metri.

Dalla prima alla seconda porta (II)

Di là dalla prima porta la cinta comincia a salire dolcemente il pendio del monte, seguendo la direzione N-N-O—S-S-E (340°–160°). In verità, il primo tratto è quasi del tutto scomparso e si ritrova con difficoltà il proseguimento del muro: in basso, lungo le pendici rocciose, sono rotolati numerosi massi tagliati come il solito irregolarmente, tutti di mediocri dimensioni, fra essi sono assai rari quelli che presentano un piano di posa orizzontale. Dove del muro esiste ancora traccia, sono superstiti solo pochi blocchi, al massimo un paio di filari, con interruzioni di tratto in tratto. Le altezze massime raggiunte sono di m. 1,20.

A un certo punto il muro cambia direzione: da N-N-O—S-S-E (340°–160°) piega a N-S preciso, proseguendo sempre la salita del dorso montano, e restando sempre più in basso della cresta di questo sperone. L'angolo, molto ottuso, che il muro forma nel punto ove piega verso S, non è segnato da nessuna lavorazione particolare, anche perché qui mancano del tutto i filari, e resta solo il blocco di allineamento. Il muro in salita si segue sempre, benché anch'esso ogni tanto si interrompa. Le altezze superstiti

raggiungono i m. 1,40 (subito dopo l'angolo, qui si noti un blocco quadrangolare di m. 1,50 di lunghezza × m. 1,0 d'altezza), m. 1,70, e 1,35, ma sempre in condizioni pessime di conservazione, e sempre nel solito tipo di costruzione poligonale. Tratti meglio conservati si incontrano prima, dove si sono seguiti piani di posa quasi perfettamente orizzontali (m. 1,60 d'altezza), pur rimanendo i blocchi quadrangolari di taglio piuttosto irregolare; poi dove sono stati usati massi poligonali sì, ma di dimensioni più grandi (fino a m. 0,95 × 0,95; 0,98 × 0,65; 1,10 × 0,50), l'altezza qui raggiunge i m. 2,10 (un grosso blocco – rovesciato a terra e di taglio parallelepipedo – è di m. 1,05 × 1,05 circa e la sua profondità arriva fino a m. 0,90).

A mano a mano che si sale si trovano tratti più imponenti: fino a m. 1,70; m. 2,0; m. 2,70 (è in questo punto che si trova sull'alto del muro un grosso blocco di m. 2,0 × 1,10 di taglio irregolare ma assai imperfetto). Di qui si procede per un certo tratto quasi in piano e si noti che, se anche il muro non segue la cresta del roccione, rimane solo di pochi metri più in basso. L'impressione che si ha è che si sia cercato di costruire una cinta di andamento il più possibile rettilineo: la direzione infatti è solo di pochi gradi deviata dalla direzione N-S (è N–N–N–O–S–S–S–E; 350°–170°). L'altezza conservata supera sempre 1,50 m., arriva fino a m. 2,80 in un punto dove la costruzione,



Figure 3.4. Kalivo, detail of wall section II (exterior) composed of irregular blocks, c. 1928 (IA)

mantenendosi perfettamente a posto, è in un'opera assai irregolare. (Fig. 3.4).

È interessante dal punto di vista tecnico osservare la mescolanza di blocchi di ogni forma e d'ogni dimensione: oltre al blocco che doveva essere di taglio pressappoco esagonale, anche se ora sembra quasi circolare (con una caratteristica cavità nel mezzo), che misura m. 1,30 di altezza $\times$ m. 1,60 di lunghezza massima, v'è il blocco allungato (di m. 0,50 $\times$ 1,28) e quello pure di grandi dimensioni, quasi rettangolare di m. 0,87 di altezza $\times$ 1,25 di base. Pochi metri più a S (passato un franamento del muro), un grosso blocco pentagonale irregolare serve di basamento: è lungo m. 1,80 e l'altezza massima è di m. 1,20. Da questo il muro – in opera di blocchi piuttosto piccoli poligonali – come quasi perfettamente in piano o salendo solo impercettibilmente: si incontra ancora un altro tratto in cui i blocchi si sono rovesciati sul pendio; poi il muro riprende con altezze minori (non oltrepassa i 2 m.). È così che si giunge sul punto più alto della salita: si noti che proprio qui sono frequenti e predominano i filari di posa orizzontali, anche se i tagli laterali dei massi continuano ad essere irregolari.

È su questo tratto più alto dello spessore che il muro cambia di direzione: piega di circa 100° a S divenendo quindi perfettamente N-S (finora era N-N-N- S-S-S-E; 350°–170°). Nemmeno qui è possibile vedere come fosse

lavorato l'angolo, perché proprio in questo tratto mancano tutti i blocchi. Si scorgono, nel tratto pianeggiante, solo il filare di posa e scarsi blocchi del primo e del secondo filare. Solo dove il terreno comincia di nuovo a scendere, verso S, ricomincia un tratto di altezza considerevole. Lo si segue per soli 4 m.: esso posa in parte sulla roccia, in parte su un basamento alto fino a m. 0,50 e sporgente in avanti m. 0,30, che ha costituito un piano orizzontale. L'altezza su questo basamento è di m. 2,95: i blocchi sono tagliati molto irregolarmente, si è cercato di dare forma di parallelepipedi allungati, ma i piani e le connessioni laterali sono assai imperfetti; le dimensioni dei massi aumentano coll'innalzarsi del muro ed i due massi più alti conservati sono rispettivamente di m. 1,10 $\times$ 1,70 (è profondo m. 1,30) e m. 0,90 $\times$ 1,20 (sotto a questi, ve n'è uno quasi rettangolare di m. 0,70 $\times$ 1,50 circa).

È da notarsi che il basamento sotto il muro che, bene o male, si discerne ovunque, ha un comportamento curioso qui dove il muro è in discesa: era una specie di basamento a gradino che seguiva le irregolarità del terreno, costituendo successivi piani di posa e su di esso il muro era sempre tenuto più in dentro di 0,20–0,30 m. Un tentativo di rendere più regolare la costruzione è visibile almeno nel tratto successivo: vi è un ricorso di piani approssimativamente orizzontali, anche se discontinui; i blocchi di taglio irregolare si alternano con quelli ben squadriati (il blocco



Figure 3.5. Kalivo, detail of wall section II (exterior) composed of polygonal and squared masonry, c. 1928 (IA)

nel mezzo, nella fotografia (Fig. 3.5), di m. 0,80 di altezza e m. 0,80 di larghezza; e il filare più alto conservato presenta anch'esso i blocchi più alti, talvolta enormi (il primo da sinistra m. 1,20 di altezza e profondità m. $1,0 \times 1,70$; quello più a destra m. 0,90 di altezza $\times$ 0,30).

L'altezza massima è di m. 3,40; si noti anche qui che la faccia del muro non è verticale ma lievemente a scarpata. Tuttavia – tanto per dare un'idea della varietà di questa costruzione – incontriamo immediatamente un tratto in cui i piani orizzontali sono perfetti, i blocchi piuttosto piccoli e quasi rettangolari, i filari alti m. 0,40; 0,45; 0,55. Questo tratto così regolare si appoggia a un enorme blocco, di m. $1,30 \times 1,30$, e che eccezionalmente presenta una bugna (sporgente m. 0,25) sulla faccia anteriore, invece del solito spianamento.

La seconda porta (P2)

Si arriva così alla seconda porta che si apre in una specie di sella del monte ove fra le rocce vi è come un passaggio naturale: il tratto di muro fin qui esaminato è – nella sua ultima parte – in discesa, e al punto più basso è la porta. Mentre il muro che ricomincia, è di nuovo in salita. La porta è orientata perfettamente ad E, mentre la direzione della cinta è N-S. Il muro che scende da N piega esattamente a O, all'angolo rimane un blocco solo, poggiato sulla roccia: è alto m. 1, è lungo verso N m. 1,45 e verso O m. 0,80; è uno dei più grandi massi che sia stato collocato in opera a

Calivò. Il fianco della porta, verso N, è lungo m. 7,70 ed è relativamente ben conservato; invece il fianco meridionale è crollato tutto e si riconoscono appena i blocchi più bassi, così che risultava alla porta una larghezza di m. (2,40?). Quale fosse la lunghezza del fianco meridionale non è possibile stabilirlo, parrebbe però che esso cessasse a m. 5__ dall'angolo (ora perduto?), ed era così più breve del fianco settentrionale. Il suolo roccioso sembra essere in salita, ora però è ingombro di massi caduti. Altri massi sono rotolati sul davanti e ostruiscono in parte l'ingresso. Un filare di blocchi posti di traverso all'ingresso, a m. 1,95 dall'angolo verso l'interno, non si sa se costituissero una specie di soglia (alta m. 0,50 dal piano) oppure siano stati il primo filare di un poco probabile riempimento posteriore.

Dalla seconda porta all'angolo a bastione (III)

Passata la porta, il muro ricomincia la salita: questa volta la pendice appartiene al nucleo più alto e massiccio del monte, il giro delle mura corre appunto dove la specie di gobba che forma la sommità del monte comincia a digradare più rapidamente verso il basso. La direzione è dapprima N-N-N-O-S-S-S- E (345° – 165° circa); il primissimo tratto, proprio adiacente alla porta, è tutto crollato; dove il muro riprende, esso sale verso S avendo un'altezza di m. 2,60–2,90 in media. Il tipo di costruzione ricomincia ad essere irregolare e vario: non mancano di tratto in

tratto piani orizzontali costituiti per lo più dal basamento, visibile ogni tanto anche qui, ma sembra che i costruttori – quando hanno potuto – si siano sottratti volentieri alla tirannia dei filari orizzontali. I blocchi sono infatti di tutte le forme possibili: trapezoidi, romboidi, pentagonali (talvolta con piano di posa allungato e parte superiore a frontone, nel qual caso il blocco risulta piuttosto basso; talvolta invece il pentagono è assai irregolare), qualche blocco veramente parallelepipedo, in cui il piano superiore mostra una risega o dente per l'incastro di un altro blocco (procedimento tecnico che raramente si presenta qui, ma di cui viene fatto largo uso nella cinta di età posteriore); infine, blocchi i cui tagli sono così imperfetti che sembrerebbero piuttosto zeppe collocate a tappare un buco, se non fossero spesso considerevoli le dimensioni e la loro profondità. Abbondano anche i tagli curvilinei o sinuosi e talvolta stupisce l'abilità con cui si è ottenuto il combaciamento di blocchi apparentemente mal tagliati. Come sono varie le forme, così variano anche le dimensioni dei massi: vi sono quelli enormi di m. $1,00 \times 0,90$; m. $0,60 \times 1,30$ (quello parallelepipedo con dente di appoggio); ma ve ne sono anche di piccolissimi (m. $0,30 \times 0,40$). Si potrebbe dire che blocchi di m. $0,55$ di altezza $\times 0,80$ costituiscono la norma anche se non si può sempre cogliere il carattere del muro, se cioè in esso predominano i massi allungati, oppure quelli più alti che lunghi. La realtà è che sono mescolati senza nessuna preoccupazione costruttiva, blocchi dell'una e dell'altra forma.

Poco oltre, un punto dove un franamento di alcuni massi del muro mostra allo scoperto la costruzione interna, fa riconoscere come norma anche il notevole spessore dato ai blocchi della cortina esterna: un masso pentagonale, alto m. $0,65$ e lungo m. $1,20$ è profondo m. $1,30$, e la sua faccia inferiore mostra ancora la traccia della lavorazione per spianarla. L'interno poi del muro era tutto pieno di scheggioni talvolta assai grandi, probabili avanzi di lavorazione. Altra particolarità è che i grossi blocchi predominano o come filari inferiori (e sono allora per lo più pentagonali o poligonali), o nei filari superiori (e allora di preferenza hanno taglio più regolare). Inoltre, non occorre dire che i tratti che si presentano meglio conservati sono appunto quelli ove sono più numerosi e continui i piani orizzontali di posa. Così vi è, d'altro canto, qualche punto in cui la cortina s'è scardinata e i blocchi sono fuori posto: si può osservare che lo scompagimento è avvenuto proprio dove, essendo la costruzione poligonale, hanno coinciso quasi sopra un'unica verticale i tagli laterali dei blocchi sovrapposti. Ancora, in un tratto che corre quasi pianeggiante si osserva il passaggio tra la costruzione esclusivamente poligonale di blocchi di modica grandezza a quella pure poligonale ma di blocchi enormi, in cui forse si può riconoscere, oltre una costanza di piani di posa orizzontali anche un predominio delle lunghezze sulle altezze (m. $0,90$ di altezza $\times 1,20$; m. $0,85 \times 1,30$; m. $0,45 \times 1,10$; m. $0,60 \times 0,85$). L'altezza costante di questo tratto – limitato da frane da una parte e dall'altra – è di circa m. $2,70$ sopra il basamento sporgente di circa $0,30$ m.

Bisogna attraversare una lunga frana per ritrovare il proseguimento del muro, e lo si ritrova con direzione alquanto mutata cioè N-O-S-E (315° – 135°). Le altezze sono notevoli (m. $2,50$; $2,70$; m. $3,0$) e la costruzione è tutta di tipo poligonale, ma è tutta scardinata e scompaginata. Per forma e dimensioni dei blocchi questo tratto non differisce da quelli precedenti. È qui che il vero tratto orientale finisce, ma il muro non volge risolutamente ad occidente, segue invece le pendici del monte girando dolcemente mano a mano verso S o S-O. Non si può dire perciò, che si formino degli angoli del muro, ma curve appena pronunciate: qui infatti dove sono conservati due filari della svolta si vede che, nel punto ove la direzione cambia, le facce dei blocchi sono di sagoma curvante. Questi blocchi stessi hanno un taglio che si accosta a quello di blocchi parallelepipedi e piani orizzontali di posa (a questa svolta, l'altezza conservata è di m. $1,12$; i blocchi sono alti rispettivamente m. $0,70$ e $0,32$, e lunghi rispettivamente m. $1,20$ e $1,10$). La nuova direzione è N-N-O-S-S-E (335° – 155°), cioè il muro volge di 20° verso S (da S-E che era la direzione precisa del tratto osservato finora). La costruzione è di muro poligonale: si alternano blocchi grandi e piccoli, di ogni forma. La conservazione è assai precaria: i blocchi sono scompaginati, frequenti le frane, spesso mancano molti filari; si arriva però a m. $1,50$ circa di altezza, sopra il solito basamento che non manca mai.

Una nuova svolta si ha a non molti metri più in là: qui veramente sono crollati tutti i blocchi del punto dove avveniva il cambiamento di direzione, e non possiamo perciò sapere se qui si formasse un vero angolo, come avviene più appresso, o se i blocchi fossero disposti in curva, come nella svolta precedente. La nuova direzione è N-N-O-S-S-E ma 350° – 170° , cioè la deviazione è di soli 15° più a S. Si noti proprio un momento prima dell'angolo tra i blocchi di base, qui piuttosto grossi, uno di m. $0,95$ di altezza per $1,50$ di lunghezza. Quindi segue un lungo tratto rettilineo che corre quasi tutto in piano, poiché si recinge così il cocuzzolo del monte. La costruzione (che sale prima a m. $2,60$ circa d'altezza poi varia assai e presenta anche qua e là franamenti, e più oltre s'alza a m. $3,20$ circa), non offre alcuna novità rimarchevole: è sempre di poligonale misto, con blocchi talvolta enormi, ma proprio nel tratto di cui si è notata l'altezza (m. $3,20$ circa, compreso il gradino di base alto m. $0,40$), ricorrono frequenti piani orizzontali quantunque il taglio irregolare dei blocchi impedisca di denominare 'parallelepipedo' questa costruzione (vedi Fig. 3.6). Le altezze dei blocchi di forma allungata variano tra i m. $0,30$ e i $0,70$; e la lunghezza raggiunge i m. $1,70$; solamente qualche blocco eccezionale misura m. $0,87 \times 1,10$; m. $1,05 \times 1,20$ (quest'ultimo è un pentagono irregolare). La faccia del muro è sempre leggermente a scarpata. Contrasta con i piani orizzontali e i blocchi di dimensioni notevoli il tratto immediatamente seguente, con abbondanza di blocchetti piccoli in opera poligonale.

Si incomincia a discendere lievemente, ed è qui che si incontra l'angolo a bastione: la direzione del muro da N-N-O-S-S-E (350° – 170°) diviene N-E-S-O, cosicché termina



Figure 3.6. Kalivo, detail of wall section III (exterior), c. 1928 (IA)



Figure 3.7. Kalivo, southeast corner between wall sections III and IV, c. 1928 (IA)



Figure 3.8. Kalivo, detail of wall section IV (exterior), c. 1928 (IA)

qui finalmente il lato orientale e si inizia quello di S-E. Si noti l'angolo così deciso – mentre finora i cambiamenti di direzione erano stati lievissimi – e la forte scarpata dello sperone. I blocchi che formano l'angolo hanno naturalmente i piani di posa orizzontali e le loro altezze sono quasi uniformi (m. 0,50; 0,35; 0,55; 0,40; 0,60): l'altezza complessiva del muro allo spigolo è di m. 3 circa, ed altissimo è anche il basamento: circa 0,70 m. Non v'è però regolarità di costruzione nelle facce adiacenti: ché in quella orientale si ha il tipo poligonale piccolo, mentre in quella di S-E sono mescolati blocchi quasi parallelepipedi (vedi Fig. 3.7. Quello sotto l'uomo nella fotografia è m. 0,88 di altezza per m.1,10).

Il lato di sud-est

Dall'angolo a bastione alla terza porta (IV)

Ha la direzione dunque di N-E-S-O approssimativamente: come in lieve discesa, con altezza di circa 3 m. (col basamento) con scarpata talora pronunciata, e costruzione poligonale di massi che talora sembrano rotondeggianti, le loro dimensioni sono piuttosto piccole. A qualche decina

di metri dalla terza porta, il muro corre di nuovo in piano, per un tratto ben conservato che è uno dei più belli di tutta la cinta. L'altezza conservata quasi uniformemente è di m. 3,40; il basamento che sporge dal muro (di circa 0,15–0,25 m.) è assai basso, ed il muro è quasi perfettamente a perpendicolo. Quantunque l'opera sia mista di ogni tipo di costruzione, tuttavia si riconosce evidente il predominio dei piani orizzontali a cui si sono assoggettati anche i blocchi di taglio poligonale, e questo spiega la conservazione eccellente del tratto. Blocchi veramente parallelepipedi non se ne riconoscono: sono per lo più trapezoidali, spesso con questo o quell'angolo smussato, le proporzioni non sono allungate ma piuttosto tozze, i blocchi più grandi sono appunto quelli che hanno avuto una sagoma quadrangolare, mentre i blocchi poligonali fanno come da riempimento, e sono tanto più piccoli quanto più irregolari.

I blocchi quadrangolari più notevoli (a destra nella fotografia Fig. 3.8) hanno le dimensioni di m. 0,95 (d'altezza) $\times$ 0,90; 0,65 $\times$ 1,20; 0,65 $\times$ 1,00; al centro si noti quello di m. 1,80 $\times$ 1,50; più a sinistra, quello con angolo smussato di m. 1,05 d'altezza $\times$ 1,10 di lunghezza. Ma questo tratto, che fa così bella impressione per la sua regolarità, termina presto perché la costruzione ridiventa



Figure 3.9. The southern gate (P3) at Kalivo, c. 1928 (IA)

confusissima: ancora massi d'ogni grandezza e d'ogni taglio, più frequenti frane, l'altezza massima è solo in poca parte superstite del muro (fino a m. 3,50) e v'è anche un leggero cambio di direzione, non più verso S-O ma verso S. Quando si arriva alla porta la costruzione è ancora in opera poligonale e solo i massi degli stipiti sono di taglio parallelepipedo.

La terza porta (P3) (Fig. 3.9)

Si apre anch'essa normalmente alla linea del muro: la sua direzione è N-O (310°) S-E (130°). Ampia m. 1,60 all'imboccatura dall'esterno, si va svasando verso l'interno, fino ad avere un'apertura di m. 2,20 circa; la profondità è quella stessa dei muri, cioè 5 m. circa verso N-E, e di m. 4,30 circa verso S-O. Il dislivello tra il piano esterno, più basso, e quello interno è di m. 1,40, e il tondo è costituito da pietre in rapida discesa dall'interno verso l'esterno. All'imboccatura esterna, circa m. 0,35 più indietro, v'è una specie di gradino o soglia, alto fino a m. 0,60. La costruzione dei lati è in opera parallelepipeda, continua cioè il taglio regolare di blocchi degli stipiti. Più regolare nel fianco di N-O: l'angolo lì è conservato per un'altezza di m. 1,60, i filari sono disposti in piani di posa orizzontali (altezza m. 0,60–0,50), i tagli non sempre verticali (lunghezza m. 1,10–1,15). Nel lato di S-E

invece, l'angolo è alto m. 1,80 e i filari inferiori del fianco sono pure orizzontali, ma superiormente ricominciavano i blocchi poligonali irregolari uniti ai parallelepipedi. Si noti uno parallelepipedo all'angolo di m. 0,70 d'altezza $\times$ 1,10 di larghezza, e uno poligonale irregolare di m. 0,97 $\times$ 1,25. Si noti inoltre, come all'interno l'altezza del muro si riduca a pochi centimetri sulla superficie.

Di là dalla porta, il muro ripiglia con direzione N-N-E—S-S-O (25°–205°), in opera poligonale (parallelepipedi sono solo i massi dello stipite meridionale), di modica altezza (m. 1,80 prima; m. 3,30 più in là) e corre in piano per un buon tratto riducendosi però notevolmente d'altezza (poco meno o poco più di 1 m.), finché non si scorge quasi nemmeno il filare di base. È così che si giunge sul ciglio del monte, costituito da punte di roccia a picco simili, se anche più in alto, a quelle su cui è costruito il bastione iniziale. La pendice è assai ripida sia in quest'ultimo tratto del lato di S-E, sia nel lato meridionale del monte, che qui ha inizio. Su queste punte rocciose avanza solo un filare o poco più del muro, in massi poligonali piuttosto piccoli. I blocchi dei filari più alti sono ruzzolati giù per il pendio e si riconosce a mala pena che il muro formava non un angolo, ma una specie di bastione semicircolare piegando verso occidente. Rimangono solo i blocchi del piano di posa a darci la sagoma di questa curva perché, tranne uno

o due, tutti i blocchi sono scomparsi. È da questo punto che inizia il tratto meridionale della cinta.

Il lato meridionale (V-VI)

I primi metri sono tutti scomparsi. Dove si rivedono tracce del muro, incontriamo subito grossi blocchi poligonali imponenti sia per le dimensioni, sia per l'essere piantati sulla roccia. Questa è a picchi o guglie, e gli avvallamenti tra l'uno e l'altro dente sono stati riempiti di blocchi spianati di lato e sui piani per offrire un combaciamento, ma di faccia irregolare e disposti quasi a gradini, su cui, appena si è costituito un piano di posa continuo, sorgono i blocchi sul muro. Nel primo tratto l'altezza di questa costruzione, compreso il blocco di basamento che non manca mai, è di m. 1,60. Bentosto si incontra il tratto ove sono i blocchi più imponenti: è alto m. 2,55, ma v'è un enorme quadrangolo di m. 1,36 d'altezza × m. 1,40 (e m. 0,85 di profondità); un altro blocco ha m. 0,84 d'altezza × m. 1,15 di lunghezza. Il blocco di base giunge fino a m. 0,60 d'altezza e a m. 0,20–0,25 di sporgenza. Poco più in là un blocco pentagonale ha m. 1,25 d'altezza × m. 1,10 di lunghezza. La direzione di questo primo tratto meridionale è esattamente E-O; segue quindi un ampio tratto di rovina: qui il monte ha lo scoscendimento più forte, la cima è un po' più in alto ed è tutta roccia, anche la pendice scende a dirupati gradoni; è possibile seguire la direzione del muro solo in grazia di pochi blocchi di basamento, rarissimi di costruzione, rimasti in posto; altrimenti, non vi è nulla che riveli l'esistenza del muro. E nemmeno sembra che i blocchi superstiti siano tutti sopra un'unica direzione: certo è difficile ricostruire l'andamento esatto della cinta in questo punto. Solo è evidente che l'andamento era pianeggiante, invece appena si ritrova il muro abbastanza ben conservato ricomincia anche la discesa. La direzione non è mutata, è ancora E-O quasi perfettamente, ma ciò non esclude che mutamenti siano avvenuti nel lungo tratto ora mancante. Anche qui è sempre presente il gradino di base, in molti punti costituito dalla roccia lisciata superiormente, al di sopra il muro è a scarpata. Abbondano i piani orizzontali però non continui, e i tagli laterali sono irregolarissimi e sono mescolati i blocchi parallelepipedi o trapezoidali a quelli poligonali. L'altezza del muro nel punto più alto è di m. 3 e si noti che, mentre i massi più bassi sono di dimensioni normali, quello superiore a tutti è fra i più grandiosi della cinta (m. 1,30 d'altezza × m. 1,70).

È qui che con lieve curva il muro piega verso O-N-O così che la direzione viene ad essere E-S-E (105°) – O-N-O (285°) e di nuovo, per qualche metro, non si scorge più traccia del muro, ma solo del blocco di basamento. La discesa continua, ma resta troppo poco dell'altezza per poter definire il carattere della costruzione. In condizioni migliori si trova invece l'ultimo tratto del lato meridionale, che scende al punto della cinta relativamente più basso in tutta la zona, formando un altro baluardo d'angolo col lato occidentale. La direzione del muro rivolto a S è E-S-E (105°)–O-N-O (285°), quella del lato che incomincia è

N-S quasi perfetta; si forma quindi un angolo pressoché ottuso, simile a quello visto nel lato orientale in prossimità della terza porta. Prima di arrivare all'angolo, il muro meridionale raggiunge l'altezza di m. 3,30 sul basamento; anche qui in cima al muro è il blocco di dimensioni maggiori (m. 1,10 d'altezza × 1,60); la costruzione è mista di blocchi d'ogni taglio; quelli poligonali hanno talvolta perfino sagome curvilinee, concave o convesse. All'angolo l'altezza è di m. 3; i blocchi sono tagliati obliquamente, sì da costituire un forte sperone: hanno tagli orizzontali di posa e verticali lateralmente; le altezze – dal basso – sono rispettivamente di m. 0,60; 0,80; 0,60; 1,00; e, mentre la lunghezza arriva a 1 m. nel lato meridionale, a 0,50; 0,80; 0,90 m. in quello occidentale, solo il blocco più alto è lungo 1 m. anche nel lato occidentale.

Il lato occidentale

Dall'angolo occidentale all'ultimo tratto (VII)

Ha una direzione sul principio N-S quasi esatta, e corre in discesa, essendo sempre ben visibili i blocchi poligonali irregolari che insieme con la roccia ne formano la cortina. Dove è conservato per il tratto più alto (m. 3,80), la scarpata che il muro ha già per sua costruzione s'è accresciuta, forse per l'essersi adagiati i blocchi all'indietro; è notevole l'allungamento di m. 1,05 × 2,30. Si noti però che, tranne in questo punto, il muro, sempre visibile, è talvolta inferiore a un metro di altezza. A m. 27,70 dall'angolo il muro cambia direzione, piegando verso N-E di pochi gradi e continuando a correre in lievissima discesa. L'altezza conservata è scarsissima, anzi ben presto si perde ogni traccia del muro. Quando se ne ritrova un breve tratto (alto m. 0,60 con piano di posa orizzontale) la direzione è ritornata quella N-S precisa. Di qui in poi riesce difficile attualmente rintracciare la minima pietra per la folta vegetazione cresciuta. Un buon tratto lungo molti metri si incontra più in là: ha direzione N-O–S-E a principio, bentosto O-N-O (290°)—E-S-E (110°); è in opera poligonale irregolare e l'altezza massima raggiunta è di m. 1,50. Il tratto conservato è veramente lunghissimo e stupisce la costanza del blocco di base, rigidamente orizzontale nella faccia superiore; l'altezza però è di poco superiore al metro e ai 3 filari. L'ultimo pezzo è anche lievemente spostato verso O. Su questa direzione O-N-O (275°)—E-S-E (95°) si incontrano gli ultimi massi isolati che costituivano la cortina da questa parte. Sui picchi di roccia che sono il prolungamento di essi non è possibile scorgere traccia di impostazione di blocchi.

Appendix: Calivò: Ugolini's Notes

Introduzione

Entrando nell'amenissimo lago di Butrinto (denominato odiernamente più di frequente lago di Vivari, e corrispondente all'antico lago di Pelode dopo aver risalito il canale che lo congiunge al Mar Ionio, a destra si trova una collinetta.

Questa forma in gran parte il lato meridionale del lago che, più o meno, ha la forma di un rettangolo.

Varia (Calivò)

Età difficile tecnica

valore relativo tipologia

cave di massi che già li davano pressoché parallelepipedi (la roccia qui si scaglia)

pietra locale

si nota un certo provincialismo.

S'avanza sul lago erto roccioso e rivestito di vegetazione uno sprone, propagine del colle di Kalovo e alto quasi metà di questo.

Su la cima s'ergono i ruderi di un bastione avente m.[...]⁴ di fronte (che è volta verso settentrione) m. [...] di lato orientale e m. [...] di lato occidentale.

Questo sprone misura m. [...] di altezza ed è costruito con massi di forma generalmente irregolare. Blocchi piuttosto parallelepipedi si notano agli angoli, appunto per dotare di angoli più solidi il bastione. Ma gli alti massi sono poligonali, hanno diverse dimensioni, e sono stati adattati gli uni agli altri di contorno in un modo piuttosto manco.

Calivò

Kestrine

Non vi è altro luogo più vicino alla pianura _____.

Etimologia

_____ = capitone _____ = muggine

_____ anche oggi giorno i capitoni, nel lago di Butrinto, vengono pescati esclusivamente e in grande abbondanza in un'insenatura (alle falde del colle).

Come si presenta Calivò: pietraia

Tra pietra e pietra hanno piantate le radici spini marruschi e arbusti selvatici.

Duro: la vista e l'esame delle mura

Estate: imprudente andarvi

Scavi – ove si è potuto = trovata terra molte trincee prime: entro le tre porte

a ridosso di esse entro la cinta lungo la costa sulla vetta

una sola trincea diede quasi tutti oggetti della fotografia fu ampliata: non si trovò più nulla.

Il numero segnato in rosso a tergo delle copie d'archivio corrisponde a quello pure in rosso segnato nella pianta (di Roversi). Alcune parti ancora di incerta ubicazione non hanno numero.

Troia = Calivò⁵

Calivò = Troia di Dionigi

Strabone ? Eccetera ?

Se è vera la traduzione di questi scrittori, Calivò = Troia
Se e vero la virgiliana Butrint = Troia

Non certo per timore di contraddire a quanto io stesso ho affermato a questo proposito – cosa che farei se nuove prove lo richiedessero – ma perché noi non possiamo decidere questa controversia degli antichi scrittori, ritengono che Butrinto fosse Troia. L'importanza ammessa data a Butrinto da Virgilio

Dai Romani che la abbellirono, mi fanno ritenere verosimile quanto già scritto.

Certo che se si dovesse dar preferenza alla traduzione di Dionigi, Calivò sarebbe Troia perché 'colle vicino' (non c'è altra collina, fortezza) mura arcaiche – tipo miceneo.

Interessantissimo passo di Stefano Bizantino

Però certo che queste mura non possono essere quelle dell'accampamento dei Troiani – Troppo tempo sarebbe occorso per erigerle – anche se – come si vedrà – sono di tipo miceneo.

Tuttavia

Reperti

Da 2 trincee sulla sommità Fotografia

1. *Fusaia a doppio tronco di cono riuniti per le basi maggiori*

Ceramica rossa ma solida, colore marrone pesante

Diametro mm. 41

Altezza dell'asse mm. 34

Diametro del foro mm. 70

2. *Coccio con testa in rilievo, ceramica giallastra, leggera, fine, friabilissima.*

Ora è rivestita dello strato nero della terra, che nella fronte si è staccato.

Non si capisce se è stato eseguito al tornio, ma è probabile, più sì che no, testa: stile arcaico

- occhi grandi, a fiori di pelle, a rana

- naso schiacciato, largo

- bocca incassata, ma con labbra grosse
- sopra la fronte i capelli i quali sono anche ai lati a guisa di klaft
- collo appena abbassato

altezza del viso mm 20
di tutto il rilievo mm 35

3. Fusaiola ovoidale

stesso tipo ceramico della fusaiola 1.

Lunghezza mm 50
Diametro mm 32

4. Coccio con zone in cui sono delle linee impresse ondulate.

Vi è anche un bitorzoletto un pò schiacciato e rotondeggiante, su cui con strumento tagliente vi sono state fatte due linee profonde, a croce.

È dello stesso tipo ceramico del coccio numero 2, ma leggermente rosato.

Lunghezza mm 60 × 55
Spessore mm 8

Si notano tracce di lavoro al tornio nella superficie interna.

5. Coccio

Del tipo precedente per le zone con le linee manca.

6. Fibula di bronzo

Lunga mm 67
Corpo largo mm 3 in media
Avente (spessore) mm 15

Il corpo aveva all'estremità, ove si snodava l'ardiglione⁶ una appendice a riccio; la staffa manca; così pure non c'è l'ardiglione, il quale si snodava su un perno di ferro.

7. Ago da cucire

Di bronzo, con tracce della cruna, praticata dopo aver appiattito questa estremità dell'ago.

Lungo mm 128

Notes

- 1 This measurement, along with several subsequent dimensions, does not appear to have been taken.
- 2 Ugolini 1927. The monograph *Albania antica III, l'acropoli di Butrinto* was published posthumously in 1942.
- 3 Lake Butrint.
- 4 This measurement does not appear to have been taken.
- 5 The ancient works referred to are: Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.51.1; Strabo 7.7.5; Vergil *Aeneid* 3.349–351; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Τροία. See also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.721.
- 6 Ferretto acuminato per la chiusura della fibbia.

4 Short Introduction to Ugolini's and Islami's Surveys and Excavations at Çuka e Aitoit (Monte Aetòs)

Oliver J. Gilkes

Quando vidi per la 1^a volta M. Aetòs

Come lo scoprii:

vidi di lontano un colle isolato

Leggendo del vescovo

che voleva farvi degli scavi

Leggende riportate

nel Vol. Butrinto

Catena

Monte Sarakini

Monte Malesi

Valle o Gola Torrente Pirrota

M. Aetòs

vescovado nel IX sec

As with all his manuscripts Luigi Maria Ugolini, the director of the inter-war Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania, tended to work from a few brief notes to a full text, from handwritten to typed. The brief lines above are all that he penned of his planned introduction to the report on his excavations at Çuka e Aitoit. It is possible, though, to reconstruct to a large degree what he intended to say. The conical mountain is one of the most visible features of the Butrint area, and on a clear day (especially immediately after rain) it appears from the acropolis of Butrint as a nearby, local landmark. It was inevitable that Ugolini would be drawn to it, and his accounts of his initial visit to Butrint in 1924 (see Chapters 1 and 2) include it as one of the three ancient cities that he 'discovered' during his initial days of exploration.

For his time Ugolini was a rather unusual archaeologist, and as an able publicist he concerned himself not only with archaeology but also with folklore and legend. His popular book, *Butrinto: Il mito d'Enea*, represented a masterly summation of his work linking the legendary and factual in a single narrative. There he recorded the legend about Çuka e Aitoit that he was told, which is worth reproducing here in part:

‘La conduttura per il latte. — È credenza radicatissima e diffusa tra gli abitanti dei villaggi prossimi a Butrinto, quali Mursi, Conispolí e Zara, che, durante il periodo in cui a Butrinto avevano il potere le ‘Monovise’, (come si è detto, le Amazzoni), il latte fosse fornito da armenti pascolanti sul vicino Monte Aetòs. Là c'erano novemila capi di bestiame appartenenti alla comunità di Butrinto, ove il latte giungeva mediante una lunga conduttura. A conferma di questi abitanti c'è un dato archeologico: i resti che ancora oggi appaiono di questa supposta conduttura.

Che l'acquedotto sia esistito è fatto positivo: io stesso ho visto i resti e ho seguito il percorso per alcune centinaia di metri nella pianura che va dalla fiumara di Butrinto a Zara: esso è di buona età romana imperiale’.

Evidentemente la leggenda è giunta a noi molto alterata, se addirittura non rappresenta altro che la fusione di due differenti racconti. Infatti vuol forse soltanto significare che gli armenti appartenenti agli abitanti di Butrinto pascolavano nelle urbetos e pianeggianti praterie della vallata del Monte Aetòs detta Kestrine dagli antichi; oppure attesta che l'acqua necessaria agli abitanti di Butrinto veniva dal Monte Aetòs.’¹

While, as a convinced Fascist, Ugolini understood and used the value of legend and myth, he based his own academic



Figure 4.1. Cartoon of Albanian-Soviet Expedition, 1960, by Dimitri Shelov, entitled 'A friendly drawing of the Albanian-Soviet Expedition 1960.' Hasan Ceka is represented on the 'coin' of Apollonia in the centre. From left to right, top line: Vladimir Blavatsky; Selim Islami; Dimitri Shelov; (unknown Russian photographer); Mehmet Kallfa, the Albanian photographer. Bottom line: Skender Anamali; Dhimosten Budina; Aleksandra Mano; Frano Prendi; Hena Spahiu?; Burhan Dautaj; Mr. Ndoci, the Albanian ceramic conservator (Courtesy of Oliver J. Gilkes).

programme firmly in the excavated circumstances. The remainder of his introduction intended to cover these aspects: the site's physical position, its historical position and some of the finds discovered in his excavations. It is clear that he identified the site with ancient Kestrine, and other surviving notes show that he was collecting sources for a full topographic discussion of this point. Kestrine, it merits noting, features in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* (*Description of Greece*) in connection to the early history of Epirus.² He was the only son of the Trojan exiles, Helenus and Andromache, who made their exiled home at Butrint. Apparently, he was upset that Andromache's son, Molossus, by her first husband, Neoptolemus, succeeded to the throne of Epirus and seized the region to the north of the Thyamis River as his kingdom. Ugolini, like many modern Albanian scholars, believed the Pavllas to be the Thyamis whereas Greek scholarship has favoured a location south of the Albanian-Greek border at or near the modern village of Filiates.

These notes were works in progress and hence Ugolini's historical interpretations are sometimes questionable. The Bishopric of Aetòs, for example, is that which existed at the site of Aetòs, southeast of Vonitsa, now in Greek

Epirus, rather than on the site of the same name near Butrint. However, the drafted chapters, as the following will show, are exemplary. Indeed, the overall site plan for Çuka e Aitoit illustrated in Plate 4.1 is that of the Italian Archaeological Mission, redrawn and annotated to indicate the features discussed.

Çuka e Aitoit and Post-war Archaeology

The task facing historians and archaeologists of Enver Hoxha's post-war Albania was to construct a systematic and well-documented Albanian past. Overriding importance was given to prove that the Albanians had inhabited the soil of the country from the most ancient of times in order to counter the territorial claims of surrounding powers. The principal vehicle was the study of the Illyrians, their ethnogenesis and social patterns (especially in regard to a Marxist view of historical development), and how the ancient Illyrians were ethnically and culturally linked with modern Albanians.

With Soviet collaboration, a number of major projects were begun to chart Albania's archaeological heritage (Fig. 4.1). The most significant of these projects was the

Harta Arkeologjike per Shqiperia (Archaeological Map of Albania), of which the most complete coverage was in the regions of Gjirokastra, Saranda, and Himara, all forming part of ancient Epirus.³ Beginning in the late 1950s, the Soviet-trained Albanian archaeologist Dhimosten Budina employed archaeological and historical data to prove the Illyrian ethnicity of Epirotes and to reject a Hellenic origin.⁴ In the fortified sites of Chaonia – such as Butrint, Çuka e Aitoit, Jerme and Kalivo – ceramics, metal objects and architectural monuments were found that showed common, and unique, characteristics with other Illyrian centres in northern and central Albania. Consequently, the Hellenic population in Epirus could be viewed merely as a minority among an Illyrian majority. From the Vjosa River to northern Greece, Epirus was thus shown to be Illyrian.

The original social organisation of the cities in this Illyrian sea was represented as an ancient form of Communist society, with a highly developed urban level. Basically egalitarian, Illyrian society was seen to have developed a class structure only as a result of influences that came through the relationships with the two Greek colonial cities on the Albanian coast, Apollonia and Orikum.⁵ The study of antiquity was marked by the use of Marxist terminology to describe social relations, and the essential contradictions of classes. It was this class struggle that propelled society forward. Following Marxist theory, the State was seen as a form of social dominance arising out of internal economic and social development.⁶ Albanian archaeologists thus concluded that an ancient State existed in the 5th–4th centuries BC in Epirus and southern Illyria, a period of marked economic and social change. On a political level, this process was illustrated by the change from military Democracy to a society dominated by a class system. The most ancient State organisation of the Illyrians that is known was the political league of territorial tribes (*koinon*). The Albanian–Soviet Archaeological Mission, and the choice of its selected spheres of operations, was formed against this background. The ambitious archaeological programme would focus on the catalysts of change, the classical cities of Apollonia and Orikum, and on the indigenous sites where these changes could be observed, Ripes and Çuka e Aitoit. The latter, in particular, was an ideal choice for the site-focused archaeology of the time. It lay within the frontiers of what was considered Illyrian Epirus, within the *koinon* of the Prasaiboi, and it was clearly a significant

walled settlement, though apparently unaffected by the Hippodamian organisation and public architecture that characterised the Hellenic cities of Albania.⁷

Post-Communist archaeology has been pre-occupied with more practical matters since 1992 and, while many of these traditional archaeological questions continue to be asked, research emphasis has moved into other areas.⁸ Çuka e Aitoit has been effectively ignored since then. The work of the 1950s remains mostly unpublished, and the inaccessibility of the site has taken it out of public view. As with virtually all Albanian sites of this nature, this has had the effect of essentially removing it from any wider discussion. Recently, the publication of a Danish survey on Kephallonia, in particular, the detailed analytical study of the masonry types of fortified settlements, has pointed to the need to reintegrate sites like Çuka e Aitoit into an international discussion, and, indeed, to re-assess them in the light of recent research of this type.⁹ In addition, contemporary interest has centred around the later refortification, a phase described as Medieval by Ugolini (except for his documentation of the circuit wall, see Chapter 7), and one that is still not satisfactorily dated or explained, though normally attributed to defensive measures undertaken in Late Antiquity.¹⁰ The construction of a metalled road linking the site with the rest of Albania and a nearby border crossing to Greece may, perhaps, stimulate renewed interest in this significant archaeological site.

Notes

- 1 Ugolini 1937, 84–85.
- 2 Pausanias 1.11.1; 2.23.6.
- 3 Budina 1971a; 1972. See Hodges 2009 for Nikita Khrushchev's visit to Butrint and Budina's role in this.
- 4 Budina 1971b, 112.
- 5 Buda 1976, 47.
- 6 Ceka and Ceka 1971, 140.
- 7 The region is also a modern area of minority Greek settlement, which would have added to the nationalist message of the programme.
- 8 Bejko 1998; Miraj and Zeqo 1993; Korkuti 2003a.
- 9 Randsborg 2002; see also the results of the Kokyos Valley survey in Thesprotia including fortified sites: Suha 2009; 2016; Tzortzatou and Fatsiou 2009.
- 10 Bowden 2003, 180–185; 2016.

5 L'acropoli di Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit): Il lato nord (cinta delle mura)

Luigi Maria Ugolini

Primo tratto (I)

Direzione E-E-N-E; O-O-S-O (76°–256°) L'altezza del muro da m. 0,50 all'inizio, va sempre crescendo, successivamente 3,20; 3,70; 4,05 fino a una profondità di m. 4,15 a m. 2,10 dalla prima porta murata (Plate 4.1). Questo non perché il fianco del monte è qui piuttosto in discesa lungo la direzione del muro. Questo si è conservato di meno nel punto più alto. Il muro aveva probabilmente inizio dal gruppo di rocce da cui ora distano m. 11 le prime pietre conservate. Infatti tra queste e le rocce si scorge traccia dei piani di posa di qualche blocco rovesciato e semisepolto, e v'è traccia di lavorazione a gradino delle prime rocce dello scoscendimento.

L'apparecchio di questo primo tratto è poligonale. I blocchi sono nella maggior parte di dimensioni piuttosto grandi (m. 0,80 × 0,90; 0,90 × 1,10; 0,70 × 0,90; 0,80 × 1,20; 0,70 × 0,65, sono per così dire la media) e si noti come l'aspetto di grandiosità della costruzione le sia conferito dall'essere poco inferiore all'asse orizzontale quello verticale; non mancano blocchi in cui i due assi sono presso a poco uguali (per esempio, m. 1,05 × 1,05). Inferiormente, il piano di posa del muro è orizzontale; ovunque le giunture sono accurate, nette; la superficie è a bozza o bugna (che sporge fino a 0,20 m. dalla linea di connessione); i blocchi sono tagliati molto spesso a pentagono irregolare, non di rado a quadrangolo; i blocchi di sei o più lati sono più rari (e sempre per offrire denti di incastro ad altri blocchi); le pietre tagliate a triangolo sono di dimensioni minori e servono per lo più da zeppa. Ricorrono con frequenza linee continue – non rettilinee quanto di andamento curvante – che rappresentano piani di posa regolari per blocchi di filari superiori. Nei punti meglio conservati i filari arrivano a cinque; in quello inferiore o generalmente nei più bassi, predominano i grandi blocchi; quelli superiori sono di dimensioni alquanto minori. Lo

spessore di questo tratto poligonale è di m. 2,60 circa; il riempimento fra le due cortine (quella interna è tutta coperta da massi franati) è costituito da blocchi e pietre di varie dimensioni strettamente inzeppati fra di loro.

La prima porta (ora murata) (P1) (Fig. 5.1). Più che una vera porta, è un corridoio tra il muro poligonale e la cortina interna di sperone di muro che protegge quello poligonale per circa [...] m. L'apertura che è larga all'inizio m. 3 circa, va allargandosi verso l'interno; è stata ostruita accuratamente da blocchi di pietra talvolta di dimensioni notevoli, inzeppati da blocchetti più piccoli, per una profondità di m. 2,25 (presso lo sperone), a m. 3,55 (presso il muro poligonale). L'assenza di calce, nota ai costruttori di mura bizantine, l'uso di blocchi piuttosto grandi e la cura nel connetterli, fa pensare che fosse una affrettata misura di ripiego presa nell'antichità stessa, piuttosto che una precauzione medioevale, da questo lato infatti non v'è traccia di fortificazione bizantine

Lo sperone di muro ha uno spessore fra le due cortine di m. [...]; è conservato con direzione quasi parallela al muro poligonale per m. [...] e la sua altezza è di m. 2,50 nel punto più alto (a m. 4,70 dallo spigolo, verso O). La sua costruzione è regolare e sembra un compromesso fra la tecnica di costruzione con blocchi poligonali e quella a filari orizzontali, mentre più a O grossi blocchi poligonali sono sovrapposti alla roccia che ivi affiora – nella faccia E – e sul lato N presso all'angolo si è cercata una maggiore regolarità, evidentemente per dare più resistenza agli angoli. Il filare inferiore è lievemente in aggetto rispetto ai filari superiori, e così anche il blocco d'angolo del secondo filare; nella faccia orientale vi sono sei filari (dal primo al sesto avanza un blocco solo), i cui piani di posa sono quasi regolarmente orizzontali; e le altezze di ogni filare sono considerevoli (da 0,65 m. a 0,80 e 0,98); i tagli verticali dei blocchi si alternano a quelli obliqui. Le bugne del quarto



Figure 5.1. The western gate (P1) at Çuka e Aitoit in 1995 (BF archive)

filare arrivano a 0,30 m. di sporgenza dal blocco. Gli angoli sono lavorati secondo la solita tecnica che lascia acuto lo spigolo dei blocchi (su due facce adiacenti); la bugna è stata tagliata vicino allo spigolo, ottenendo due listelli verticali perfettamente lisci. Nella faccia N dello stesso sperone i blocchi d'angolo e quelli più vicini sono parallelepipedi e di grandi dimensioni come quelli della faccia E, poi si alternano i blocchi poligonali a quelli parallelepipedi e si distrugge la regolarità dei filari orizzontali; su questa faccia predominano i blocchi in cui l'asse orizzontale è superiore a quello verticale.

Il muro poligonale, che nell'interno della porta assumeva forse un aspetto più regolare (a giudicare almeno dai grandi blocchi quadrati, gli unici visibili, del filare superiore), aveva qui il suo termine, e la cortina successiva di difesa era costituita dal prolungamento del muro settentrionale dello sperone che proteggeva la porta. Questo muro, che ha lo spessore di circa 3 m. al suo inizio, segue per circa m. [...] nella direzione del muro poligonale, poi probabilmente piega ad angolo ottuso verso S-O, ma in questa zona, tutta scoscesa di rocce, il muro ha dovuto franare completamente al basso, perché né in superficie, né cercando dal disotto è stato possibile ritrovare traccia di blocchi o di impostazioni di blocchi sulla roccia, la ricostruzione in questa direzione è perciò ipotetica.

Secondo tratto (II)

Dovrebbe trattarsi della difesa del monte lungo la pendice O, ma anche qui – salvo un brevissimo tratto sicuro – si può indicare solo per ipotesi come procedeva il muro; forse, essendo questo fianco difficilmente accessibile per i dirupi sottostanti, fu meno consistente la difesa artificiale. Come parte del muro di cinta si può supporre un muretto, alto da uno a due filari (altezza massima m. 0,85, lungo circa m. 4,80), fatto di piccoli blocchi poligonali di connessione non molto accurata che, procedendo verso S, sembra riconnettersi, dopo una breve interruzione, a un tratto (m. 4,50 circa) di muro poligonale assai rozzo, fatto di blocchi piuttosto piccoli, di taglio grossolano, con connessioni esatte forse in un caso solo, disposti molto irregolarmente, spesso inzeppati con pietre più piccole; è alto fino a m. 1,45 e termina addossandosi a una roccia che non ha subito nessuna lavorazione per l'impostazione dei blocchi. Dà l'impressione, più che altro, di muro di terrazzamento. È incerto se esso scavalcando la roccia proseguisse oltre, come pare di arguire da rovine di blocchi irregolari che si incontrano in quella direzione (a una certa altezza vi sono resti di costruzioni minori, che certo non erano in nessun rapporto con le mura: sono i gruppi e, in poligonale piccolo che s'alterna ai blocchi parallelepipedi degli angoli; e f in cui pure si trovano contemporaneamente le due tecniche, poligonale piccolo e parallelepipedi).

Terzo tratto (III)

Nemmeno qui è possibile trovare un muro che segua il ciglio delle rocce in continuazione di quello che si suppone per il secondo tratto. Piuttosto sembra che qui facciano parte della difesa dapprima una specie di torre (visibili sono il lato O e gli inizi dei lati N e S) a cui si attacca il primo filare di un muro in continuazione, verso S, della faccia O. Questa torre è costruita nella stessa tecnica delle costruzioni superiori *e* e *f*, cioè poligonale piccolo (i blocchi di dimensioni maggiori hanno m. $0,65 \times 0,76$; $0,65 \times 1,10$), di blocchi per lo più pentagonali, ma anche trapezoidali e rettangolari, con predominio leggero degli assi orizzontali sui verticali (agli angoli i blocchi sono naturalmente parallelepipedi). L'altezza massima raggiunge i m. 2 circa. Il muretto di cui resta traccia più a S vi era addossato, e continua ancora più a S, ritirandosi di circa 1 m. più in dentro. Non si comprende in che relazione stia questa torre con la costruzione di pianta trapezoidale che la domina (forse le serviva da semplice muro di sostegno?). Essa è scavata nella roccia per l'angolo S-E; la parete di fondo E è poi completata in bell'apparecchio di poligonale piccolo, ove abbondano i blocchi a forma di trapezoide. Dei tre lati resta solo il primo filare, di blocchi tanto poligonali che trapezoidali. Sembra partire dal fianco meridionale di questo ambiente un muro molto rozzo che segue un ciglio di macigni e che ha andamento curvilineo nella parte più meridionale: i blocchi hanno un taglio assai grossolano, sono di piccole dimensioni e combaciano assai male, è tuttavia la grandezza relativa di qualche blocco ($0,60 \times 1,20$ m) che fa pensare anche per questo muro all'epoca greca. Insieme con il muro sottostante avrebbe contribuito allo sbarramento dello scosceso canalone, o gola, che sale fino a questo punto. Qualche muretto costruito in ugual modo si incontra pure a maggiore altezza (E). Il canalone è fiancheggiato a S da tale scoscendimento di rupi che il non trovare qui nessuna traccia di muro di difesa rende possibile l'ipotesi che esso qui non esistesse affatto. Dove la fortificazione riprende, è a quota notevolmente più bassa.

Quarto tratto (IV)

È una specie di lungo torrione che lascia uno stretto varco verso N tra il muro e la roccia, di salita assai ripida. La costruzione è delle meno accurate: sono blocchi tagliati irregolarmente e di varia grandezza, parallelepipedi e trapezoidali i più piccoli, parecchi poligonali molto irregolari, qualche lungo blocco a cui s'è cercato di dare una forma quasi parallelepipeda (m. $0,85 \times 1,90$) fa eccezione; qualche pietra più piccola serve da zeppa. È importante osservando per capire come poté rovinare facilmente in qualche punto lungo tratto di muraglia simile: lo spostamento di uno dei blocchi inferiori, forse per terremoto, ha prodotto lo scardinamento dei blocchi dei filari superiori, che crollerebbero tutti, se quello, ora rimasto ben saldo quantunque fuori posto, precipitasse. La sua altezza passa i 3 m. nel punto massimo. Questa specie di torrione è diviso in due compartimenti da un muro in

direzione approssimativa E-O (blocchi parallelepipedi), cui se ne innesta un altro perpendicolare, di cui resta tutt'al più un solo filare.

La faccia del muro di cinta, che s'era interrotta sopra un macigno sporgente, riprende di là da questo, un poco più indietro, ma conservando la stessa direzione; se ne conserva da uno a quattro filari, tutti orizzontali, con blocchi grandi quadrangolari o trapezoidali (fino a m. $0,85 \times 1,10$), di apparecchio simile a quello della faccia O dello sperone di difesa della prima porta nel tratto N (primo tratto). L'altezza di quel che si è conservato di questo muro varia da m. 0,90 a 1,70. Anch'esso è la cortina interna di uno sperone che protegge la porta (la seconda). Essa è stata pure ostruita in un modo del tutto simile alla prima; dalla prima si differenzia per la forma a sguincio dell'entrata, lo spigolo interno dei muri dello sperone manca, mentre è ben segnato col solito lavoro all'angolo del muro a sguincio. Questo muro che forma la parete interna della porta o corridoio (P2), è nel suo tratto più settentrionale di opera poligonale di blocchi per lo più pentagonali di m. $0,70 \times 0,85$; $0,80 \times 1,10$, ma anche blocchi parallelepipedi o trapezoidali (m. $0,60 \times 0,90$); i tagli sono regolari e le connessioni esatte, la bugna supera di rado i 0,10 m. di spessore. Avvicinandosi allo spigolo, i filari diventano regolari ed i blocchi parallelepipedi, con una altezza di ogni filare da m. 0,45 a 0,55. È da notare in questo muro, a 1 m. a N dello spigolo, un incavo che corre per tutta l'altezza del muro, largo m. 0,29, uniforme, che è stato fatto scalpellando la massa delle bugne, fino alla superficie in cui avviene la connessione dei blocchi. Si può avere la certezza che qui fosse incastrato un trave quadrato, forse serviva da stipite della porta; a meno che l'uso del trave non fosse tutto diverso, come si può arguire dai casi che troveremo più avanti. La faccia meridionale del muro della porta (Fig. 5.2) volta ad angolo ottuso verso S, terminando quasi subito contro una parete rocciosa.

La regolarità dei blocchi parallelepipedi dell'angolo determina una certa regolarità della costruzione successiva: così vi sono di nuovo blocchi poligonali, ma sono disposti anch'essi in filoni, per quanto irregolari, coi blocchi parallelepipedi e trapezoidali. Ricorre in questi muri della porta una particolarità che del resto già compariva altrove: quella dei blocchi di forma trapezoide o pentagonale, che diventano però a sei o sette lati per esservi ricavato per lo più sulla faccia superiore un dente ad angolo retto per l'incastro di un blocco superiore. Il muro allo spigolo della porta è conservato per un'altezza di m. 2,47; dove il muro volgendo a S fa un angolo ottuso, l'altezza è di m. 2 circa dal piano delle rocce. Si noti presso lo sguincio della porta una pietra dello stesso calcare locale di cui sono costruite le mura che, spianata per un buon tratto sulla superficie superiore, vi mostra quattro cavità: due più grandi nel mezzo di un quadrante di m. 0,11 di lato, due più piccole sull'orlo (mm. 60 circa) (serviva per Cardini?). Il lavoro sembra antico per lo spiano della superficie, forse fu riadoperato nel Medio Evo se vi fu un innalzamento nella soglia della porta.



Figure 5.2. The southwestern gate (P2) at Çuka e Aitoit (wall section IV), 1929 (IA)

Mentre la larghezza fra le due cortine dello sperone è alla testata di m. [...], non è possibile stabilire lo spessore del muro interno per la grande rovina di pietre che tutto copre. Forse, anzi, la cortina esterna era addossata al fianco del monte servendo contemporaneamente come muro di sostegno. Lo spessore delle cortine non è stato possibile rintracciarlo in nessun punto dei secondi e terzi tratti già visti. Forse, anche lì mancava la cortina interna, almeno nella parte più bassa del muro (un po' più sopra, non si capisce se siano in un certo rapporto con la difesa due mura che scendono, fra loro parallele, perpendicolari al muro O (g). Sono due cortine distanti fra di loro m. 5,80 circa (dalle facce esterne): di quella meridionale è ancora in posto un solo blocco grandioso, trapezoidale (m. 1,33 d'altezza $\times$ 1,30; lo spessore 0,60 di cui 0,15 di bugna), mentre altri blocchi, pure grandi, sono radicati; il muro settentrionale è un parallelepipedo di grossi blocchi allungati (uno è di m. $0,75 \times 1,28$) in coni regolari da m. 0,355 fino a 0,65 e 0,75 d'altezza. Non si sa se questi due muri fossero chiusi da un terzo verso O, a guisa di torre. Nemmeno si sa se dominasse la porta per ragioni difensive o fosse costruzione a sé, quella che si incontra più in alto ancora ed è più complessa di aspetto: più in basso è una specie

di torre in poligonale con blocchi di piccole dimensioni, e si regolarizza in filari orizzontali o blocchi parallelepipedi sulla faccia prima; nel numero (2) i blocchi poligonali di grandi dimensioni (m. $0,20 \times 0,80$; $0,55 \times 0,90$), si alternano ai corsi regolari di blocchi parallelepipedi: di (3) avanza solo il primo filare; in (4) e in (6) ritorna la costruzione in poligonale piccolo, quasi senza bugna; (5) infine è, per quel che resta, dall'alto in basso in casi regolari e orizzontali di blocchi parallelepipedi. Questo muro E-O lega tutti i muri in direzione pressappoco N-S che in esso si ammorsano (ciò rende difficile pensare a diversità di tempo tra i muri di diversa tecnica).

Riprendendo il corso delle mura verso S, subito dopo lo sperone di roccia non si incontra per un buon tratto che un solo filare (anch'esso interrotto), di blocchi trapezoidali: alti m. 0,55 circa, lunghi fino a m. 0,95; dalla lavorazione della faccia superiore si può arguire che i corsi superiori se non perfettamente orizzontali erano però assai regolari. Questi tratti vanno da sperone a sperone, utilizzando le pareti rocciose quasi a sbarramento del declivio qui più facilmente accessibile. Dallo sperone il muro piega ad angolo retto verso E risalendo il pendio, con uno spessore di m. 3,20, e con filari, sembra, regolari, con blocchi parallelepipedi o trapezoidi di

grandi dimensioni. Questo muro in salita è lungo m. [...]. A quota 200, piega ancora ad angolo retto, riprendendo la direzione verso S, ed è per breve tratto in opera poligonale, con blocchi di diversissima grandezza, per m. 3,30 circa, ch  subito si reaccavalla alla roccia che qui forma un ampio sperone. Del tratto immediatamente successivo: sulla roccia non si trova che qualche blocco isolato e qualche traccia di spianamento della pietra per impostazione dei blocchi; dove il muro ricompare esso   dapprima a filari piuttosto irregolari di blocchi rettangolari trapezoidi e quasi quadrati di non piccole dimensioni, dopo un'interruzione di pochi metri   un altro breve tratto dello stesso muro, ma qui poligonale (blocchi quadrangolari e pentagonali) alternandosi grandi e piccoli blocchi, ma con superficie quasi liscia e senza bugna. Questo poligonale piccolo o misto   di un aspetto tutto diverso da quello grandioso del primo tratto che non   ritornato pi  durante il giro delle mura.

Quinto tratto (V)

Ancora pochi metri di interruzione e il muro ridiventa parallelepipedo con blocchi alti fino a m. 0,60: scavalca di nuovo una parete di roccia che mostra netti i tagli per l'impostazione, e di l  ripiglia ancora; dapprima   poligonale con blocchi enormi (m. $1,10 \times 1,00$; $0,85 \times 1,00$) pi  in basso a quattro e sei lati – ovunque si noti come   ridotta la bugna, se non manca del tutto; subito dopo comincia una maggior frequenza di tratti di posa rettilinei e orizzontali, come una predisposizione a opera parallelepipeda (Figs 5.3 and 5.4). Il muro qui mostra un'altezza sulla roccia di circa m. 3. Cambia direzione quasi subito, volgendo prima a S-E leggermente, ove poggia su una parete rocciosa, poi tornando leggermente verso E.   in questo tratto, fatto in opera poligonale assai irregolare, con blocchi tagliati grossolanamente, di dimensioni assai varie (m. $0,85 \times 2,05$ – m. $0,45 \times 0,70$) e giunti irregolari, (  vero per  che il muro qui ha molto sofferto e probabilmente le zeppe sono di et  bizantina, come il muro che scende a zig-zag dalla cima del monte e che si incontrer  tra poco).   sulla pendice del monte, in basso, che si trovano altri muri in opera poligonale, con blocchi di mediocre grandezza piuttosto allungati, e con ricorsi frequenti di piani di posa rettilinei, orizzontali od obliqui. Il muro che sale ha piani di posa orizzontali e blocchi di taglio trapezoidale.   qui che si apre una porta o postierla (P3) (Fig. 5.5) che, a differenza delle due gi  viste e dell'altra che   poco lontana, non si apre in un dente del muro, ma invece in un tratto quasi rettilineo nel lato S, bench  il corridoio volga immediatamente a E. Anche questa porta   stata ostruita con grandi blocchi, ma   difficile stabilirne l'epoca. All'angolo della porta il muro poligonale finora seguito, diventa parallelepipedo con filari alti successivamente m. 0,83; 0,50; 0,65; 0,38 (il muro all'angolo   alto m. 2,35 circa); la porta   larga all'entrata circa 1,50 m.; lo spessore dello sperone formato dal muro successivo a protezione dell'entrata sembra di circa m. 2,40; nello sperone si noti nell'unico blocco d'angolo rimasto, la lavorazione dello



Figure 5.3. Çuka e Aitoit, wall section V, 1929 (IA)



Figure 5.4. Çuka e Aitoit, detail of wall section V, 1929 (IA)



Figure 5.5. The southern gate (P3) at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

spigolo e l'aggetto del blocco di fondazione sottostante che fa quasi d'entimera; inoltre, la faccia di questo blocco che d  nell'interno della porta, mostra curiose tracce evidenti



Figure 5.6. The southern gate (P4) at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

del lavoro con cui fu scalpellata la bugna, probabilmente quando la porta venne ostruita.

Questo muro che fa sperone è in opera parallelepipedica: piani di posa orizzontali, blocchi rettangolari o a trapezio, altezze dei filari di m. 0,50; 0,60; 0,55, lunghezze notevoli dei blocchi (m. 0,90; 1,50 e più). Il muro esterno di questo sperone continua sempre guardando a S ma in direzione di poco più ad E di quello seguito finora, fino ad addossarsi a una parete di roccia, sulla quale peraltro scende il muro medioevale che viene a zig-zag dal sommo del monte. È curioso vedere come riprendendo di là della roccia, il muro nella parte inferiore faccia da sostegno al macigno dove esso è cavo; qui naturalmente, per adattarsi al poco spazio, i blocchi sono tagliati poligonali, né i giunti sono esatti; i blocchi regolari ricompaiono più in alto e nel dente che fa il muro a questo punto verso S.

Sesto tratto (VI)

Dal dente, il muro procede per lungo tratto in linea retta verso E, ma la sua costruzione è piuttosto irregolare. Dovunque è conservato per non grande altezza e il muro medioevale, che dapprima lo segue a poca distanza, più in là si serve del muro greco come parte inferiore della sua costruzione. Nei primi tratti è un muro poligonale assai irregolare, misto di blocchi grandi e di altri più piccoli, lavorati senza bugna, qualche blocco trapezoidale compare fra quelli poligonali; poi comincia un muro con blocchi trapezoidali, in cui i filari non sono a dir il vero perfettamente orizzontali, e si sono cercati degli incastri tra blocchi di vari filari mediante la caratteristica lavorazione a dente della faccia superiore di qualche blocco. La bugna

in questi blocchi quasi manca: i blocchi hanno la forma di trapezi o romboidi, rari sono i rettangolari. Così i piani di posa, pur essendo sempre orizzontali, sono discontinui, spesso ristabiliti da piccole zeppe quadrangolari; i tagli laterali sono nella massima parte obliqui. Lo spessore dei corsi varia da m. 0,55 a 0,70. L'altezza sia in questo tratto che in quelli poligonali, si aggira su circa m. 2–2,50. Nei tratti trapezoidali, pur essendovi blocchi di m. 1,00 o 1,30, si noti come sia abbastanza notevole, in proporzione, l'altezza. Dove il muro bizantino raggiunge quello greco, questo si mostra ancora di una tecnica mista di blocchi trapezoidali e pentagonali, di dimensioni assai varie, pur con una ricerca di filari orizzontali se non regolari (altezza circa m. 1,50); più in là ancora, ricompare l'opera in blocchi trapezoidali con i soliti denti di incastro che rompono la continuità dei piani di posa. Qui il muro bizantino è costruito su quello greco di cui rimangono fino a tre filari per un'altezza di poco superiore a un metro.

Il muro fa ancora un dente piegando questa volta verso N e poi subito di nuovo ad E. Si incontra bentosto una porta (P4) (Fig. 5.6), la quarta, che viene così ad avere davanti a sé una specie di spiazzo quadrangolare, forse per ottenere maggiore possibilità di difesa contro gli assalitori. Di questi tratti di muro restano pochi filari per scarsa altezza (il massimo è di m. 1,20 un po' prima della porta). È ancora in blocchi quasi parallelepipedici su filari orizzontali, ma presso la porta è stato tutto rimaneggiato e ricollegato con zeppe e calce. Si noti, dove il muro forma il dente, il resto di una costruzione greca qualche metro più sopra ed in dentro: essa ha il suo spigolo d'angolo ben lavorato ed è in opera trapezoidale con blocchi grandi (quello d'angolo: m. 0,62 × 1,20); era forse tutta una costruzione con le mura, la cui



Figure 5.7. Çuka e Aitoit, wall section VII, 1929 (IA)

parte inferiore aggettava rispetto alla superiore? La porta attuale è medioevale – ne è stato rialzato il piano e gli stipiti sono in piccoli blocchi quadrati legati con calce – ma la porta greca era allo stesso posto, preceduta dal corridoio, ampio all'imboccatura e via via più stretto, formato dal muro seguito finora e dallo sperone che s'avanza a difesa della porta. Quest'ultimo è molto largo sulla fronte (circa m. 3,70) e d'opera parallelepipedica, con blocchi rettangolari che giungono fino a m. 0,50 o 0,60 di altezza, con la solita lavorazione dello spigolo, e con l'aggetto del blocco di fondazione sotto l'angolo. Esso forma un vero e proprio torrione rettangolare, di cui il lato meridionale è quasi tutto scomparso (il muro medioevale che l'ha sostituito, come più indietro), mentre resta buona parte e l'angolo del lato O (fino all'altezza di circa m. 1,65), ed è visibile la traccia di quello E (ben visibile l'angolo e l'ammorsatura dei blocchi col muro meridionale).

Settimo tratto (VII)

Comincia all'angolo del lungo torrione ed ha una direzione costante approssimativamente O-E, salvo qualche ripresa di una lievissima importanza. Al suo inizio (altezza m. 1,30) è costruito in filari orizzontali, con piani però discontinui e blocchi trapezoidali, romboidi con denti d'incastro sul piano superiore, e anche poligonali pentagoni, che però non turbano la regolarità della costruzione perché il piano orizzontale di posa è ristabilito da qualche blocco triangolare (l'altezza dei blocchi varia da m. 0,30 a 0,65). Su questo primo tratto è possibile riconoscere anche lo spessore del bastione (m. 1,60) che è fatto di due cortine riempite e bene inzeppate di blocchetti irregolari e minori.

A m. 9,50 circa dall'inizio di questo tratto, il muro presenta una certa irregolarità: i blocchi sono pressappoco quadrangolari, rettangolari, trapezoidali o pentagoni piuttosto allungati, che raramente hanno tutti due facce parallele così da costituire filari regolari. Ne consegue che si ha una tendenza a corsi orizzontali di blocchi, ma i piani

di posa non risultano mai orizzontali per lungo tratto: ora si alzano ora si abbassano e la continuità è stabilita da piani di giuntura obliqui, assai raramente da denti di incastro. Si conservano sempre due o tre piloni, fino a un'altezza di m. 1,40 circa. Si osserva in questo tratto, a una quindicina di metri dall'inizio (circa 14,60), un incavo verticale lungo il muro ricavato nello spessore delle bugne assai leggere, non nel vivo dei blocchi, largo m. 0,19 circa: ha tutta l'aria di servire per appoggiarvi un quadrone più che un blocco. Questo per avere una norma sicura nel mantenere la direzione? (Idea dell'Ing. D. R. Monaco) (I blocchi rovinati a valle erano tutti dei filari superiori del muro, nessuno dà l'impressione che fosse parte di un avancorpo a quello addossato). Questo tipo dura ancora per lungo tratto: a m. 26 circa dall'inizio, il muro, che poco prima era ridotto a 1 solo filare, è alto m. 2,20 circa, e qui i filari sono più alti per la presenza di grossi blocchi pentagonali (il maggiore m. 0,73 d'altezza), ma poi il filare si sdoppia in due più piccoli dal solito andamento sinuoso per il taglio a trapezio o a pentagono della maggior parte dei blocchi.

A m. 28 è ancora un taglio verticale, largo però m. 0,12–0,14, che occupa la faccia dei 4 filari esistenti (m. 1,70 d'altezza) (Fig. 5.7). Dista poco più di 13 m. dal taglio precedente. Esso ha pure l'aspetto di servire all'appoggio di un quadrone (un terzo intaglio simile, ma solo sul secondo e terzo filare, è a m. 15,50 dall'ultimo). Il muro prosegue visibile sempre, almeno per un filare, raggiungendo in un punto i tre filari e m. 1,60 di altezza. A m. 67 circa, fa dente verso S; all'angolo l'altezza è di m. 2,50 e i filari, da sinuosi che erano prima, diventano orizzontali, pur conservando altezze assai varie (da m. 0,25 a 0,65), e blocchi o trapezoidali, talora anche grandi (m. 0,65 × 0,30) e spesso con denti d'incastro, oppure pentagonali ma di una forma che si adatta facilmente alla regolarità dei filari. Lo spessore del muro è quindi di m. 2,70 circa. Il riempimento è quello solito. Il muro O del dente è invece in opera quasi parallelepipedica, come ormai può credersi che fosse il sistema preferito per i muri in salita. I blocchi (alti



Figure 5.8. Çuka e Aitoit, wall section VII, 1929 (IA)

m. 0,55- 0,60), se non parallelepipedi perfetti, hanno denti d'incastro o tagli laterali obliqui – si noti lo spigolo vivo all'angolo fra le bugne e, per così dire, l'ammorsatura dei blocchi del dente con quelli del muro – alternativamente un blocco si incastra nella parete (ed è più corto), quello successivo si addossa solo ma incastrandosi entro la bugna scalpellata (ed è più lungo) (notare nei blocchi incastrati come s'è ottenuto con cura l'adesione anche fra le superfici delle bugne). Il dente indica una ripresa del muro in divisione approssimativa più a S-E, fino ad un altro dente successivo (a m. 31 circa).

L'altezza del muro allo spigolo del dente è di m. 1,60. Soltanto nella parte adiacente allo spigolo la costruzione continua in parallelepipedi di grandi dimensioni (m. $0,60 \times 1,00$; $0,65 \times 1,05$); unica parte conservata: dopo un'interruzione di qualche metro riprende quella che potrebbe dirsi la costruzione 'pseudo-polygonale'. È questo uno dei tratti di muro meglio conservati per altezza e lunghezza (Fig. 5.8) (è quello della fotografia!); è un tratto grandioso, in cui i blocchi sono molto spesso quadrangolari (qualche parallelepipedo, spesso trapezoidi) e, se poligonali, a forma di pentagono; non rari i denti di incastro; i blocchi sono lavorati con una borsa o bugna assai sentita (fino a 0,15 m.).

I piani di posa hanno tendenza ad essere rettilinei, ma si forma, per la loro discontinuità, quasi sempre una spezzata, talvolta addirittura assumono un andamento quasi curvilineo per la giustapposizione di tratti ognuno di diversa obliquità. Perciò i vari piani di posa si allontanano o convergono, rarissimamente corrono paralleli, a seconda della varia forma e della varia altezza dei blocchi che costituiscono i filari. L'accuratezza della costruzione si rivela nella esattezza dei giunti e degli incastri. L'altezza,

prima di m. 3,60 (per otto filari), raggiunge un massimo di m. 4 (nove filari) ed è di m. 3,40 all'angolo del muro. Le dimensioni dei blocchi maggiori sono: m. $0,45 \times 1,20$; $0,50 \times 0,95$; $0,65 \times 1,05$; $0,70 \times 1,30$ ecc. Lo spessore della bugna, meno accentrata nei tratti precedenti, dà grandiosità a questo tratto di muro. Inoltre si noti, come sia assai scarso il predominio di blocchi, quantunque di grandi dimensioni, con asse orizzontale molto superiore al verticale; il tono della costruzione è dato dai blocchi in cui i due assi sono poco differenti in proporzione.

All'inizio dell'ultimo tratto ora esaminato un muro medioevale fatto di blocchetti uniti da calce a doppio paramento, che scende dalla parte inferiore del monte, viene a finire proprio sul dente del muro greco. Subito dopo si incontra un particolare che ricorre pure sul muro O delle costruzioni basse sul pendio N-O del monte (verso il villaggio). È lo sbocco di un condotto d'acqua, di cui restano circa 3 metri (Fig. 5.9). Era un canale di m. 0,30 circa di apertura, il cui letto era costituito da lastroni (lunghezza 1,10 circa, larghezza 0,95 m., spessore circa 0,30 m.) sulla cui faccia superiore è come un incavo – profondo 1 cm. o 1,5 cm. e largo appunto circa 0,30 m. – sul cui bordo si alzano i blocchi alti m. 0,50 circa, che costituiscono le pareti del condotto, che aveva così m. 0,30 di larghezza $\times$ 0,50 di profondità. Il condotto si appoggiava alle mura, probabilmente ne sporgeva alquanto, versando al di fuori l'acqua che vi sarà stata incanalata dalle parti superiori del monte. Ora se ne conserva per m. 3 circa di lunghezza.

Ottavo tratto (VIII)

Il lungo muro 'pseudo-polygonale' si interrompe contro un



Figure 5.9. Water conduit in wall section VII at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

alto dente (il succedersi di queste riprese nella costruzione indica i cambiamenti successivi di direzione per adattarsi alle pendici del monte): anche questa costruzione ha i piani di posa orizzontali e paralleli e i blocchi sono o parallelepipedi, o con tagli laterali lievemente obliqui. All'angolo interno, questi blocchi – nel modo già descritto per il dente di prima – alternativamente si incastrano, o si addossano nell'incavo ottenuto scalpellando la bugna; si noti: all'angolo esterno accennato lo spigolo e, sotto il primo filare, l'aggetto dei blocchi di fondazione. I blocchi sono di grandi dimensioni talvolta (circa 0,50 m. di altezza), ma l'altezza varia da filare a filare; la costruzione in parallelepipedi o in blocchi trapezoidali a filari orizzontali è solo nei blocchi più vicini all'angolo. Appena il muro riprende la direzione verso E, subito ricomincia il muro con gli stessi caratteri e con lo stesso aspetto di quello descritto prima del dente, solo che, a mano a mano che si procede, i filari, che conservano piani di posa abbastanza regolare e rettilinei per un buon tratto, assumono quell'aspetto irregolare proprio dei muri poligonali e difatti aumentano, fra i muri trapezoidali, quelli pentagonali. L'altezza massima è di m. 3,70 e poi 3,90. Qui, a m. 17,50 circa dal dente iniziale, v'è nel muro di nuovo un'alta scanalatura per un quadrone, larga m. 0,12. Si noti qui che il filare che

posa immediatamente sulla roccia è lievemente in aggetto rispetto a quelli superiori; le altezze medie dei filari sono da m. 0,50 a 0,70, solo i blocchi più grossi si avvicinano agli 0,80 m.; ma si noti lo sporgere delle bugne in qualche punto fino a 0,20 m.

A 29 m. esattamente dal dente d'inizio del tratto ottavo la costruzione diventa regolare, con piani di posa orizzontali e paralleli, e blocchi anche parallelepipedi, se non con tagli laterali obliqui. Non è possibile scorgere un distacco tra questa tecnica e quella di carattere poligonale che precede, perché vi sono incastri e giunture esatte di blocchi; le altezze dei filari variano da m. 0,35 a 0,65; alcuni blocchi raggiungono la lunghezza di m. 1,20 circa. Le bugne non sono molto forti e, il filare che posa sulla roccia aggetta di qualche centimetro. A poca distanza dal dente che segue (m. 17 circa), passando sopra un gruppo di roccioni il muro è bello per le altezze di certi filari (m. 0,90) e le dimensioni dei suoi blocchi (m. 0,90 × 1,60). Qui il muro ha l'altezza di circa 3,10 m. Questa costruzione, con filari però più bassi, giunge fino al dente, esso pure nel lato O, a filari regolari con piani orizzontali e blocchi trapezoidali con bugna di circa m. 0,15, i cui blocchi però sono addossati al muro meridionale, non s'incastrano come nei denti già visti; l'altezza dei filari arriva a m. 0,60 circa.

Lo spessore del muro prima del dente è di circa m. 3,10. Lo spigolo del dente ha la solita lavorazione. Il muro continua con la solita direzione verso E; si noti il primo filare con grossa bugna e quasi sempre in aggetto rispetto ai blocchi superiori; questo primo filare mostra ovunque un piano di posa rettilineo ma la costruzione dei filari superiori ritorna confusa: blocchi quadrangolari e pentagonali con bugna (0,10–0,20 m.), frequenza di piani obliqui che interrompono quelli rettilinei. L'altezza più comune dei blocchi è di circa m. 0,50; in qualche punto il muro raggiunge l'altezza di m. 2,70. Lo spessore, sempre riconoscibile, è di m. 3,20 circa (questo è pure lo spessore del dente). Non manca qualche tratto di grossi blocchi pentagonali (m. 0,90 × 1,00; 0,70 × 1,20); qualcuno raggiunge 1 m. di altezza, ma sono fuori della media dei blocchi normali. Il muro conserva la sua irregolarità di filari e la mescolanza di blocchi quadrangolari e poligonali, fino al punto in cui svolta decisamente verso N. Qui ha l'altezza di m. 1,20; si noti sempre l'aggetto del primo filare di posa. Il filare più alto raggiunge l'altezza di m. 0,55 circa.

Nono tratto (IX)

È perfettamente in direzione N-S. Procede colla stessa tecnica del tratto ottavo, cioè blocchi quadrangolari e pentagonali con tendenza a piani di posa orizzontali e a filari quasi regolari; v'è qualche blocco più alto, che occupa l'altezza di due filari (circa m. 0,75). Il muro in qualche punto è alto m. 1,60. La parte centrale di questo tratto è però in bella tecnica con piani perfettamente orizzontali e blocchi quasi sempre con tagli laterali obliqui. Raggiunge l'altezza di m. 2,30. I filari sono alti circa m. 0,60 e qualche blocco dei filari superiori, che probabilmente

ridiventano irregolari, misura m. $0,85 \times 1,00$. A m. 6,60 circa dall'angolo N-O, dove il muro (altezza massima m. 2,80) ridiventa poligonale anche con grossi blocchi pentagonali (m. $0,78 \times 1,05$), è da notare lo sbocco di un altro canale di scarico per l'acqua: l'acqua scorreva entro l'incavo, a pareti un po' svasate (largo m. 0,17, alto 80 mm.) ricavato nella faccia superiore di un blocchetto rettangolare (alto m. 0,20, largo 0,54) che aggetta di m. 0,14 dalla faccia del muro per dare getto lontano alla corrente. Corrisponde a questo incavo un altro della stessa larghezza ma alto m. 0,10, ricavato nel piano inferiore di posa del blocco pentagonale sovrastante (alto m. 0,66, larghezza massima m. 0,70). È uno scolo più semplice e modesto ma analogo a quello già osservato nel lato meridionale (tratto sesto) e nel lato O del muro di recinzione delle costruzioni basse sul pendio di N-O. Allo svolto verso N-O il muro è alto m. 2,60; i blocchi qui sono in filari orizzontali e qualcuno è alto fino a m. 0,68. Verso O procede in opera mista di blocchi poligonali e quadrangolari, quest'ultimi in assai scarso numero; si notino alcuni blocchi pentagonali di m. $0,90 \times 0,85$; $0,30 \times 1,00$. I filari poi ridiventano orizzontali, quando il muro ricomincia a salire radialmente il pendio. In tutto questo tratto non mi è stato possibile ricavare lo spessore del muro: è visibile il riempimento di pietrame, ma non è visibile la cortina interna che forse qui mancava, mentre in alcuni punti affiora un muro parallelo a quello di cinta a livello superiore, un probabile terrazzamento (è a circa m. 4,70 verso l'interno).

Decimo tratto (X)

Il muro piega ad O, affrontando l'ascesa del pendio: per un breve tratto ne resta poco più di un filare, si interrompe su di un ammasso di rocce, riprende sempre sulla roccia in filari, com'è naturale, orizzontali. Qui è possibile riconoscerne lo spessore di m. 2,60; l'altezza però arriva nel punto meglio conservato a 4 filari. Se ne perde ogni traccia nel passare su un gruppo di speroni rocciosi; segue una interruzione di qualche metro.

Undicesimo tratto (XI)

Si ritrova traccia del muro greco a una quota più alta (m.

219 circa) dove incomincia quel muro bizantino (direzione approssimativa N-E-S-O) che scende fino a metà circa del tratto settimo attraversando tutta la pendice del monte. Il primo tratto di muro greco è proprio all'angolo di quello medioevale, e i blocchi poligonali e quadrilateri che lo compongono, in filari piuttosto disordinati, furono legati fra di loro con calce e con l'intromissione di piccole zeppe, non sembra subissero un rimaneggiamento più profondo; l'altezza di questo tratto è di m. 1,60. Il muro di qui in avanti posa sempre, ove esiste, su ammassi di rocce a picco sul pendio del monte, che da questo lato è più scosceso e ripido. Lo spessore di questo tratto era di m. 1,30. Di qui in avanti si trovano sempre brevi tratti poco alti in poligonale piccolo, tra picco e picco della roccia che sale con decisione, non continua. Qualche tratto meglio conservato ha lo spessore di m. 2,30 e l'altezza di m. 1,20 circa. Dove la roccia è più scoscesa il muro manca, o se ne riconosce solo qualche piccolo blocco irregolare dei filari più bassi; dopo un'interruzione, se ne vede qualche blocco che è servito di base al muro bizantino superiore in un punto dove è quasi in curva per appoggiarsi a una sporgenza di roccia.

Dodicesimo tratto (XII)

Riprende, dopo un'interruzione, un breve tratto di muro greco che utilizza i roccioni per incastrarvisi e appoggiarvi. I blocchi sono quadrilateri e poligonali di varia forma e grandezza: un bel blocco, quasi isolato misura m. $1,00 \times 1,35$. Anche qui, sembra in epoca medioevale, si è raffazzonato il muro greco con calce e zeppe. Poco più in là è un altro enorme blocco di m. $1,35 \times 2,20$ circa, pentagonale. Il muro qui è alto m. 2,10 circa, continua ancora per pochi metri con filari quasi orizzontali e blocchi assai variamente lavorati, parte quadrangolari e parte poligonali, finché, giungendo contro un aspro gruppo di rocce si inserisce sopra il muro medioevale. E questo continua a salire fino alla vetta del monte, seguendo probabilmente l'andamento del muro greco di cui compaiono di tanto in tanto, come basamento della costruzione superiore, solo miseri avanzi. Nemmeno è possibile stabilire se vi fosse una specie di acropoli con un muro di cinta che, scendendo dal sommo proprio come quello medioevale, si ricongiunge col muro meridionale.

6 Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit): Scavi

Luigi Maria Ugolini

Costruzioni fuori dalla cinta

La pendice N-O

La serie di costruzioni che s'incontrano salendo il monte dalla pendice di N-O (dall'attuale villaggio di Ciflik) mi pare che si possa ritenere divisa in due gruppi: uno più basso di forma pressappoco triangolare; l'altro più in alto, attorno al ripiano dov'è la cisterna o pozzo circolare. Se vi fosse legame tra i due gruppi di costruzioni non è possibile vederlo ora e chissà se scavi particolari riuscirebbero a metterlo in luce.

Il gruppo più basso è cinto da un muro continuo su tre lati, approssimativamente S, O e N. Questo muro dà quasi l'idea che sia una recinzione del complesso di costruzioni.¹

Il lato sud

È quello in cui si apre la porta: il muro è in discesa da un ammasso di rocce a cui si appoggia; pare che il punto dove questo muro ha origine sulla roccia sia quello stesso in cui forma un angolo retto con un altro muro in direzione N-S; la traccia del blocco d'angolo è nello spianamento della roccia che serviva per l'impostazione. Questo muro è fatto di blocchi di varia grandezza di taglio quadrangolare, per lo più a forma di trapezio: i filari sono d'altezza disuguale (da m. 0,27 a 0,70) a seconda dell'altezza dei blocchi; i piani di posa sono costantemente orizzontali, anche se talora discontinui per l'esistenza di denti d'incastro sulla faccia superiore di qualche blocco, il che sposta di qualche centimetro questi piani. Piccole zeppe triangolari o quadrangolari correggono le smussature di qualche angolo o s'incastano negli interstizi rimasti vuoti fra i blocchi maggiori. Le bugne, poco pronunciate, non superano i 0,10 m.

È in questo lato che si apre la porta: ne è visibile lo stipite ad E (a destra di chi entra), mentre bisognerà riconoscere lo stipite O nel lungo blocco posto di traverso per tutta la sua lunghezza (che è poi la larghezza del muro: m. 1,05 circa), a guisa di ortostato. La porta avrebbe la larghezza

considerevole di m. 2,35. Lo stipite O è interessante: sopra un blocco di base di m. 0,42 poggiano per testa due blocchi appaiati, alti m. 0,70 e larghi uno 0,47 e l'altro 0,42 m. (senza la bugna). Lo spessore del muro è di circa 0,95 m. Questi due blocchi sono lavorati a barre sia sulle facce esteriori ed interne del muro, sia in quelle che danno sul passaggio della porta. Sono lisce invece le facce nascoste che dovevano combaciare. Nel blocco più esterno è stato lavorato un incavo a sezione quadrata (lato m. 0,17, profondità m. 0,10) certo per inserirvi la testa di un grosso trave. Su questi due blocchi ne posa uno posto per tutta la sua lunghezza (m. 0,92) e alto m. 0,27; chi osservi la disposizione dei blocchi di questo stipite, vi ritroverà una disposizione analoga a quella delle ante di costruzioni del IV-III secolo a.C. (per esempio, nel Tempio di Zeus in Acarnania?).²

Il lato ovest

Non ha una direzione costante, perché a un certo punto si spezza, formando un angolo ottuso e dirigendosi più a N. Manca l'angolo S-O precipitato, ma tra i blocchi che formano la rovina se ne trovano alcuni di enormi dimensioni con tagli ad angolo retto delle facce, e in due di essi (uno m. 0,70 × 1,10; l'altro m. 0,60 × 1,10), si osserva lungo un angolo la caratteristica lavorazione dello spigolo acuto (ottenuto lasciando due listelli lisci su due facce adiacenti), che assicura la loro collocazione. Perciò, l'angolo della costruzione doveva essere almeno di alti filari di blocchi parallelepipedi, o che avessero almeno i piani di posa orizzontali se i tagli laterali erano obliqui. In tale tecnica è assai probabile che fossero anche i primi metri più vicini all'angolo, di questo lato O, ora caduti. Bentosto la costruzione assume tutt'altro aspetto: i blocchi sono poligonali ma di forme assai varie e anche di svariate dimensioni, ve n'è di pentagonali, sia di quelli in cui gli assi sono quasi uguali tra di loro, sia quelli in cui l'asse orizzontale è di gran lunga superiore a quello verticale; rari sono i quadrilateri, che assumono forma di poligono o



Figure 6.1. Mouth of drain in the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit (exterior view), 1929 (IA)

per la smussatura di qualche angolo o per la presenza dei caratteristici denti di incastro sul piano superiore.

Regolarità di filari non esiste data la diversità di altezza dei vari blocchi; linee di piani di posa orizzontali sono rare, per lo più sono oblique o formano la caratteristica speciale dei muri poligonali. Quello che è da osservare in questo tratto è lo scarso rilievo della bugna e la perfezione dei giunti tra blocco e blocco, né sono frequenti le piccole zeppe triangolari o quadrangolari. Né, v'è uniformità di costruzione o d'aspetto: se in qualche punto predominano blocchi di forma piuttosto allungata e bassa (m. $0,60 \times 1,60$; $0,45 \times 0,80$; $0,40 \times 0,90$; $0,40 \times 1,00$), in altri punti la costruzione ha un'apparenza più tozza per il poco divario che esiste tra gli assi dei vari blocchi (per esempio, m. $0,65 \times 0,80$; m. $0,65 \times 0,86$; $0,55 \times 0,65$; $0,80 \times 1,00$). Appena il muro cambia direzione la costruzione diventa di filari regolari con piani di posa orizzontali, pur essendo diverse le altezze dei vari filari; non mancano grossi blocchi quasi parallelepipedi di m. $0,60 \times 0,62$; $0,60 \times 0,80$, ma si noti come non tutti i blocchi abbiano i piani di posa paralleli, ma ve n'è di trapezoidi e pentagonali; una cura sapiente nella disposizione dei blocchi di varia forma concorre ad ottenere filari regolari (l'altezza massima del muro è di m. 2,80).

Il particolare più interessante di questo lato è però il canale di scolo delle acque, che qui sbocca: (cfr. nella cinta delle mura i tratti Settimo e Nono), esso si può seguire per la lunghezza di circa 6 m. e, largo dai 0,30 m. (allo sbocco) fino a 0,45 m., come incassato fra due muretti che appartengono con ogni probabilità a due ambienti quadrati, addossati al muro di recinzione (di cui sotto). Il piano del canale è formato (a quel che mi sembra, perché tutto ingombro di vegetazione) da lastre di pietra poste a scalino l'una sull'altra in modo da assicurare al letto la pendenza (Figs 6.1 and 6.2). Su di esse il



Figure 6.2. Drain in the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit (interior view), 1929 (IA)

letto del canale è precisato dai bordi lievemente rialzati su cui posano le pareti di lato, i lati difatti sono formati nella parte più bassa da specie di muretti in blocchi di varia grandezza e forma, nella parte più alta sono scavati nel vivo della roccia. La bocca di scarico è formata da un unico blocco ben

lavorato (alto m. 0,22, largo m. 0,58) che nel piano superiore ha ricevuto un incavo largo 0,32 m. e profondo da mm. 30 a 50; esso sporge dal muro per circa m. 0,30, e la sua faccia anteriore è smussata mediante un taglio obliquo quasi ad incanalare e scaricare meglio lontano l'acqua.

Si penserebbe che il canale fosse coperto in modo analogo a quello più semplice del tratto orientale delle mura: qui non v'è traccia, all'infuori, sembra, di traccia di impostazione di blocchi forse di copertura sul piano dei blocchi della riva nord, all'altezza di m. 0,75 circa (la riva sud è alta ora solo m. 0,50 – ambedue le misure prese circa a metà del canale). Anzi sulla riva di nord, a circa m. 1,70 dallo sbocco, è da notare la lavorazione della faccia superiore di uno dei blocchi che sosteneva la copertina, qualora essa esistesse, ove è traccia di un canaletto largo 0,12 m., che immetteva le sue acque provenienti dall'ambiente immediatamente a N del canale più grande.

Il lato nord

È quello conservato in condizioni peggiori. Alto un metro all'angolo N-O mostra qua e là tracce di un filare di blocchi in cui sembra si sia conservata l'orizzontalità dei piani di posa. Nelle condizioni attuali non è possibile riconoscere se esso proseguisse fino ad unirsi nel muro di recinzione del gruppo di costruzioni superiori. Anche a questo muro si addossano piccoli ambienti (a S); lo spessore è di 1 m. (senza la bugna esterna).

Interno

Parallelo al muro N, nella parte interna corre un altro muro, che si suppone fiancheggiarlo per tutta la sua lunghezza perché qua e là ne affiora solo qualche blocco; solo nell'estremità E ne è conservato un tratto alto fino a m. 1,75, ben costruito in blocchi poligonali piuttosto piccoli (m. 0,40 in media di altezza, di blocchi fa eccezione qualcuno alto fino a m. 0,65), senza regolarità di filari né di piani di posa. I giunti lasciano raramente interstizi e le superfici esterne non hanno bugne ma sono lavorate piuttosto rozzamente. Probabilmente è da supporre un muro parallelo anche all'interno del lato O: tra questi due muri è quasi certo supporre delle divisioni che costituissero vari ambienti, ciò non solo dalla presenza di qualche traccia di muro E-O nel lato O, ma sicuramente un ambiente quadrato è immediatamente a N del canale di scolo, anzi ne resta intatto l'angolo S-E (un altro è naturale supporlo immediatamente a S); inoltre nel lato N un ambiente quadrato è stato scavato al completo, e così pure parte di quello adiacente verso E.

È interessante la tecnica di costruzione del vano scavato: esso raggiunge una profondità di m. 1,10–1,40; al disotto è la roccia ineguale. Il suo muro N è il muro stesso di recinzione di cui qui (e anche nel vano adiacente parzialmente scavato), vediamo il paramento interno. Tanto il paramento interno del muro N (spessore m. 1,00 circa), quanto i muri O, S, E (rispettivamente spessi m. 0,80 circa, m. 0,80 circa, 0,65), sono costituiti da blocchi poligonali irregolari, di varia forma

e grandezza (in media m. 0,35 d'altezza; sono eccezionali un blocco di m. 0,85 × 1,00 a N, e uno enorme m. 1,06 × 1,50 a S) legati insieme con terra. Nel muro E è ben visibile un'apertura originaria di m. 1,30 di larghezza che pare chiusa a bella posta con terra e pietre; quello che è più interessante è il resto di un intonaco di terra dello spessore di mm. 60–80 in vari punti del muro E e in tutto l'angolo S-E. Su questo intonaco ne è sovrapposto in qualche punto un altro più fine di calce dello spessore di mm. 8–10, con tracce di pittura. Notevole la presenza nel muro E di vari frammenti di tegola nella costruzione. Nella parte più interna (a S-E), la parte più interessante sembra costituita da un ambiente da un lato scavato nella roccia, negli altri costruito di pietre. Un grande ammasso di rocce, nel lato S dell'ambiente è stato tagliato come una parete, per un'altezza massima di m. 2,75: a tale profondità dal ciglio delle rocce è stato ricavato nella roccia stessa il pavimento.

La parte superiore invece del muro E è in costruzione poligonale assai irregolare, di blocchi di varia forma e grandezza (da m. 0,22 × 0,30 fino a m. 0,60 × 0,75; 0,50 × 0,95), disposti senza alcuna tendenza in ordine regolare, solo con cura all'esattezza della connessione; la superficie dei blocchi è quasi liscia come nella parete rocciosa. All'angolo S-E la roccia con le pietre che le sono sovrapposte è alta m. 3 circa; anche nella parete rocciosa S sono visibili sull'alto della roccia piani di posa per altri blocchi, così che è difficile indovinare fino a che altezza si elevasse la costruzione e quale fosse la copertina.

Mentre il lato O è ancora interrato, di quello N resta un muretto alto m. 0,65, spesso m. 0,60, che chiudeva l'ambiente sul davanti. Questo muro continua verso E a un livello più alto, in opera poligonale con tendenza a filari orizzontali; poi volta ad angolo retto verso S sempre con la stessa tecnica, e di nuovo ad E più in alto, facendo come un'ampia recinzione dell'ambiente scavato nella roccia. Quest'ultimo muro, che utilizza anche le sporgenze della roccia, è assai irregolare e, alto fino a m. 1,80 mostra nell'interno un enorme blocco quasi ortostatico di m. 1,25 × 1,80. Immediatamente ad E seguono i muri del gruppo di costruzioni più alto.

Il gruppo più alto

È quasi più complicato ancora del precedente: sembra che vi abbia grande importanza un'ampia piattaforma che termina a S contro le rocce, le quali per altro, non mostrano né lavorazione per essere ridotte a parete, né piani di posa per muri di cinta. Su questa piattaforma si apre un gran pozzo o cisterna, e gli altri 3 lati, specialmente quello di N e di O sembrano protetti da muri di cinta a protezione del pozzo. Questo è di forma circolare (Fig. 6.3), e ha il diametro di m. 2,50 circa: la parte superiore è costruita di blocchi poligonali irregolari di varia grandezza, più in basso è tagliato nella roccia; a una certa profondità forma una risega piana e prosegue ristretto; è ancora da scavare. Era completamente intonacato e dell'intonaco ne restano tratti che rivelano almeno 3 strati, se non successive sovrapposizioni.



Figure 6.3. Circular well or cistern within the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)



Figure 6.4. Wall a of the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

A Nord, a sostegno o a difesa della piattaforma (o a scopo di abitazioni?), si succedono vari muri. Cominciando dal più settentrionale in basso si incontra:

1. Muro *a*. Un muro poligonale, di grossi blocchi disposti senz'ordine ma con esattezza di giunti (Fig. 6.4). Per lo più sono di dimensioni allungate, l'aspetto è grandioso

con bugne piuttosto forti (fino a m. 0,20); non frequenti i blocchi quadrangolari, ma sì quelli pentagonali o numero maggiore di lati; alcune dimensioni: m. $0,70 \times 1,40$; $0,75 \times 1,40$; $0,30 \times 1,40$; $0,85 \times 1,20$; $0,75 \times 1,20$; $0,90 \times 1,05$. L'angolo S-O è formato da almeno due blocchi enormi con piani di posa orizzontali (alti m. 0,95, altezza m. 1,80). Il muro piega a S ad angolo retto, e probabilmente forma



Figure 6.5. Wall b of the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

una porta o passaggio largo m. 0,65, perché subito ad O si incontra l'angolo di un'altra costruzione probabilmente in continuazione di questa (ne resta il ciglio di un filare). Questa costruzione sembra formare a un certo punto un avancorpo e svolterebbe definitivamente a S lasciando un passaggio tra esso e il gruppo più basso.

Parallelo a questo e più internamente e in alto si incontra:

2. Muro b. Un'altro muro (Fig. 6.5) in opera poligonale, ma in blocchi generalmente più piccoli, con gran numero di blocchi quadrangolari, con tendenza a piani di posa orizzontali e a filari regolari; l'altezza del muro è di circa m. 1,40; le dimensioni dei blocchi di m. $0,35 \times 0,95$; $0,40 \times 1,05$; $0,40 \times 0,75$; $0,40 \times 0,65$; eccezionale la dimensione di m. $0,76 \times 1,05$. Il muro volta ad angolo retto verso S, nell'estremo O (si noti la lavorazione dello spigolo), e questo muro N-S è sulla stessa linea di quello che sale dal muro poligonale inferiore. Mancano le bugne, le superfici dei blocchi sono quasi lisce e i giunti perfetti. Questo muro diventa molto interessante più ad E, dove si apre una porta che per mezzo di scalini porta al piano del muro superiore. Si osservi a destra della porta due grossi blocchi di m. $0,85 \times 1,40$, l'altro è formato da blocchi quasi ortostatici (il muro qui è alto m. 1,45); allo spigolo dell'entrata si sono adoperati blocchi quasi parallelepipedi; a sinistra della porta invece (dove il muro è alto m. 1,60), sono stati adoperati blocchi poligonali ma con filari quasi regolari e piani orizzontali allo spigolo (si noti l'esatta lavorazione delle superfici). In basso, i blocchi posano sulla roccia che era lavorata a formare il pavimento davanti all'entrata cosicché si riconosce che i due gradini attuali non

sono originari. L'entrata è larga m. 1,20, i blocchi che la fiancheggiano, poligonali, presentano una bella lavorazione della superficie. Quattro scalini (alti 0,24; 0,19; 0,22 e ora – 0,15 m.) portano al piano del muro c.

3. Muro c. Il muro c è in bellissima tecnica poligonale assai fine (Figs 6.6 and 6.7, cf. Fig. 2.1), ed è reso ancora più interessante dalla porta che vi si apre.³ È conservato per un'altezza di m. 3, compreso l'architrave della porta. Il piano di posa è assicurato oltre che dall'ultimo gradino di accesso, anche dalla lavorazione del piano di roccia davanti alla porta. Anche qui i blocchi sono poligonali, in generale di notevoli dimensioni, rari piuttosto i quadrangolari; disposti senza nessuna preoccupazione di filari, ma col caratteristico ricorrere di linee spezzate dei muri poligonali; le giunture dei blocchi sono esattissime e le superfici non solo mancano assolutamente di bugna, ma anzi sono spianate con caratteristica lavorazione. Solo allo spigolo della porta ai blocchi è dato un piano di posa orizzontale, ma questo non ha efficacia sull'andamento dei blocchi contigui.

La porta si apre nel muro un po' ad E della scalinata d'accesso al suo piano; larga m. 0,90, è un po' alta dal suolo ed è alta m. 3,60. Notevole il suo architrave formato da due blocchi tagliati obliquamente ad angolo acuto. L'interno della porta è un corridoio il cui fondo è costituito dalla roccia diseguale e in salita (com'era il pavimento?). Le pareti sono ancora nella stessa opera poligonale fine del muro esterno. Per dare un'idea della grandezza dei blocchi ecco le misure di alcuni blocchi (quelli degli stipiti, cominciando da destra in basso): m. $0,70 \times 1,00$; $0,57 \times 0,95$; $0,58 \times 1,10$; $0,80 \times 0,75$; $0,88 \times 0,95$, ecc.

Lo spazio tra b e c è dunque rettangolare: oltre a



Figure 6.6. Wall c of the so-called 'Palace' at Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)



Figure 6.7. Detail of doorway in wall c after removal of blocking stone, Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

contenere la scala d'accesso al ripiano della porta, aveva chissà quale altra destinazione; quanto alla costruzione rispettiva si noti che mentre i blocchi del muro E di questo ambiente si addossano all'angolo di quello c, v'è tuttavia

unicità di concezione e di costruzione fra i due muri come si rileva dalla lavorazione ad angolo retto della roccia che serve da basamento ad ambedue.

4. Muro d. Si può essere sicuri della sua esistenza dall'affiorare di cigli di pietra, in linea retta continua un po' più in alto e a S del muro c, ma non è possibile stabilirne né la tecnica né l'altezza.

Ad O la delimitazione di questa terrazza del pozzo è data da due ambienti: uno più piccolo a S, l'altro più allungato a N – ambedue di forma trapezoidale – raccordati da un muro che più vicino all'ambiente S, è in curva. L'altezza di esso è di m. 1,70 al centro della curva, raggiunge m. 2,10 dove termina, facendo angolo col muro (direzione N-S) dell'ambiente più in alto e più a S. In tutta questa zona questo muro è l'unico, si può dire, costruito a filari regolari con piani di posa orizzontali, con numerosi blocchi assolutamente parallelepipedi, o trapezoidali, con obliqui i tagli laterali; i filari hanno altezze rispettive di m. 0,60; 0,40; 0,50; 0,65; 0,60; 0,75, e se vi sono irregolarità queste consistono nelle riprese dei piani di posa dovute a denti di incastro sul piano superiore o, dove il blocco di un filare è troppo alto, nello sdoppiarsi del filare alto in due più piccoli, l'altezza complessiva dei quali corrisponde all'altezza dell'unico blocco grande; le bugne qui sono poco sentite (inferiori a m. 0,10). Non sembra che siano in relazione con questi due gruppi ben complessi i resti di altre costruzioni ben più semplici, di pianta rettangolare o trapezoidale, e di costruzione poligonale o trapezoidale o mista, che s'inerpicano sul monte verso il primo tratto della cinta superiore, in direzione di S-E rispetto ai gruppi più grandi ora descritti. Ad ogni modo è incerto l'uso o lo scopo di queste costruzioni che, del tutto simili, si

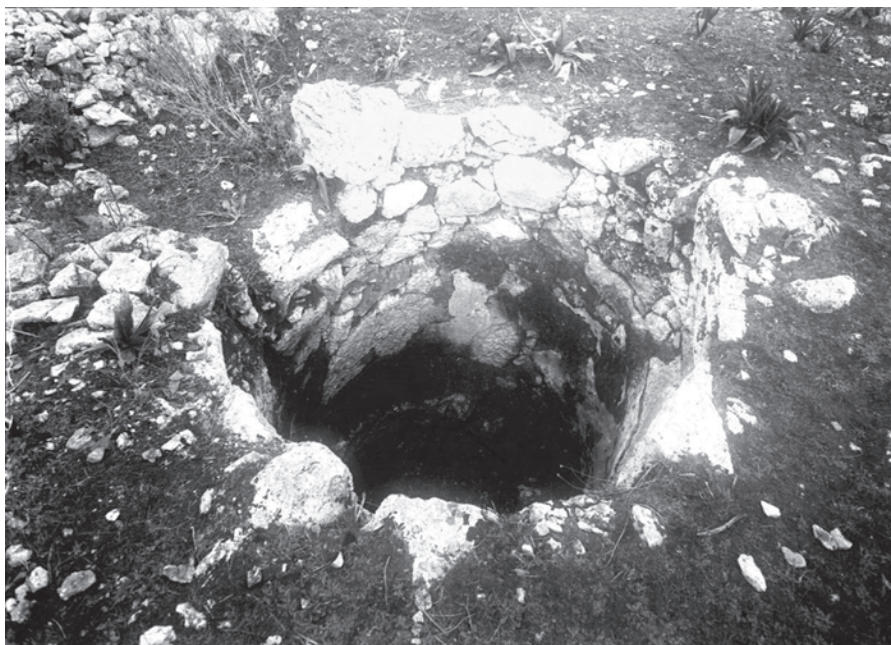


Figure 6.8. Circular well or cistern on the western slope of Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

incontrano poi nell'interno della cinta, specialmente nel versante meridionale del monte.

Il pozzo esterno

Ad occidente ed all'esterno dei gruppi bassi, in una specie di terrazza che ha lieve pendio da E ad O, e più precisamente in direzione di S-E rispetto alla porta del gruppo inferiore, s'apre un altro pozzo o cisterna (Fig. 6.8), anch'esso di forma circolare ma di diametro maggiore che non quello superiore.⁴ Questo pozzo è stato scavato solo per pochi metri, resta incerto, data l'ampiezza dell'imboccatura, che non si trattasse piuttosto di una cisterna. Il rivestimento è piuttosto irregolare, fatto di blocchi di varia forma ed altezza, con susseguirsi però abbastanza costante di piani di posa orizzontali; le altezze massime dei blocchi non superano mai però i 0,50–0,55 m.

Davanti alla porta meridionale del gruppo inferiore la costa del monte sale con pendio assai leggero, probabilmente nell'antichità si predispose una costruzione artificiale che rendesse più agevole la strada perché, quasi attaccata all'angolo S-O della costruzione e in direzione N-S, si vedono chiaramente nel terreno almeno due file di blocchi tagliati irregolarmente e il cui unico scopo doveva esser quello di sostenere un riempimento, forse artificiale, che serviva d'accesso alla porta.

Interno della cinta

Gruppo di costruzioni ricavate in parte nella roccia

Sono situate in corrispondenza, e solo pochi metri più a

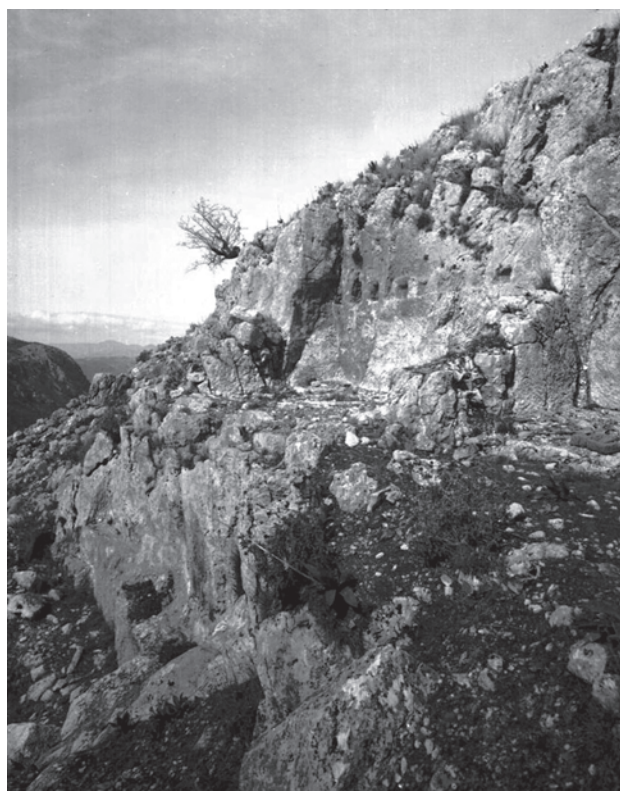


Figure 6.9. Scarped bedrock and rock-cut structures, Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

monte, del quinto tratto della cinta (Fig. 6.9).⁵ Qui frequenti sono i muri, a dir vero di massi piuttosto piccoli e d'opera mista, per lo più in senso E-O, raramente v'è qualcuno in senso N-S. Ma qui si considereranno solo quelli che



Figure 6.10. Detail of scarped bedrock and rock-cut structures, showing a series of horizontal holes to support floor beams for a second storey, Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

hanno una relazione evidente con le costruzioni scavate nella roccia, degli altri non si può dire se fossero parte di edifici o semplici muri di costruzione. Gli ambienti di cui ci occupiamo sono tre: uno è a livello più basso, mentre gli altri due, i retrostanti, sono a un livello superiore (cf. Plate 4.1).

L'ambiente inferiore

L'ambiente inferiore ha forma trapezoidale: il lato N è ricavato nella roccia, del lato S è visibile solo il primo filare, per una lunghezza di m. 7,40; il lato O era in opera (lungo m. 4,60) parallelepipedo (conservato bene l'angolo, alto m. 1,46 circa) e sono visibili dall'interno anche i blocchi che costituivano la chiusura a E; tracce di porte di questi tre muri non è possibile riconoscere. Il piano non è stato scavato.

Interessante è la parete di fondo: larga m. 5,80, ha un'altezza massima di m. 3,70 misurata dal livello del piano di roccia dell'ambiente superiore; tuttavia la parete non è tagliata tutta perpendicolarmente ma, a m. 1,45 di altezza dal piano attuale, forma come una risega, così che la parte inferiore sporge rispetto alla superiore di m. 0,47 circa. E il piano di questa risega non è uniforme ma circa alla metà mostra una cavità lunga m. 1,55, profonda dal piano stesso m. 0,38 circa, e vi si scende sia da una parte che dall'altra per mezzo di una specie di scalino. Inoltre, la parete E nel suo tratto più settentrionale e per circa m. 2 è costituita anch'essa dalla roccia, che verso l'interno

dell'ambiente è liscia, mentre è intagliata sul davanti (verso S) a scalini: se ne contano quattro dell'altezza di m. 0,35 e della profondità di m. 0,25–0,30, la larghezza è di m. 0,70–0,80. Alla spalla di questa scala si addossano i blocchi del muro E. Il piano di questa scala giunge all'altezza della risega, la lunghezza di questa e del tratto superiore della parete rocciosa è di m. 6,90, in confronto dei m. 5,80 della parte inferiore. Proprio all'angolo di N-E della roccia sbocca dal monte una cavità o canale naturale, ma sarebbe troppo azzardato supporre che dalle viscere del monte uscisse per mezzo di questo canale l'acqua, che non avrebbe per altro lasciato tracce troppo evidenti sul calcare che sembra facilmente attaccabile. (Il canale è alto m. 0,65, largo m. 0,37). Piuttosto si potrebbe supporre che la risega servisse come piano di posa per massi di rivestimento della roccia, come è possibile vedere qualche altro esempio in una delle numerose costruzioni dell'interno della cinta che utilizzano in parte la roccia del monte.

Gli ambienti superiori

Hanno tutto il piano e la parete di fondo ricavati nella roccia e un diaframma di roccia li separa, unendoli contemporaneamente perché, dove esso cessa, si apre la comunicazione tra i due vani. L'ambiente occidentale è di pianta rettangolare (Fig. 6.10), il piano è tutto ricavato nella roccia che è stata spianata: la parete di fondo verticale è larga m. 6,40, è tutta intagliata nel monte ed è alta m. 5–5,60; la parete occidentale è lunga m. 4,90; il tratto

più vicino all'angolo N-O è alto 5 m. ed è ricavato nella roccia; il tratto più a S è intagliato per l'altezza di m. 1,30. Il resto evidentemente era costruito in pietra, forse con blocchi irregolari, di cui due rimangono in posto, portando l'altezza a m. 1,95.

Sul davanti, cioè a S, il piano termina sul vuoto, cioè nell'alta parete dell'ambiente sottostante, ma si riconoscono bene gli intagli e i gradini fatti per l'impostazione dei piani bassi dei blocchi di chiusura: così che è da pensare che sul ciglio meridionale della spianata si elevasse un muro di chiusura a S, dello spessore di almeno 0,90 m. Ad oriente infine il vano è delimitato dal diaframma di roccia (che ha lo spessore di 0,85 m.) e che digrada da un'altezza di m. 1,60 a una di m. 0,65, termina a m. 3,20 dal fondo, lasciando tra questo ambiente e quello orientale un'apertura che sarà da calcolare di circa 1 m. se supponiamo di m. 0,90 lo spessore del muro piantato sul ciglio. La parte superiore del diaframma è tagliata a piani di posa e serviva all'impostazione dei blocchi che costituivano il resto del muro. L'altra parete di fondo mostra, allineati a un'altezza di m. 2,02 dal piano, 9 cavità rettangolari che sono larghe alla base m. 0,34–0,40 (ad eccezione della settima da O che è larga m. 0,75), sono alte quasi uniformemente m. 0,40 o più, profonde alla base m. 0,18–0,20. La distanza tra l'una e l'altra varia da m. 0,18 a m. 0,30; la prima cavità ad occidente è adiacente all'angolo di N-O. Nell'angolo di N-E è curioso che si sia lasciata una specie di mensola che offre superiormente un piano di posa profondo m. 0,60 circa; tra quest'ultima cavità a E e la penultima c'è l'intervallo di m. 0,70 circa.

Evidentemente, queste 10 cavità servivano per l'incastro di travi orizzontali che dovevano reggere il soffitto del vano di sotto e contemporaneamente, il pavimento del piano di sopra: così che in tutto questo vasto incavo praticato nella roccia trovavano posto comodamente due piani, che avevano comunicato fra di loro per mezzo di una botola. Sul ciglio superiore del taglio vi sono spianamenti che rendono verosimile supporre chiusura di altri massi, sui quali si sarà impostato il tetto di tutta la costruzione. Durante lo scavo di questo ambiente (che era interrato dal ciglio inferiore fino a sotto i fori quadrangolari) sono venuti fuori molti frammenti di tegole piatte con orlo rialzato che debbono aver costituito la copertura della costruzione: sono probabilmente d'epoca ellenistica, come i frammenti di anfore e vasi di frammenti di coppe con vernice nera all'interno, e frammenti di macerie di peperino che assicurano la destinazione del luogo ad abitazione.

L'ambiente più orientale

È stato scavato solo parzialmente, ma è possibile lo stesso riconoscerne la disposizione generale. Il taglio della roccia di fondo, alta anche qui m. 5,60 e lunga m.[...], ma non presenta in nessun punto della sua altezza le [...] quadrangolari dell'ambiente attiguo. Il piano è anch'esso in gran parte spianato nella roccia: sul davanti, fino al ciglio che qui dista m. 5,80 dal fondo, doveva sostituirvisi un

battuto. La parete occidentale è il diaframma, lungo m. 3,20 circa, per la cui descrizione si confronti il vano precedente. Meno evidente a prima vista è la chiusura a E e a S: la presenza però di due muri che si incontrano ad angolo a S-E fa credere che essi appartengono all'ambiente scavato nella roccia. Del muro orientale avanzano pochi massi in posto per la lunghezza di m. 3 circa, e l'altezza massima di m. 0,80; prolungando questo muro fino a raggiungere la roccia, si avrebbe per l'ambiente una larghezza di m. 6,30. Il muro S, impostato a livello assai più basso, dista m. 8,20 circa dal fondo di roccia: raggiunge l'altezza massima di m. 1,60 presso l'incontro col muro N-S, ed è costruito in opera mista ma con prevalenza di blocchi parallelepipedi con filari orizzontali, esso a O si addossa alla spalliera della scaletta del vano basso già descritto, a E prosegue ancora dopo l'incontro col muro normale alla roccia. La sua lunghezza dalla scaletta al muro N-S è di m. 6,90.

Se questi due muri appartengono come sembra, all'ambiente di cui ci occupiamo, ne risulta uno stretto legame topografico fra tutti e tre gli ambienti scavati in parte nella roccia, perché il muro basso di chiusura, in senso E-O, viene a comprendere nello stesso recinto gli ambienti superiori e la scala di quello inferiore. Anche lo scavo di questo vano (interrato fino a 2 m. dal piano) ha dato tegole di copertura, frammenti di vaso d'uso, frammenti di ceramica con vernice nera, e una mano di peperino di forma singolare (le sue dimensioni sono m. 0,42 × 0,34) (altezza m. 0,10) e anche l'orlo (largo m. 0,12) di un grosso *dolio* d'impasto rosso.

La cisterna superiore

L'intonacatura.⁶ Esistono realmente tre strati, la pietra ha una lavorazione a gradinatura che ebbe una superficie irregolare, ma buona per l'adesione: il primo strato ha uno spessore di mm. 20/___ e più al massimo, e riempie tutte le irregolarità senza preoccupazione di creare una superficie piana. Contiene una quantità di sassolini che sembrano di quelli che si trovano misti alla sabbia; non sembra che vi siano frammenti di ceramica, mentre il calcestruzzo ha un certo colore rossastro forse dovuto alla quantità argillosa o 'pozzolanosa' del terreno (N.B. a Monte Aetòs viene fuori talora una specie di pozzolana). La superficie di questo strato è scabra, e sopra vi è applicato il secondo strato che non supera i 7–8 mm. di spessore, ma è assai compatto, tenace e di colore biancastro, si riesce a spezzare a gran fatica, contiene piccolissimi ma vari sassolini e non so di che sia composta. Il terzo strato non so se è contemporaneo agli altri due o è posteriore. Il secondo mostra colpi di punta per permettere l'adesione del terzo. Questo è assai spesso, fino a 30 mm. ed è assai rozzo, forse contiene ceramica.

Prof. cisterna fino alla risega m. 3,20

Larghezza della risega m. 0,45

Profondità sotto alla risega m. 0,85

Diametro entro la risega m. 1,70

Diametro sopra la risega m. 2,60

Dalla risega in giù forse è scavata nella roccia. È rivestita d'intonaco tanto sul piano che sotto. Forse sotto la risega ha una leggerissima strombatura.

Notes

- 1 This complex of buildings was known locally as 'The Palace'; cf. Chapter 2 and Figures 2.9 and 2.10, and Plate 4.1.
- 2 La tecnica dei piani di posa orizzontali sembra esclusiva a Monte Aetòs per i muri che salgono le pendici.

- 3 This wall, the door and staircase are noted in Nuccitelli's *Giornale di scavo*; see Chapter 10, section 7.
- 4 This cistern is noted in Nuccitelli's *Giornale di scavo*; see Chapter 10, section 3.
- 5 This group of rock-cut buildings are noted in Nuccitelli's *Giornale di scavo*; see Chapter 10, sections 1 and 2.
- 6 The location of this cistern is uncertain. Ugolini's inclusion of it here suggests that it may have existed within the medieval walls on the summit of the mountain. It is probably the square cistern recorded in Nuccitelli's *Giornale di scavo* (Chapter 10, section 6). It is unlikely to be either of the other cisterns both of which were circular.

7 La cinta medioevale di Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit)

Luigi Maria Ugolini

La cinta medioevale ha riutilizzato in gran parte la cinta greca e cioè parte dei lati settentrionale e meridionale, invece sono stati costruiti ex-novo i lati ovest ed est all'interno dell'acropoli greca, restringendone l'ampiezza; questi nuovi muri, come i rifacimenti di quelli antichi, in parte sono stati costruiti con blocchi di reimpiego o almeno con frammenti di blocchi e – quando è stato possibile – sono stati incorporati nel muro mediante tratti di costruzioni preesistenti.

Il lato occidentale (A)

Ha inizio qualche metro più a O della vetta del monte, dove vedemmo scomparire ogni traccia del muro greco; verso O forma una specie di bastione triangolare (Fig. 7.1), i cui muri hanno lo spessore di circa m. 3,20 il lato occidentale, m. 2,70 circa quello settentrionale, l'altezza superstite non è molto superiore a un metro. Dal bastione il lato occidentale volge verso S ma il suo andamento non è continuo perché a un certo punto della discesa piega di



Figure 7.1. Triangular Medieval bastion on the western side of Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)



Figure 7.2. Third Medieval wall section on the western side of Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

nuovo a E, o più propriamente a S-E, e continua a scendere verso S con questo andamento a zig-zag. La costruzione è di blocchetti piccoli, per lo più quadrangolari o a lastre, spesso sono stati riadoperati blocchi piccoli del muro greco o frammenti di blocchi. Il legame è fatto con calce molto rozza: il muro ha un riempimento interno e due cortine esterne, una certa regolarità di filari orizzontali è visibile ovunque. L'altezza raggiunge al massimo m. 1,40, lo spessore del muro è di m. 1,65 – il primo angolo a S-E è sopra una prominenza rocciosa, del resto il muro poggia sempre sulla roccia. Interessante che il lungo tratto in direzione N-O–S-E prosegue ancora qualche metro più a S-E oltre l'incontro col muro che scende di nuovo a S, l'angolo perciò manca e l'incontro avviene sopra un gruppo roccioso di difficile accesso. Lo spessore di questo secondo tratto è di m. 1,75–1,80.

Il terzo tratto (N-E–S-O) (Fig. 7.2) ha lo spessore di solo m. 0,95 ed ha di notevole che quasi a metà della sua rapida discesa mostra uno stipite, come se qui vi si fosse aperta una porta, a meno che non si tratti di una ripresa di costruzione. (Lo stipite sarebbe quello settentrionale). Il quarto tratto (O–N–O–E–S–E) è il meglio conservato in altezza (fino oltre m. 2,70) ma è anche assai brutto di tecnica e contiene parecchi frammenti di ceramica. Il suo spessore non è possibile ricavarlo perché la cortina esterna sembra quasi addossata al riempimento naturale retrostante. Infine il quinto e ultimo tratto (N–N–E–S–S–O) è anche il più lungo, rettilineo e potente, dello spessore costante di m. 2,20 e 2. L'altezza è sempre scarsa, meno di un metro. Noto verso metà circa della scesa,

l'incorporamento dell'angolo di un muro greco, di cui il lato O ha fatto parte della cortina esterna, mentre il lato S è stato ricoperto dai blocchetti dello spessore del muro medioevale. Questo con direzione di poco spostata a S, raggiunge il muro greco qualche metro ad E della terza porta poco prima del bastione che dà origine al sesto tratto della cinta antica.

Il lato meridionale (B)

Il muro piega ad angolo retto verso E se ne vede la traccia che segue qualche metro all'interno il muro greco, ora scomparso. Dopo i primi metri verso E il muro medioevale forma come un avancorpo verso S e sembra che tra questo avancorpo e il tratto seguente, che si presenta con un angolo verso N, fosse riservato lo spazio per un passaggio. L'altezza del muro raggiunge i m. 1,30 proprio in quest'angolo, lo spessore si discerne assai male e pare che la cortina si addossi come sostegno al terreno retrostante. Il tratto meglio conservato è quello dove segue il ciglio del muro greco in corrispondenza sempre del sesto tratto, ove l'altezza è di qualche metro. Non è perfettamente chiaro l'andamento del muro medioevale prima di raggiungere la quarta porta della cinta antica, che pure è stata riutilizzata come porta. Si osservi che è stato rifatto alla meglio con blocchi antichi, pietre e calce il muro greco che restava all'interno della porta, stipiti di piccole pietre legate con calce e con qualche blocco di riutilizzo sono stati addossati ai muri che fiancheggiano l'ingresso (lo stipite N ha m. 0,35–0,70 di sporgenza e m. 1,25 di



Figure 7.3. Eastern Medieval wall on Çuka e Aitoit, 1929 (IA)

larghezza; quello S m. 0,40–0,25 di sporgenza e m. 1,25 di larghezza); l'ampiezza della soglia è stata ridotta così a m. 2,45 e non si può sapere se i blocchi che la costituiscono e che hanno un dente rialzato per appoggiarvi i battenti, siano anch'essi di reimpiego; davanti alla soglia sono due lastroni di pietra levigata.

Di qui per tutto lo spazio corrispondente al settimo tratto del muro greco, manca ogni traccia del muro medioevale che dovrebbe seguirlo: forse, essendo ancora in buone condizioni il muro antico, non si sentì il bisogno di ricostruirlo. In corrispondenza circa del primo bastione, ad angolo del settimo tratto, si incontra il muro medioevale che scende da N-E e che forma il lato orientale della cinta. Lo descriveremo risalendo la pendice del monte.

Il lato orientale (C)

Ha una direzione quasi costante N-E-S-O (Fig. 7.3). Nel tratto che raggiunge il muro greco si apre una postierla o porticina dell'ampiezza di m. 0,90, e la cui soglia mostra alle estremità due intagli rettangolari che danno l'idea che servissero per cardini; nel passaggio della porta è ben visibile lo spessore dello stipite N in m. 1,30. La cortina esterna di questo muro in salita è conservata per pochi decimetri (fino a m. 0,30) mentre l'altezza del riempimento interno fa riconoscere un'altezza di almeno m. 2,70. A un certo tratto sporge dal muro medioevale un corpo avanzato rettangolare di m. 8×5, i cui muri hanno lo spessore di m. 1 circa, e un'altezza massima di m. 1,50 all'angolo di N-E. Naturalmente lo scopo (abitazione o difesa?) è ignoto.

Più su, sono riadoperati blocchi greci anche di enormi dimensioni. Più in alto ancora, non molto prima dell'angolo di N-E della cinta, si apre un'altra porticina, larga m. 1 circa; il muro ha lo spessore qui agli stipiti di m. 2,10. La soglia è irregolare, di varie pietre. Interessante che al piano della soglia sbocca un canale coperto, alto m. 0,27, largo m. 0,22: esso corre nello spessore del muro che viene da N-E, è fiancheggiato da lastrine messe per dritto e coperto da altre lastrine o pietre orizzontali, e sbocca dallo stipite N. Si riconosce per poco più di 2 m. ma non si può sapere da dove provenga. A m. 2,50 più a N è un'altra porta larga m. 1,20 la quale però è protetta sul davanti da un muro semicircolare, che non si può sapere se facesse parte di una torre di protezione, nel qual caso la porta servirebbe per comunicare colla torre. Bentosto segue l'angolo N-E e comincia il lato settentrionale.

Il lato settentrionale (D)

Esso segue perfettamente il muro greco, seguendone tutte le sinuosità determinate dall'andamento roccioso del monte. L'altezza raggiunge i m. 1,70 nel suo primo tratto, la sua descrizione si ricava da quella della cinta greca su questo lato; lo spessore riconoscibile è in media di m. 1,70. Frequenti nelle due cortine i massi greci di reimpiego.

Nell'interno di queste cinte si scorgono anche altri muri medioevali; uno in direzione E-O si segue per lunghissimo tratto e ha la stessa tecnica del muro di cinta, non è riconoscibile lo spessore, è notevole l'altezza conservata (fino oltre m. 2,53).

8 Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit): Necropoli

Luigi Maria Ugolini

Prima tomba sotto Coníspoli

Questa tomba è di forma rettangolare e misura m. 2,26 × 1,85 × 1,00; misure prese all'interno di essa. Presenta agli angoli i lati corti incassati ai lunghi ed il suo incasso è di circa m. 0,10 di lunghezza e la sua profondità di mm. 20, lo spessore di queste pietre è di 0,18 m. Le sue facce interne sono scalpellate, si notano le tracce dello scalpello. Essa si presentò già manomessa, vi era rimasta della terra rossastra frammista a detriti di roccia. I lati lunghi di essa sono orientati da oriente ad occidente. Il suo stato di conservazione è quasi perfetto. Proceduto allo svuotamento di essa, vi si rinvennero le ossa del morto, dei frammenti

di orecchino e qualche perlina di collana. Era munita di coperchio ma è stato trovato rovesciato su un lato di essa e tutto rotto.

Seconda tomba (Fig. 8.1)¹

La seconda tomba è posta alla distanza di circa 200 metri dalla prima verso M. Aetòs e, quasi su questa stessa direzione. Essa è formata a cassettone con lastre di calcare non finite. I lati lunghi misurano m. 1,94 × 1,03 e lo spessore massimo m. 0,12. I lati corti misurano m. 0,97 × 1,0 e lo spessore m. 0,06. Il lato lungo (guardando Coníspoli a sinistra)



Figure 8.1. Grave goods from the 'seconda tomba', Çuka e Aitoit (IA)

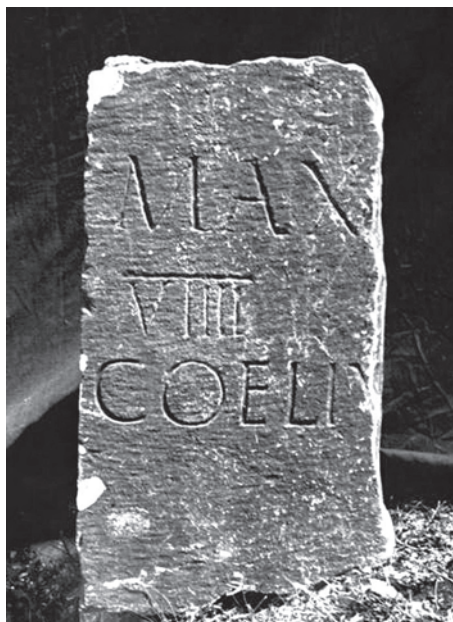


Figure 8.2. Fragmentary Latin inscription from the 'terza tomba', Çuka e Aitoit (IA)

presenta una rottura che la divide in due parti distinte. Questa tomba ha anch'essa nel lato destro, in fondo (sempre guardando Coníspoli), un incastro nel lato corto per incassare il lato lungo. È orientata con i lati lunghi da oriente verso occidente. Essa fu trovata completamente intatta con le ossa del morto; in essa vi si rinvenne una bottiglia di vetro, ecc. Il materiale di riempimento era formato da detriti di roccia.

Terza tomba (Fig. 8.2)²

Cippo scritto trovato in una tomba a ridosso di una collina a metà strada tra M. Aetòs e Coníspoli, esso faceva parte di uno dei lati lunghi della tomba. È alto m. 0,60 × 0,32. Il suo spessore è di m. 0,25: esso è di roccia bianca. La pietra che, con questo cippo, formava il lato lungo, è molto ben lavorata e ben squadrata, e misura m. 1,28 × 0,44 × 0,16. In questa tomba non è stato rinvenuto nulla del corredo funebre. Il materiale di riempimento è formato da detriti di roccia. Non mi è stato possibile misurare le dimensioni della tomba perché ormai mani ignote hanno messo sottosopra tutto.

Iscrizione:

MAX
VIII
COELIV[S]

Quarta tomba

Situata a circa 100 metri dalla strada e a destra di una casa in costruzione (questa casa si trova a circa 100 metri più giù della tomba, da Coníspoli verso Ciflik). La tomba si presenta protetta da un muro di poca altezza, formato

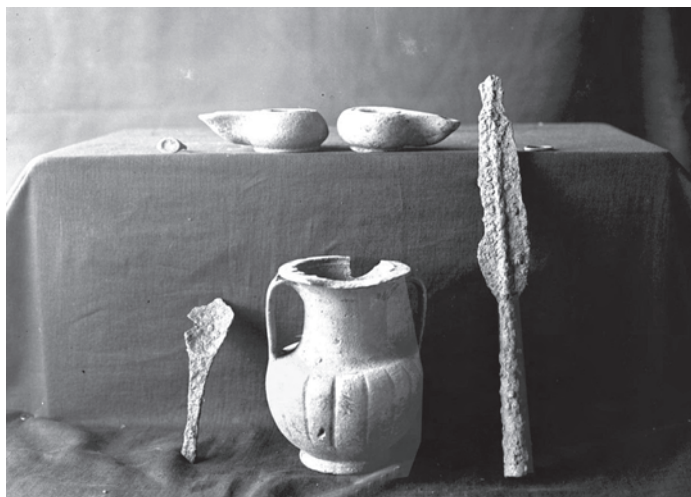


Figure 8.3. Grave goods from the 'quinta tomba', Çuka e Aitoit (IA)

da pezzi di roccia grezza senza calce; nel mezzo vi è una tomba di forma rettangolare di cui i lati lunghi misurano m. 1,49 × 0,76 × 0,12, mentre i corti misurano m. 0,72 × 0,79 × 0,09. Questi lati lunghi presentano degli incastri per far connettere ermeticamente i lati corti. I lati lunghi sono rotti obliquamente forse dal continuo assestamento del terreno. La tomba in parola si componeva anche del coperchio, di forma irregolare, di cui abbiamo trovato un pezzo rimasto ancora sopra la tomba, probabilmente a causa del suo non indifferente peso. Esso misura m. 1,19 × 0,75 × 0,19. Non abbiamo trovato l'altra parte del coperchio e abbiamo dovuto togliere anche questo pezzo perché presentava delle fratture. Le parti interne ed esterne sono scalpellate e molto ben finite. Nell'interno sono stati trovati dei vasi di varia grandezza contenenti le ossa del defunto. Il terreno di riempimento era composto di terra rossastra molto fina e di piccoli detriti di roccia; il suo fondo era composto di mattoni rossicci. Il muro di protezione è lungo m. 2,90 × 2,00, in parte scavato. I suoi lati lunghi sono orientati a S- E. Nella parte che guarda Coníspoli, il muro presenta un gran pezzo di roccia della lunghezza di m. 2 (fotografata).

Quinta tomba (Fig. 8.3)³

Questa tomba a è situata quasi ai piedi del Monte Aetòs, a sinistra del sentiero che porta a Coníspoli, sopra una collinetta. Essa è costituita da lastroni di roccia lavorata. I lati lunghi di essa misurano m. 1,83 di lunghezza, altezza m. 0,90, spessore mm. 70. I lati corti della medesima misurano m. 1,07 × 0,73 × 0,65; presentano le tracce dell'incastro per la giuntura dei lati lunghi, uno dei quali è conservato in posto e l'altro è fuori della tomba, a piccoli pezzi. Questa aveva il piano di fondo formato da una lastra di calcare, non se ne possono prendere le dimensioni perché anch'essa manca di molte parti. Vi era anche il coperchio che, in pezzi, è rovesciato sul fianco destro (guardando M. Aetòs). Il suo corredo funebre consiste in una graziosa anfora a due



Figure 8.4. Grave goods from 'tomba n. 2', Çuka e Aitoit" (IA)

anse di terracotta ed altri vasetti. La terra di riempimento è formata da argilla giallina e da ghiaie. I lati lunghi sono orientati da mezzogiorno-oriente a settentrione-occidente.

Tomba n. 2 (Fig. 8.4)⁴

Piccola bottigliina di vetro dell'altezza di m. 0,12 circa; diametro del fondo di mm. 85; la pancia presenta quattro incavi regolarmente disposti e uniformi. Il collo è alto mm. 50 e va leggermente allargandosi all'estremità. All'altezza di mm. 20, il collo presenta l'inizio di un filo di vetro che s'avvolge in sette spire non regolari, a distanza non regolare, per un'altezza di mm. 16, e l'estremità di questo filo (o cordoncino) va a scomparire sul bordo superiore del collo. Il diametro dell'imboccatura è di mm. 35 e da un lato presenta un ringrosso a guisa di gocciolatoio. Nell'interno di essa esiste ancora della terra.

Un'anforetta misurante circa m. 0,13 di altezza, di forma panciuta e di collo molto stretto, con un'ansa; ha in fondo un piccolo piede circolare del diametro di mm. 35. Il fondo presenta un cerchio concentrico del diametro di 10 mm. circa. Il cerchio di base si stacca dalla sovrastante pancia per mm. 7; all'altezza di mm. 40 dalla base si nota una riga incavata che gira intorno alla pancia in forma irregolare. Da questo punto la pancia comincia gradatamente a diminuire fino alla base del collo, che è brevissimo, presenta un collarino, e poi si allarga e al lato opposto dell'ansa con la pressione delle dita è stato ottenuto il beccuccio, e nel bordo interno di esso vi è una doppia riga di decorazione. L'ansa di quest'anforetta è dello spessore di 10 mm. ed è rigata per intero ed applicata sotto il bordo del collo arricciato.

Il suo stato di conservazione è ottimo. Nell'interno si conserva ancora la terra. Il diametro massimo della pancia è di mm. 98.

Coltello di ferro della lunghezza di m. 0,195 per una lunghezza di m. 0,17. È formato dalla lama che da un lato è dritta e che presenta un tratto più sottile lungo mm. 25 che, molto probabilmente, serviva per l'immanicatura. Questo coltello è lunato e la sua lunghezza massima è di mm. 40. Si presenta in cattivo stato di conservazione dato che è tutto corroso dal tempo.

Anello di ferro irregolare, del diametro interno di mm. 20, ed esterno di mm. 30; da una parte è molto corroso.

Frammento di lucerna. Consistente della parte alta, ed è figurata. La figura, che rappresenta due guerrieri in combattimento di cui uno è atterrato (quello di destra), è contornata da cerchi concentrici che formano una fascia, il cui disegno, secondo una linea orizzontale, per mezzo della figura centrale, da due quadretti. Tra le due figure vi è un foro per immettere l'olio.

Frammento di bronzo che si presenta in forma ellittica di mm. 45 e largo mm. 37. Uno dei lati è costituito da una semplice asticciola (il pezzo in questione si presenta come parte di una fibbia da cintura) mentre il resto molto più largo, è ripartito da 12 costole. Le due costole centrali formano uno spazio quasi rettangolare regolare. È molto ben conservato.

Numero due piatti con orlo verticale. La base è costituita da un piccolo cerchio di fondo, di mm. 65 circa di diametro. Il diametro del bordo è di m. 0,154 ed alto mm. 20 ed è unito alla base da una linea retta. Il piatto è alto mm. 43. La composizione della sua terra, è di colore rossiccio.

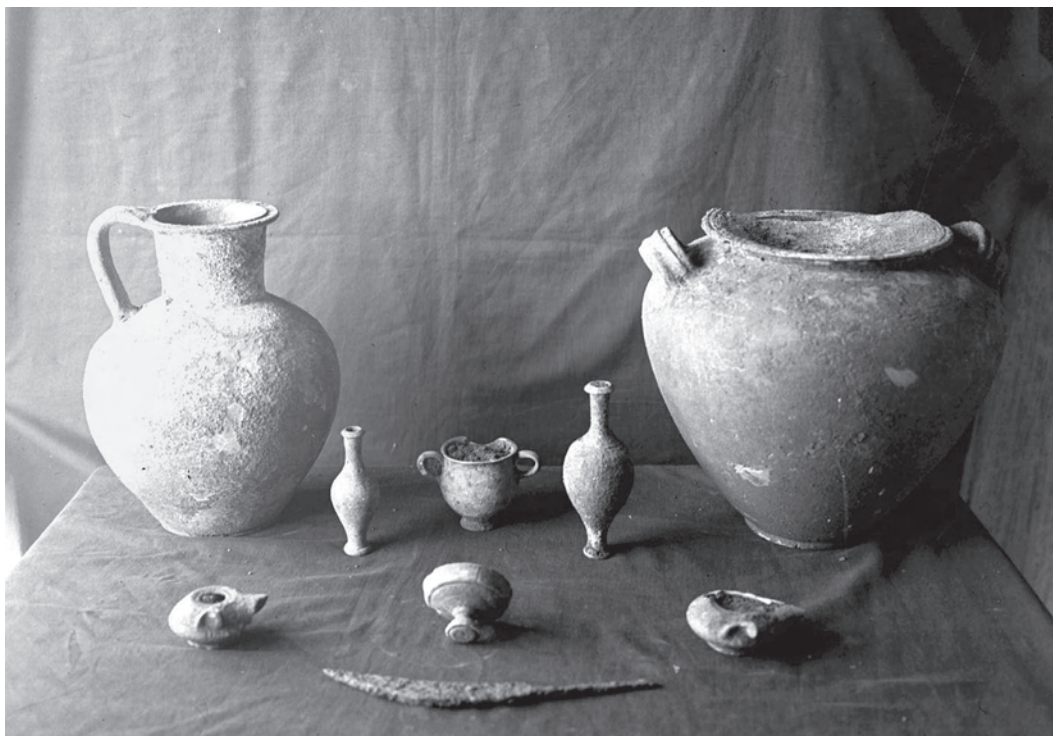


Figure 8.5. Grave goods from 'tomba n. 4', Çuka e Aitoit (IA)

Conserva ancora la terra. Il bordo ha lo spessore di mm. 5. L'altro piatto, di più piccole dimensioni, ha la base molto larga e misura mm. 90 di diametro. Ha il bordo leggermente convesso verso l'interno; esso misura mm. 18 ed il suo diametro è di mm. 128. Alla base (che è liscia senza bordo) vi sono descritti due cerchi più ampi, e sotto il bordo vi è un incasso piccolo, ed è alto dalla base mm. 30.

Tomba n. 4 (Fig. 8.5)⁵

Tomba a cremazione. In questa tomba sono stati trovati due grandi vasi eguali, delle misure di m. 0,275 di altezza. La base è formata da un bordo circolare del diametro di m. 0,105. La forma svasata, va poi a restringersi alla sommità, lasciando un'apertura circolare di m. 0,182. Si vede chiaramente la loro lavorazione accurata, hanno il bordo inclinato all'interno con una rigatura concentrica. Le anse sono lavorate grossolanamente. Questo vaso è munito di un coperchio di forma circolare del diametro di m. 0,21. Alla base di esso vi è un bordo del diametro di mm. 65 e alto mm. 10. All'interno è concavo e nel centro di esso si denota un'incassatura circolare di mm. 45 di diametro che è in corrispondenza della base, ed è incorniciato da due cerchi più grandi. Il bordo superiore, che va leggermente allargandosi, presenta anch'esso delle rigature. Appare verniciato nel bordo esterno e in tutto l'interno della conca. Nello scavo si è presentato rotto da una parte e si scorgevano le ossa del morto cremato.

Piccolo vasetto di terracotta molto ben lavorato, con due anse; esso ha forma un po' panciuta, che va restringendo leggermente sotto il collo che poi va allargandosi. Si

presenta verniciato sia all'interno che all'esterno, e misura mm. 0,75 di altezza; il diametro esterno della sua apertura è di mm. 70. La base è costituita da un piede circolare del diametro di mm. 35. Le anse sono attaccate dove finisce la pancia del vaso, e vanno a chiudersi, in forma quasi circolare, poco sotto il bordo; non è ben conservato. Eguale a questo vasetto ve ne è un altro, di eguali dimensioni, ma tutto rovinato ed in cattivo stato di conservazione.

Grande anfora di terracotta rozza, ma ben conservata. La sua base è costituita da un piedino circolare ma molto sottile, del diametro di m. 0,105. L'altezza del vaso è di m. 0,295. Dalla pancia, per un'altezza di mm. 80, è costituito dal collo. Esso comincia a 0,21 m. dalla base e poi va leggermente allargandosi fino alla sommità. Il diametro dell'imboccatura è di m. 0,122. Questo vaso ha un'ansa con scanalatura di un'altezza di m. 0,10. Nell'interno vi è della terra.

Numero due lucernette in terracotta in cattivo stato di conservazione. Una si presenta tutta schiacciata. Ha un piedino circolare con bordo molto grosso; essa appare verniciata all'esterno, il suo diametro superiore è di mm. 71. Da una parte vi è un beccuccio. È alta mm. 30. L'altra più piccola di dimensioni, ma solo più alta misura mm. 35. Si vede il foro per immettervi l'olio ed ha il diametro di mm. 20; come la prima descritta, anche questa ha un apice laterale. Si presenta verniciata all'esterno, il beccuccio non è ben conservato.

Numero due vasetti per profumo. Uno ha l'altezza di m. 0,165, ed il suo piedino ha un'altezza di mm. 25; da quest'altezza comincia la pancia che poi va gradatamente assottigliandosi, fino alla base del collo.

Notes

- 1 See Chapter 9, cat. 12 for a description of the finds from this grave.
- 2 See Chapter 9, cat. 11 for a description of the inscription found within this grave; see Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 201–202, n. 280; Ehmig and Haensch 2012, 606–607 (LIA 255): who interpret the inscription as ...[*pont(ifici) max(imo)*].../[*trib(unica) po*][*t(estate) VIII*].../... *Coeliu[s]*...].
- 3 See Chapter 9, cat. 13 for comments on the finds from this grave.
- 4 See Chapter 9, cat. 14 for comments on the finds from this grave.
- 5 See Chapter 9, cat. 15 for comments on the finds from this grave.

9 I reperti da Monte Aetòs – The Finds from Çuka e Aitoit

Luigi Maria Ugolini, with contributions by Karen Francis, Oliver J. Gilkes, David Hernandez and Belisa Muka

The excavations at Monte Aetòs recovered a number of finds, though as Ugolini records, the vast majority of the potsherds, tiles, corroded coins and lumps of metal were simply discarded as being of no value. A certain number of objects were retained, and Ugolini's manuscript text regarding these is reproduced here, accompanied by photographs where these exist. Notes have been written to accompany some of the objects and tomb groups for which images survive, especially when it was thought that it might help clarify the chronology.

Oggetti provenienti dagli scavi eseguiti nel maggio – luglio 1929 a M. Aetòs

Presento i principali molti altri naturalmente furono trovati, ma non degni di ricordo perché di poco conto e comuni a trovarsi in tutti gli scavi, quali frammenti di ceramica, tegole, monete corrose; chiodi.

Materiale preistorico

1. Resti di un mazzuolo a penna
Di porfirite grigia, con foro. È conservata parte della penna, che era corta e grossa. Misura cm. 5,2 di altezza, il diametro del foro era di circa mm. 25; dall'orlo del foro al taglio della penna corrono cm. 3. È stato trovato alla superficie del terreno.
2. Raschiatoio di selce (Fig. 9.1)
Color giallastro, piatto, un po' a cuneo, misurante cm. 6,8 di larghezza massima. In una parte dell'orlo (ove c'è lo spessore maggiore) notasi uno strato bianco superficiale di qualche millimetro di spessore, che rivela il colore avuto esternamente dal nucleo di selce

dal quale fu ricavato il raschiatoio. È stato trovato alla superficie del terreno.

A large, convex flake, possibly a scraper with a flat profile made on yellow-coloured flint. The tool has a flat ventral face, a slightly convex dorsal face and has a maximum width of 6.8 cm. The tool appears to have been retouched intermittently along the convex edge. The large size of the tool and the flake technology used to produce it suggest that it is probably Palaeolithic in date. Indeed, in form, the tool resembles a number of artefacts found more recently on the southwest-facing slope of Çuka e Aitoit and assigned to the Early Palaeolithic. Unfortunately, no details of the striking platform or bulb of percussion of Ugolini's tool survive to enable a more precise identification. (KF)

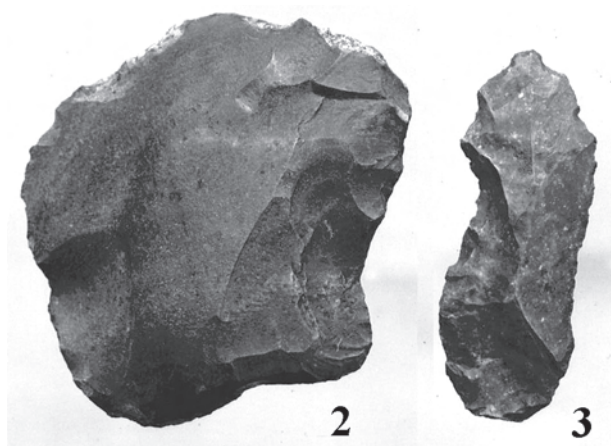


Figure 9.1. Flint tools from Çuka e Aitoit. Cat. 2–3 (BF archive)

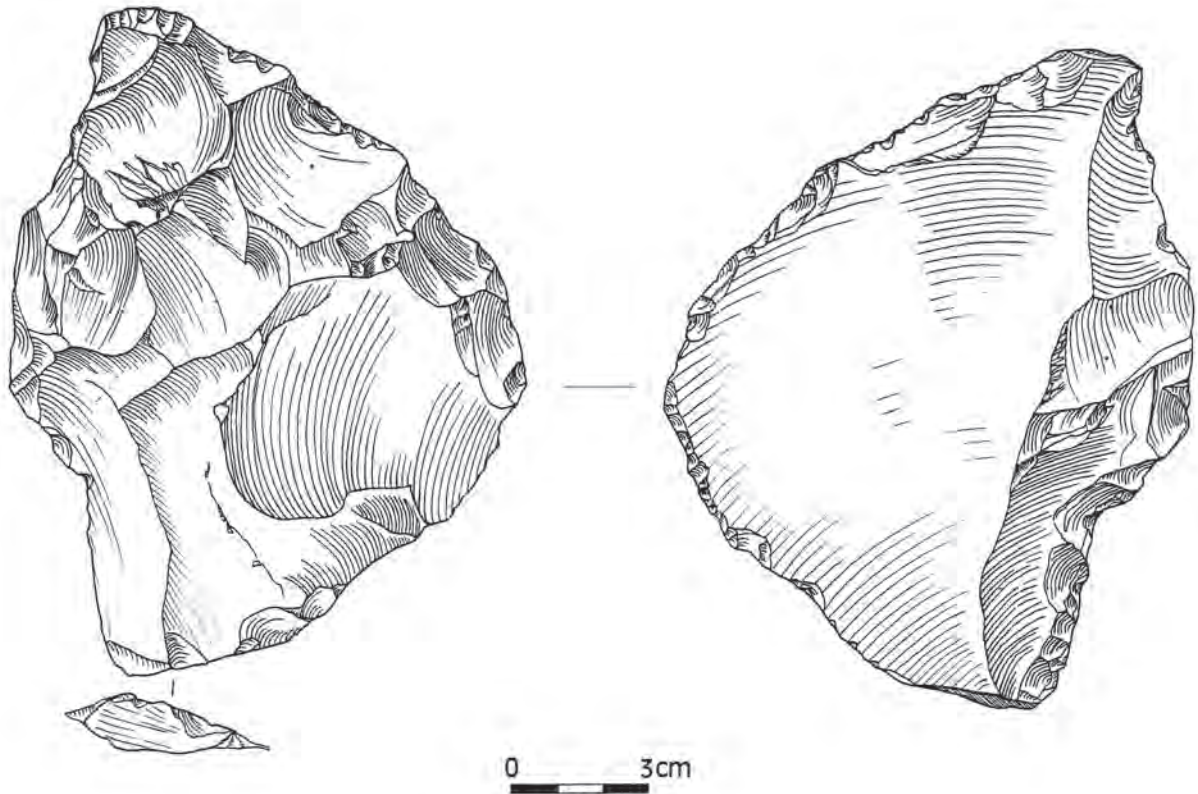


Figure 9.2. Large Palaeolithic limestone tool from Çuka e Aitoit. Cat. 3a (Drawn by Karen Francis/BF archive)

3. Coltello di selce cenerognola

Ben conservato, misurante cm. 5,5 di massima lunghezza; cm. 2 di massima larghezza; e cm. 0,7 di spessore pure massimo. Da una parte è piatto, dall'altra ha una costola lunga circa un terzo della sua lunghezza e posta al centro. La parte opposta alla punta mostra traccia della testata del nucleo dal quale fu staccata.

A retouched blade, possibly an end-scraper, made of ash-coloured flint. The tool is 5.5 cm in length, 2 cm in maximum width and has a breadth of 0.7 cm. The ventral face is flat; the opposing face has a central dorsal ridge that extends for two-thirds of the length of the tool from the pointed distal end. The proximal end of the tool retains part of the striking platform of the core from which it was struck. In form and size, this tool resembles a number of Aurignacian artefacts dating to c. 45,000–28,000 years before present found by Cardini at nearby Xarra, and which may have been manufactured by some of Europe's last surviving Neanderthals.¹ Unfortunately, the technological details required to confirm this are not discernible from Ugolini's existing photograph. (KF)

Other Prehistoric Tools from Çuka e Aitoit

3a. In 1998, during a visit to the site, the incidental

discovery was made of a large Palaeolithic limestone tool (Fig. 9.2). The tool has provisionally been identified as a Lower Palaeolithic unifacial biface.² The biface measures 145 mm long, 116 mm wide and 24 mm thick at the widest point. It was found lying amongst the limestone scree on the mid-to-upper west-facing slope of the mountain, below one of the sections of the curtain wall.

3b. During a second visit to the site, the west-facing slope was examined in more detail and further worked material recovered. The artefacts were all made from the same grey silicious limestone and comprised a number of large flake tools ranging from 10 to 15 cm in length. One piece had been finely retouched to form a convex scraper. The tools appear to be consistent with the same Early (Lower) Palaeolithic, non-Levallois, flake technology as the biface. Artefacts of such great antiquity in the form of handaxes are abundant in Europe, although extremely rare in the Balkans.³ These new finds contribute to the growing body of data related to the early human settlement of the Butrint area around 200,000 years ago.⁴ (KF)

Other Objects

Dallo scavo del ripiano sopra il bel muro poligonale - dalla casa a nord-est di questo –



Figure 9.3. Terracotta figurines from Çuka e Aitoit: bird Cat. 4 and female head Cat. 5 (IA)

Terrecotte

4. Piccola colomba (Fig. 9.3)
Vuota internamente, ricomposta da vari frammenti, trovata entro la «casa» in parte scavata, che è situata presso la cisterna del primo ripiano. Misura cm. 8 di lunghezza e cm. 5,5 di altezza.

Moulded figurine of a bird, standing on a cylindrical, broken plinth. Features are generally unclear.

5. Testa di statuetta (Fig. 9.3)
Stilo abbastanza buono, nonostante una capigliatura che ha una specie di treccia sul davanti e il crottilos a tergo. Misura cm. 4 di altezza.

Female head belonging to a statuette, broken off at the beginning of the neck. She is wearing a narrow diadem, below which the hair seems to be divided in the centre and drawn into a knot at the back of the head. Round face with triangular forehead. The object was made from a prototype.⁵

The two figurines were found in 1929 by L. M. Ugolini during the excavations within a possible building. Other figurines have been found at the site during the several surveys and excavations of Blavatsky and Islami during the 1960s.

Both these examples are moulded though none of them belongs to either the prototype they represent, or the first generation of production. They might possibly be locally produced; however, to support this statement further investigations are necessary. Their stylistic influences can be traced in other sites of the Greek world. The second object represents a common Hellenistic type, belonging generally to the *tanagra* figurines, and can be found in many Mediterranean sites. It is difficult to establish the context or the function of these objects by considering only their stylistic characteristics. Both are common types of



Figure 9.4. Limestone figurine from Çuka e Aitoit. Cat. 7 (IA)

6. Cilindro di terracotta giallastra
Rotto, ricomposto da tre pezzi, vuoto internamente. È conservata la parte superiore ornata come di canaletto di 13 mm. di larghezza e 2 di profondità, interrotto in quattro punti equidistanti da sbarre rilevate. Più sopra emerge una semplice bordura. Sul piano del cilindro forma una specie di piccolo recipiente. Misura cm. 9,5 di attuale altezza; 7 di diametro del corpo del cilindro; e mm. 3 di spessore.

Sculture

7. Frammento di scultura (Fig. 9.4)
Mostrante la parte superiore di un corpo femminile vestito. Misura cm. 13,5 di altezza; è di calcare



Figure 9.5. Bronze lamp from Çuka e Aitoit. Cat. 8 (IA)

biancastro; è stato trovato entro [...]. Tra le spalle vi è un buco per l'innesto della testa.

Bronzi

8. Bella lucerna (Fig. 9.5)
Di bronzo fuso, a pareti molto spesse, rinvenuta entro [...] È ben conservata: manca soltanto del coperchio, del quale vedesi il perno di snodo. Misura cm. 14,5 di lunghezza, e cm. 6 di altezza, compreso il manico. Ai lati vedonsi due appendici con foro: forse per la sospensione. Il beccuccio è molto lungo.
A lamp with a bulbous body and a long narrow nozzle flaring to a round tip. There is a vertical band handle on a fluted stem. The filling hole has a raised collar with a small lug at the rear for a transverse fitting lid. The lamp is very similar to Bailey's Q2544 Hellenistic lamp of the 2nd century BC.⁶ (OJG)
9. Fibula
Con una specie di pinzetta formata dall' arco e l'ardiglione per dar molla a questo. È di un tipo che ho già incontrato un'altra volta in Albania.⁷ Misura cm. 8,5 di lunghezza. Il corpo è di sbarra a sezione quadrata.
10. Manico di coltello di ferro rivestito d'osso
Mal conservato, lungo cm. 11,5 e avente cm. 0,8 di spessore medio. Dove è più stretto vi è una fascetta di lamina di bronzo. I chiodi che tengono fermo il rivestimento d'osso sono di bronzo, e la loro testa è ornata: due sono a rosetta e uno a conchiglia.

The Inscription

11. The inscription on limestone was photographed and recorded in pencil on a text (Fig. 8.2). It was found in the necropolis and seems to have formed part of the structure of the 'terza tomba'.

MAX
VIII
COELIV[S]

The inscription has been interpreted to read as follows:

...[pont(ifici)] max(imo)... / [trib(unicia) po]t(estate)
VIII .../... Coeliu[s...]⁸

Ugolini's account – given in Chapter 8 – does not make clear whether the text was reused in making the tomb or not, but it seems that it was. The text is incomplete: the 'V' of Coelius is truncated. The top and right sides of the inscription are broken. The left edge of the stone is finished and probably was adjoined to a similar block which served as the left side of the original complete inscription. The large *vacat* below the third line suggests that this was the last line of the text.

The surviving text indicates that this was an honorific inscription, apparently dedicated to the emperor by a Roman who bore the *nomen gentilicium* of Coelius. The first line [MAX...] is thought to represent PONT(ifici) MAX(imo), high priest of Rome. The second line, with the number nine [VIII], has been read as TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) VIII (ninth year of Tribunician Power). Another possibility is IMP(eratori) VIII (ninth year of supreme military command). It has also been suggested that the number could refer to LEG(io) VIII, the Ninth Legion, if the inscription were originally sepulchral and belonged to a veteran of that legion, an interpretation which is doubtful. The first two lines appear to refer to imperial titles, which are followed by the third line with the name of the dedicant [COELIVS], placed in the customary position at the end of the inscription in the nominative case. This matches the typical epigraphic formula used for honorific dedications.

The *gens* of the *Coelii* was common in Rome and Italy in the early empire. The name has been found at the Roman colony of Patrae⁹ in Greece and at Dyrrhacium¹⁰ in Illyria. The inscription features letter forms that recall those of the early empire (e.g. ‘C’ and ‘E’), indicating a Julio-Claudian date, perhaps in the time of Augustus. (DH)

The Funerary Groups¹¹

Some comments can be made concerning the constituents of four of these groups.

12. Seconda tomba (Fig. 8.1)

A photograph, marked as Monte Aetòs, exists in the collection of the archive of the Italian Archaeological Mission of another grave group. The presence of the glass *unguentarium* seems to mark this out as the ‘Seconda tomba’. It is a simple cremation group with a small double-handled *pithos*, a platter, a glass *unguentarium* and the remains of a lamp. Both the glass vessel and the lamp probably date to the 1st or 2nd centuries AD.

13. Quinta tomba (Fig. 8.3)

A group consisting of an iron spearhead, two rings, an iron spatula, a small *Pelike* and two lamps. Again, little can be said in the way of interpretation. The grave probably dates from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC.

14. Tomba n.2 (Fig. 8.4)

This small group of grave goods comprises a series of ceramic glass and metal objects. The fragmentary lamp, probably a Loeschke type VIII of the 2nd century AD, has a discus scene of two gladiators in combat, a

Samnite and Hoplomachus. The Hoplomachus on the right, facing right, sinks onto his knees in defeat. The standing Samnite on the left has his right arm drawn back to administer the *coup de grâce*. This scene, or variants of it, is commonly found on *discii* of lamps depicting gladiators.¹²

15. Tomba n.4 (Fig. 8.5)

A cremation burial group comprising a small double-handled *pithos*, jug, small cups, lamps, *unguentaria* and an iron knife. The items in the collection appear diagnostic, although unfortunately a wide-date range can be ascribed to them. Similar groups have been recovered locally in the necropolis of Phoinike, dating from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC.¹³ (OJG)

Notes

- 1 Francis and Vulpi 2005, 95–97.
- 2 C. Runnels, pers. comm.
- 3 Runnels and van Andel 1993.
- 4 Cf. Gjipali 2006, 34–37.
- 5 Davidson 1952, 57, pl. 36, fig. 399.
- 6 Bailey 1996.
- 7 Ugolini 1927.
- 8 Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 201–202, n. 280; Ehmgig and Haensch 2012, 606–607 (LIA 255).
- 9 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.504.
- 10 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.608; *L’Année Épigraphique* 1978.753; 1995.974.
- 11 Further excavations in 1973 revealed another grave group and a fine *protomes peplophore* terracotta figurine with a mural crown from the surface of the hill: Budina 1974.
- 12 See Bailey 1988, Q2769, 2791.
- 13 Lepore and Gamberini 2003.

10 Giornale di scavo del Monte Aetòs (Çuka e Aitoit), 1929

Alfredo Nuccitelli

Il primo grande ambiente scavato nella roccia

Quest'ambiente (l'ambiente di sinistra con incastri) ha le pareti scalpellate nella roccia viva, la sua parete intera misura m. 6,42 × 4,40 (misura presa allo spigolo sinistro guardando). Presenta spigoli non tanto regolari a m. 2 di altezza dal pavimento. In questa parete si notano dieci incavi di forma quasi quadrata fatti probabilmente con scalpelli e di differente grandezza. La misura presa dall'incavo quinto da destra ha le seguenti dimensioni: 0,34 m. di base, 0,32 m. di altezza e profondità alla base m. 0,17, poiché nella parte superiore l'incavo va sfumando con il piano della roccia. Il quarto incavo (sempre di destra), è maggiore degli altri di quasi il doppio, non si denota se costruito così oppure consumato dal tempo, ha il lato base di m. 0,75 × 0,30 di altezza e profondità massima di m. 0,18. Il sesto incavo, il più ben conservato, misura m. 0,37 di lato base, 0,32 m. di altezza e la profondità maggiore di esso è di m. 0,17. Gli altri sono di fattura non rifinita e mal curata. L'area di quest'ambiente è di m. 6,42 × 4,75, i lati corti che lo formano sono incompleti nella loro altezza e solo quello di sinistra per un tratto di m. 1,35 è costituito per intero da roccia ed è conservato. Il pavimento non è tanto in piano e si denotano delle tracce di calcare frantumato, quasi polvere, tanto che a prima vista può sembrare calce. La roccia è un calcare color grigio. Il materiale di riempitura è formato da detriti di roccia, terra e frammenti di roccia. Ciò che vi è stato rinvenuto sono delle monetine d'argento (circa 25), frammenti di piccoli vasi, frammenti di tegole e di anfore, qualche peso da telaio di coccio, una borchia di bronzo e un coltello di ferro.

Il secondo ambiente

Un secondo ambiente attiguo a quello sopra descritto, anch'esso scavato nella roccia. Di questo ambiente che ora

descrivo vi è solo la parete di fondo, che misura m. 5,65 e, all'angolo sinistro, vi è parte della parete corta dove si può vedere la sua lunghezza intera solo alla sua base che è quasi conservata, la sua misura è di m. 3,45; alla destra il muro è limitato da pochi massi.

Sotto al primo ambiente scavato nella roccia, vi è una parete liscia nella quale vi è un dente che dista dal piano del pavimento dell'ambiente sopraindicato m. 2 e sporge da questa parete m. 0,11 nel suo punto massimo, ed è alto m. 0,40 dal piano di un altro grande scalino costruito nella medesima parete e sporgente m. 0,46. La sua lunghezza è di m. 7 però per m. 2,27 è ben conservato, mentre l'altro tratto si denota dall'andamento di esso, di cui la profondità non è possibile notarla perché questi è ancora in via di scavo. Alla destra di questa parete vi sono cinque gradini di cui uno di m. 0,12 d'altezza e gli altri dell'altezza media di m. 0,39, essi sono addossati ad una parete di grandi massi che si presentano non finiti. La pedata media è di m. 0,29 e la lunghezza di m. 0,80, è una scala irregolare e non finita. Quest'ambiente era riempito di grossi massi irregolari di roccia e terra proveniente da vegetazione e frammenti di coccio. In un piccolo tratto di pavimento si è notato della terra argillosa.

Cisterna

Una cisterna di forma pressoché circolare avente il diametro di m. 4 e alta nel suo lato meglio conservato m. 4 circa. I suoi massi poligonali irregolari sono di calcare compatto ed è situata a S-O del Monte Aetòs e cioè dalla parte che guarda l'Isola di Corfù. In essa sono stati rinvenuti: pezzi di calce dello spessore di mm. 40 circa, probabilmente usata per intonaco, perché il muro nelle sue legature d'impasto non ne presenta tracce; dei pezzi di mattone di terra varia (rossa e giallina). Il suo riempimento era composto inoltre da massi di roccia caduti a terra. Come particolarità nell'interno si vedono dei massi un po' sporgenti dal dritto del muro.

Uno scolo d'acqua con gronda

Lo scavo di esso è stato eseguito rasente al muro che si notava, fino all'angolo di questi. Il suo corso, partendo dallo spigolo lavorato del masso verso S-O e fino allo spigolo estremo dell'altro masso è di m. 6,18. Qui il muro forma un angolo di 90° verso destra guardando l'Isola di Corfù, ed è di m. 1,13 quello che finora è stato messo allo scoperto. In questo punto, il muro ha l'altezza di m. 0,51/___ (misura presa sullo spigolo) qui si denota una particolarità, e cioè che è stato impostato sulla roccia, scalpellata per l'adattamento. Il muro è composto in questo tratto di due soli filari di massi regolari. Seguendo il lato lungo si vedono sempre i due filari di massi regolari adattati sulla roccia, essi sono con bugne che guardano nell'interno del corso d'acqua per una lunghezza dallo spigolo di m. 1,42. Da questo punto (sempre seguendo il corso d'acqua verso il fronte del muro), è formato da massi piccoli irregolari adattati anch'essi sulla roccia, c'è qualche masso piccolo squadrato sotto questo filare in alto. Il muro che forma l'altra parte del canale è roccia adattata con qualche masso squadrato per raggiungere le manchevolezze del piano del filare, la parte esterna misura m. 6,45 fino all'ultimo masso affiorante. Nella sua pianta si vede che va restringendo verso la bocchetta d'acqua, da questa parte è larga m. 0,30 al principio del ricorso e alla fine del medesimo guardando il suo corso m. 0,32 (questo dopo un tratto di m. 0,35 cioè dall'inizio del masso fino quasi alla sua estremità).

Questo muro che è molto ben conservato nella sua completa struttura è formato da massi poligonali irregolari. Un suo masso ben squadrato di forma trapezoidale misura m. 1,60 di lunghezza e m. 0,98 di altezza; vi sono altri massi di forma trapezoidale, misuranti m. 0,95 di lunghezza e altezza m. 0,52; e un altro masso m. 0,92 × 0,79. A m. 1,37 si vede una gronda che sporge dal muro m. 0,15, essa è formata da un masso scavato e la sua scavatura è di m. 0,32 nella parte in basso, perché i bordi vanno leggermente inclinandosi. Questo bordo misura m. 0,10 di spessore (quello guardando il muro a sinistra) e quello a destra m. 0,11. La scavatura s'inoltra per m. 0,64, punto in cui si nota un'altra pietra di minori dimensioni messa nel corso per far acquistare più velocità all'acqua e, nel punto in cui cade l'acqua è inclinato. Particolarità della gronda vi sono, perché il masso da cui è stata ricavata presenta al piano del muro spigoli lavorati. La larghezza del masso presa dagli spigoli è di m. 0,63, mentre dove cadeva l'acqua è di m. 0,57. Il bordo dell'incastro è alto mm. 60 quello guardando a sinistra e quello di destra mm. 30. Ciò che vi è stato rinvenuto in questo scavo non è altro che frammenti di vari piccoli pezzi di mattoni e tegole.

L'ambiente sopra lo scolo d'acqua

Quest'ambiente di forma rettangolare si presenta composto di una parete a massi non eguali, poligonali irregolari e, di un'altra parete scalpellata dalla roccia. Questa parete è composta nella sua lunghezza, che è di m. 5,90, da cinque grandi massi di roccia. Due di essi sono molto lavorati,

hanno l'angolo murale e poi l'angolo per l'adattamento del pavimento, mentre gli altri sono lisci. L'altezza di questa parete è di m. 2,60 (misura presa all'angolo dei due grandi massi di roccia), mentre invece la parete formata dai massi poligonali misura m. 5,28 di lunghezza per 3 m. di altezza (misura presa sempre dallo spigolo dei due macigni). Il macigno che forma l'angolo del muro e del pavimento, benché sia di forma molto irregolare, ha due lati che misurano m. 1,70 × 1,35 e quello che vi è sovrapposto, e che anch'esso forma l'angolo superiore, misura m. 2,20 × 2,0 nella sua altezza massima. Quest'ambiente ha tutti e quattro i lati, però solo i due descritti si possono vedere, perché gli altri sono in via di scavo. Inoltre, è orientato con i lati lunghi a S-O, cioè guardando l'Isola di Corfù. Come particolarità sono appunto i macigni che formano le pareti. Il materiale di riempimento si componeva solo di massi di roccia cadutovi frammista a terra e a qualche pezzo di mattone. Si scorge per m. 1 di lunghezza il muro che forma con quello a macigni il lato lungo dell'ambiente ed è alto m. 1. Questo lato è composto da due soli massi irregolari.

Una cisterna intonacata¹

Quest'ambiente mi si presenta a prima vista quadrato. Cominciando dal lato orientato a N misura m. 4,60, girando ad E il lato misura m. 4,80, il lato S misura m. 4,35 e il lato S-O m. 4,87. La profondità finora scavata è di m. 1,35 sul lato S-O. Quest'ambiente si presenta formato da massi poligonali grandi e piccoli; molto riempito da massi piccoli sul lato S a monte e, formato da blocchi grandi dei quali uno posto alla sommità del muro, misura m. 1,42 × 0,70 nella sua massima altezza. Un altro masso situato a sinistra del primo guardando dall'interno misura m. 1,40 × 1,0 d'altezza, esso è un sol blocco di roccia. Presenta dell'intonaco colorato in bianco, turchino chiaro, e rosso giallo. Nell'intonaco stesso vi sono tracce di cornice. L'intonaco si può scorgere solo per tre lati, mentre sul lato N che ne è privo, si scorge solo il muro formato da massi poligonali irregolari. Il materiale di riempimento era formato da blocchi di roccia non tanto grandi, cadutovi dal monte e da moltissimi mattoni, cocci di anfore molto grandi e tegole probabilmente di copertura. Dell'intonaco rosso vi sono dei pezzi quadrati come se fossero mattonelle e di quello bianco con un piccolo tratto di cornice, che sono stati raccolti. Il materiale rinvenutovi consiste in qualche chiodo di ferro, scorie del medesimo, una lucerna di bronzo, un piccolo torso femminile di statua, due ocarine di terracotta e delle monete e anelli, chiodi e frammenti di ferro.

Una scala

Questa scala si presenta su un fronte di muro che ha la sua faccia rivolta ad O. Il tratto di sinistra guardando, è lungo m. 2,11 e alto m. 1,60 allo spigolo perché non è tutto ben conservato, da questa lunghezza si apre un vano della lunghezza di m. 1,16, dove si trovano impostati due gradini della lunghezza uguale alla larghezza del vano, e l'altezza del primo è di m. 0,22 e la sua pedata di m. 0,22;

il secondo impostato sul primo ha m. 0,24 di altezza e la sua pedata di m. 0,30. A destra di questi due gradini seguita il muro formato da massi d'angolo ben squadri e la sua continuazione formata da blocchi di roccia scalpellata solo alla faccia vista e misura dallo spigolo m. 3,53.

Alla sommità di questo muro si vedono dei massi ben lavorati probabilmente per avere il filare del muro in piano. Terminato l'ultimo dei due gradini sopradescritti si accede per un vano di forma quadrata formato da lastre di calcare scalpellato non in piano, che forma il pianerottolo che s'inoltra nel muro per m. 1,26, dove vi sono i quattro gradini della lunghezza uguale alla larghezza del vano. Vi è un gradino formato da un masso piccolo ed uno grande, il piccolo misura m. 0,35 e la sua altezza dal piano del vano m. 0,38, la sua pedata è di m. 0,36; il masso grande invece che compone con il piccolo il gradino è di m. 0,73, la sua altezza m. 0,22, la sua pedata m. 0,36. Il secondo gradino è più piccolo del primo come altezza e difatti misura m. 0,19, esso come il primo è composto in due pezzi che formano la sua lunghezza totale di m. 1,11, la sua pedata è di m. 0,35. Il terzo gradino, anch'esso in due pezzi, ha la sua lunghezza di m. 1,16 e l'altezza di m. 0,21, la sua pedata è di m. 0,40. Sul masso più piccolo di esso vi è un altro piccolo masso sovrapposto di forma irregolare avente la lunghezza massima di m. 0,42 e la larghezza o pedata massima di m. 0,28 e l'altezza di questi m. 0,18. Sopra il terzo gradino ve ne è un quarto che poi immette nel vano sottostante ad un muro, esso è formato da due massi dello spessore di m. 0,14 e della lunghezza di m. 1,21 la sua pedata nel masso grande più larga di quello piccolo. I muri che fiancheggiano questi gradini sono formati da massi poligonali non molto regolari e misurano: quello di destra guardando la scala m. 3,57 e dello spessore (spessore preso di un masso del filare superiore) di m. 0,48, e che varia in testata a m. 0,51, la sua altezza massima è di m. 1,54 (misura presa dal primo piano d'accesso al masso superiore squadrato). L'altro muro del fianco sinistro, anch'esso formato da massi poligonali irregolari è lungo m. 2,58 e dello spessore di m. 0,40 (misura presa sul primo masso dopo il primo d'angolo).

Questo muro nella parte interna presenta una particolarità e cioè che è intonacato in rosso, ma l'intonaco è sovrapposto ad un altro intonaco del medesimo colore. In direzione di questo e alla distanza di m. 1, vi è un altro muro della lunghezza di m. 1,50 e dell'altezza di m. 0,25, con uno spessore di m. 0,25, anch'esso intonacato di color rosso e bianco per m. 0,45. Lo spessore di questo piccolo muro è addossato ad un muro formato da massi poligonali molto ben squadri e la sua lunghezza è di m. 8,50 (la sua lunghezza totale è ancora maggiore, ma non è ancora scavata) e l'altezza di m. 3,50 (misura presa alla sommità del masso destro della finestra). A m. 2,65 dell'angolo sinistro di questo muro, si apre una finestra della luce di m. $0,91 \times 2,31$ di altezza (misura presa dal congiungimento dei due massi che formano l'arco della volta della finestra). Questa finestra ha due massi che chiudono l'arco ben squadri.

Attualmente, questa finestra è ostruita da due massi che l'occupano per l'intera larghezza e per un'altezza di m. 1,29. In basso a questo muro si vedono due massi scalpellati ad angolo per far fare ad essi la funzione del pavimento (questo si può ben notare a destra del muro all'angolo dello scavo). Nel punto in basso di sinistra si vedono delle tracce d'intonaco rosso e bianco applicate a questi massi. Il pavimento finora scavato è formato da roccia scalpellata. All'angolo sinistro di questo muro, ve ne è uno normale che è scavato solo in parte e misura m. 1 di lunghezza per m. 0,90 di altezza e dello spessore di m. 0,57. Girando verso il monte a sinistra, il muro prosegue per una lunghezza di m. 5,19 e girando a destra, dopo questo muro, che parte dallo spigolo destro della finestra per una lunghezza di m. 4,18 e alto m. 1,92, questo tratto è il meglio conservato, presentando massi poligonali sovrapposti. Dallo spigolo sinistro interno della finestra parte, parallelo al muro esterno verso monte, un altro muro della lunghezza di m. 4 e dell'altezza di m. 1, esso è formato di massi poligonali e dista dall'altro formando la larghezza del corridoio di m. 0,87. Il materiale di riempimento trovato era di roccia, frammenti di coccio di vasi con vernice, mattoni, pezzi di anfora piuttosto grandi, qualche fuso da telaio e un frammento di pietra per macinare il grano (molazza).

Piccolo ambiente

Piccolo ambiente formato da una parete in massi poligonali e un tratto di un altro formato da un gran blocco di roccia adattata a spigolo e che forma una parte della parete a massi poligonali. Quest'ambiente è di forma rettangolare e i suoi due lati lunghi sono orientati da E a S. La parete di fondo è quella formata da poligoni irregolari e misura m. 4,55 di lunghezza (misura presa da sinistra verso destra) (fino all'angolo della roccia); però di questa parete vi sono m. 1,80 di lunghezza, formata da un masso di roccia e per un'altezza media, dato che allo spigolo è più alto, di m. 1,65; l'altezza di questa parete è di m. 3,63 (misura presa dal masso superiore di sinistra fino al fondo dello scavo). Girando a destra, vi è la parete formata in parte dal macigno della misura di m. 2,29.

Questa parete è continuata da massi di roccia messi lì, sovrapposti senza tecnica; il tratto formato da essi, è di m. 4,50 e per un'altezza di m. 1,20, mentre il masso ha un'altezza di m. 2,56. Questo masso alla sommità presenta delle particolarità e cioè degli incastri che probabilmente servivano per impostarci le travi di sostegno per la copertura. Partendo dal primo incastro all'angolo delle due pareti esso misura m. 0,25 di larghezza, m. 0,22 di altezza, e m. 0,18 di profondità preso allo spigolo sinistro di esso; alla distanza di 0,40 m. ve ne è un altro, della larghezza di 0,29 m. e 0,16 m. d'altezza e della profondità di m. 0,40, cioè quanto in questo punto si può scorgere lo spessore del masso. Questo non è come il primo ben lavorato, ma poco curato nella lavorazione ed anche deteriorato dal tempo. Alla distanza di m. 0,47 vi è la traccia di un altro incastro, del quale si può notare il suo piano scalpellato

per un piccolo tratto di m. 0,15 nel suo punto massimo e l'altezza di m. 0,40 circa, che poi forma l'altezza di un altro incasso di dimensioni più grandi, che ha il piano di m. 0,33 (massima) e la profondità di m. 0,29; anche questa manca del bordo destro (guardando dall'interno dell'ambiente) che formava anch'esso l'altezza.

Da questo piano dell'incastro, vi è un altro incastro di forma rettangolare irregolare che scende verso il lato lungo del muro e che è di m. 0,31 di altezza, m. 0,50 circa di lunghezza e la profondità (dal piano della parete), è di m. 0,18. Tutte queste misure sono prese all'incirca, data l'irregolarità della loro fattura e disposizione. Di tutti questi incavi fatti nella roccia, solo tre fatti alla sommità di essa seguono quasi una stessa linea di piano. In basso non si hanno tracce di pavimento, affiorano solo qua e là qualche masso grezzo di roccia. L'angolo formato dalle due pareti non è netto, ma la roccia a circa metà altezza presenta un ringrosso grezzo, verso l'interno dell'ambiente. La struttura della roccia è di calcare compatto e presenta molte fratture. L'altro lato lungo si può scorgere dall'allineamento, misura m. 8 circa, la sua altezza varia per i suoi massi fuori posto e per il riempimento di pezzi di roccia. Dal lato di chiusa di quest'ambiente che guarda l'Isola di Corfù, si nota solo una parte da massi di roccia. Lo scavo praticato eseguito ai lati sopra descritti, dista dai lati m. 1,50 dalla parte del masso di roccia e dalla parte dei poligoni m. 0,90. Il materiale venuto alla luce comprende: qualche peso da telaio, pezzi di anfora piuttosto grandi, mattoni rossi e giallini. Il materiale di riempimento era composto da detriti di roccia piccoli e grandi e da terra.

Seconda cisterna

E' situata sopra il piano di terra a poca distanza dalla finestra con scala. Questa cisterna, si presenta di forma quasi circolare ed è in massima parte scavata nella roccia. Dei massi che formano la sua parete interna di varia grandezza, si presentano scalpellati. Si nota bene la scalpellatura di grosso taglio, tanto che si vedono dei solchi profondi 1 cm. Nei tratti in cui la roccia non era di sufficiente altezza, questi tratti sono stati colmati da piccoli massi poligonali irregolari che ne completano l'altezza. Gli spazi fra masso e masso sono stati riempiti da piccoli sassi. Questa cisterna si presenta con ben tre strati d'intonaco: il primo è attaccato solidamente alla parete di roccia ed è composto di calce e piccoli grani di ghiaia; il secondo è composto di calce e polvere di cocci e mattoni; il terzo strato invece, è composto di calce con pezzi di mattone, quasi da sembrare come tessere da mosaico. Quest'intonaco nella parte meglio conservata misura m. 2,16. Nel fondo di questa cisterna

vi è uno scalino circolare che restringe leggermente la circonferenza iniziale ed è formato solamente da roccia scalpellata. Esso ha il piano di m. 0,51 e m. 0,75 di altezza ma non è ancora completamente scavato. In alcuni tratti della sua circonferenza è rotto. La circonferenza esterna del bordo grande (scalino) della cisterna è di m. 2,69 circa e, la circonferenza vuota che ancora bisogna scavare è di m. 1,77. I suoi fianchi sono intonacati da un grosso spessore di calce composta con ghiaia fina. La circonferenza che si è notata al piano d'inizio dello scavo (esterna) in un punto che guarda ad O, è interrotta per la mancanza di un masso. Un masso situato a destra (guardando Affic) è di m. 0,49 di altezza e lungo m. 0,47. Il materiale che la riempiva era composto da blocchi di roccia cadutavi dal monte e terra, vari pezzi di mattoni e rottami di anfore.

Parete di muro formata da un lato solo

Il lato lungo dove vi è la finestra, e un altro lato orientato da S-E a N-O è composto da massi di roccia non lavorata. È stato eseguito lo scavo in questo punto d'angolo per mettere in luce l'angolo con il tratto di muro. Esso presenta nel basso del lato corto di chiusa, un muro composto di piccoli pezzi di calcare probabilmente messi lì per avere l'allineamento con gli altri massi che compongono la parete. Il tratto della parete, lunga in questo punto, misura m. 1,29 fino all'angolo dell'altro muro e, m. 4,78 l'altra parete di chiusa. Il muro di riempimento (cioè quello d'allineamento), è alto m. 0,93 allo spigolo e m. 2,5 dallo spigolo per la sua lunghezza. Il pavimento è scalpellato nella roccia e se ne può scorgere per circa m. 2,40. Particolarità di esso è che questo muro è composto da dei massi della grandezza di m. 1,18 di altezza media e m. 1 di larghezza. Un altro masso misura m. 1,40 di lunghezza e m. 1,36 di altezza. La roccia non è lavorata. Il materiale trovato nello scavo è di mattoni, cocci e frammenti di un grande vaso di terracotta.

Note

- 1 The location of this cistern is not precisely known. Ugolini does not mention it in his main text, and hence Nuccitelli's journal is the only description. However, it was the find spot for some notable artifacts: sculptural fragments, a bronze lamp (Chapter 9, cat. 7 and 8), and apparently two terracotta musical instruments, see Chapter 9. The overall plan of the site (Plate 4.1) shows an unexplained rectangular feature on the summit of the hill within the Medieval walls. This could either be a small house, or possibly the cistern described here.

11 Çuka e Aitoit: The 1979 Survey and Excavations

Selim Islami (with an introductory preface by Oliver J. Gilkes)

Introduction¹

The remains of the ancient city are located on the hill of Çuka e Aitoit, close to Konispol. The area was investigated by the Italian Archaeological Mission directed by Luigi Maria Ugolini in the 1930s (see Chapters 4–10).² Some sporadic information is also included in N. G. L. Hammond's monograph, *Epirus*.³

The work of the Italian Mission was followed up in 1959 by archaeological excavations led by Selim Islami. A general survey of the territory of the city was undertaken, as well as trial excavations at the structure known as 'the Palace' and at the main entrance to the acropolis. Little new data was obtained in these excavations. Much of the area around 'the Palace' had already been investigated by the Italian Mission and only a few finds were uncovered at the acropolis gate. A topographic survey was undertaken some years later under the directorship of Dhimosten Budina and a preliminary plan of the city was published.⁴

To provide a more detailed plan, surveys and archaeological excavations were continued in 1973 led by Selim Islami.⁵ The results defined the limits of the acropolis with greater accuracy and provided a re-evaluation of the fortifications of the city. The new surveys also offered the opportunity to investigate the type and extent of the settlement remains on the acropolis and in the lower city. These structures had been noted by previous visitors, and a detailed survey then became the focus for the 1979 expedition.⁶ The present text presents the results of this research. (OG)

1. The Location and Extent of the Ancient City

The hill of Çuka e Aitoit, on which the ancient city is situated, has an irregular conical shape resembling a pyramid (Fig. 11.1). It is located almost equidistant between Konispol and the Vrina Plain. It is situated at a crossroads with roads from the south (through the passes of Bota and

Likojan), the east (through the pass of Bogazi Gorge), and the north (from Butrint and the Vrina Plain); the Pavllas River also runs close to the hill. The ancient city had access to the harbour known as Kato Aetòs, located on the Ionian coastline adjacent to the present Albanian–Greek border, with easy access to Corfu. Its geographical domination over a territory rich in fertile lands and pasturage and its central position at important crossroads, as well as the natural protection afforded by its hilltop location, all played a role in the foundation of this ancient city.

The hill of Çuka e Aitoit rises 500 m above sea level. It is a natural calcareous formation without any flat terraces at its top. Its northern side consists of a series of rocky outcrops, while its southern and western sides are notably smoother in outline (Fig. 11.2). The hilltop was surrounded by a defensive wall c. 1100 m long, enclosing an area of 5 ha, which forms the acropolis, or upper city. Outside the perimeter wall is situated the lower city, the remains of which are easily distinguished on both the western and



Figure 11.1. Çuka e Aitoit looking southeast, towards Konispol, c. 1959 (BF archive)

southern sides of the hill. Of the published plans of the city, neither that by Dhimosten Budina nor Neritan Ceka is entirely correct. On the former, the actual limits of the acropolis are unclear, while the latter includes some parts of the lower city within the fortification – wrongly confusing the terrace wall with the defensive system.⁷ This has been corrected in the present revised version (Fig. 11.3).⁸



Figure 11.2 The northern and eastern slopes of Çuka e Aitoit, c. 1959 (BF archive)

2. The Fortifications

The Perimeter Wall

The perimeter wall was designed to protect the acropolis and did not include the lower city within this fortified system. This wall is easily surveyed throughout its entire length. The best-preserved tracts survive on the northwestern side, between A–B1, including a 54 m long passageway across two rocky formations, as well as on the eastern and southern sides where the wall exists up to a height 500 m above sea level. For the southern wall, in particular, it is worth noting that the structure here is set in straight lines and only curves at the points indicated on the plan.⁹ On the northern side, between B1–C, as well as on the western side between A1–N, the wall is not well preserved; however, the rocky site would have offered a natural protection at these points. In the following, the best-preserved tracts of the fortification will be described in detail.

Tract A–A1 is polygonal in style. Its solid structure consists of two parallel lines constructed of massive blocks with a core of broken stones. Occasionally, blocks have been placed obliquely in order to strengthen the wall. The parallel walls are composed of massive polygonal

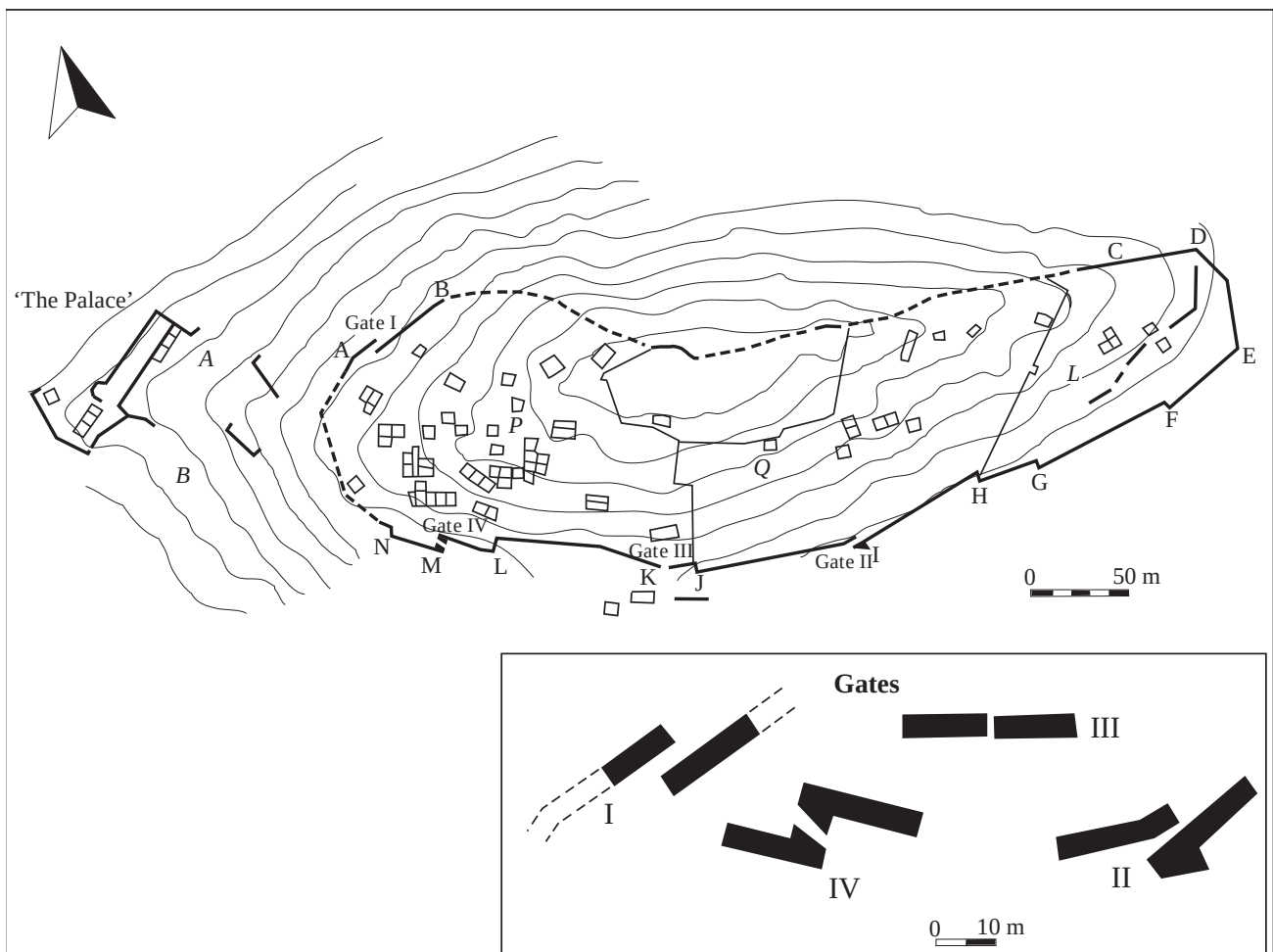


Figure 11.3. Plan of the settlement on Çuka e Aitoit (Drawn by Nevila Molla)



Figure 11.4. Detail of the polygonal blocks used in the wall construction along tract A-A1 (BF archive)

blocks with irregular surfaces. These are carefully worked, especially on the exterior. Within the wall are also encountered stepped blocks, facilitating a tight fit, as well as the use of smaller triangular or rectangular blocks (Fig. 11.4). At the corners, rectangular or trapezoidal blocks have been used. Here is also found a well-preserved plumb line. The entire tract of wall is supported on a course of thin, irregular blocks, or occasionally constructed on the natural rock. The Tract A-A1 extends 11 m towards the southwest, up to a natural rocky formation. It is 3.50 m wide, and preserved up to a maximum height of 3.50–4.00 m. The tract is interrupted at point A by the construction of Gate I, described below.

Tract B-B1 commences on the other side of Gate I and extends toward the east up to the rocky formation on the northern side. The outer part of this tract is very well preserved. It is constructed from massive polygonal blocks with occasional use of trapezoidal ones. In rare instances, stepped, as well as smaller elements, are used to fit the blocks of the wall tightly together. The inner part of the wall is preserved at ground level, and the use of oblique blocks can be identified. This tract, too, is supported on a course of thin, irregular blocks, projecting 10–15 cm from the vertical line of the wall, as well as on the natural rock. The wall is 43 m long, 3.50 m wide and is preserved to a maximum height of 4 m (Fig. 11.5).

Tract B1-C is approximately 400 m long and not well preserved; however, the rocky formation along this stretch would have offered a perfect unbridgeable natural protection. The wall can occasionally be traced in small tracts consisting of two or three courses serving to close gaps in the line of natural rock. These are unsystematically worked from blocks of different shapes.

Tract C-D-D1 is poorly preserved though the line of the wall can be followed throughout its length. The best-preserved tracts consist of two to three courses of polygonal as well as trapezoidal blocks with concave faces.

Tract D1-E is located on the eastern side of the city. The exterior face is constructed from massive polygonal



Figure 11.5. Detail of the wall construction along tract B-B1 (BF archive)

blocks with concave faces. Small rectangular and triangular stones have been used to fill the empty spaces between the blocks. Two drainage canals, one of which is well preserved, cut through the wall. Immediately beyond the first canal, the blocks are set in regular, horizontal courses while the sides are oblique. The wall tract consists of three to four courses of a maximum height of 2.50 m and 36 m length. The width of the wall could not be measured. It is set on the natural rock or on a course of blocks projecting 10–15 cm from the vertical line of the wall.

Tract E-F is preserved throughout its length (47 m) with only two interruptions, and thus may be described as three separated tracts. E-F1. The outer line of this tract is constructed of polygonal, trapezoidal or rectangular blocks with oblique sides. It is set either on the natural rock or on a line of blocks projecting 10–15 cm from the vertical face of the wall. The blocks of the lower course are set in regular, horizontal strings. For fillings between blocks, steps and small stones have been used. The wall represents a perfect combination of polygonal and trapezoidal blocks. The tract is 9.15 m long and preserved to a height of 2.20 m. The inner part of the wall is not well preserved (Fig. 11.6). E-F2: the outer part is constructed from polygonal blocks with concave faces. Unlike Tract E-F1, the blocks are not placed in horizontal string courses, but instead a tight fit has been accomplished by the use of stepped blocks and filling stones; overall the stonework is very attractive. The surviving tract is 6.70 m long and 2.60 m high. The inner part of the tract is not well preserved (Fig. 11.7). E-F3: this tract has the same characteristics as Tract E-F2, with the



Figure 11.6. Detail of the wall construction along tract E-F1 (BF archive)



Figure 11.8. Detail of the wall construction along tract E-F3 (BF archive)



Figure 11.7. Detail of the wall construction along tract E-F2 (BF archive)



Figure 11.9. Detail of the wall construction along tract F-G (BF archive)

difference that here horizontal courses predominate. This tract ends at bastion F with three courses of rectangular blocks and oblique sides. The extant length is 15 m with a height of 2.40 m (Fig. 11.8).

Tract F-G runs from point F to the turning point G, with a total length of 72.50 m (Fig. 11.9). Within this stretch of walling three separate tracts are well preserved. F-G1: this is a long tract, the exterior of which is constructed from rectangular blocks with oblique sides. These are isodomic and placed in regular parallel courses. Where very large blocks have been used, the regular coursing is adjusted with the insertion of stepped or small filling blocks. The facing of the blocks is slightly concave compared to the polygonal style. As found elsewhere, the wall is supported on the natural rock or on a single course of irregular blocks projecting from the vertical line of the wall. From point F, this tract is approximately 43 m long and measures 2.50–3.00 m in height (Fig. 11.10). At the very end of this tract, a polygonal style has been adopted. The transition is organically achieved without breaking the coherence of the wall. F-G2: this is a very well-preserved polygonal

wall, the exterior part of which is constructed from blocks with concave faces in different shapes. The majority of the blocks are polygonal, although, trapezoidal and triangular blocks are widely used too. Their perfect joins make this tract very attractive. It is also worth emphasising the presence of the plumb line, 8 cm wide, which traverses the whole height of the wall. The preserved tract is 16 m long and 4 m high. The inner part of this tract survives at ground level and the wall measures 3.50 m in width (Fig. 11.11). F-G3: this is of coursed polygonal style. Its exterior is constructed from irregular rectangular blocks with concave faces. In rare instances, polygonal, stepped blocks and small filling stones have been used. In the central part of the wall a course of thinner blocks is noticeable. The inner part is not preserved. The wall is 8.70 m long and 4 m high (Fig. 11.12).

Tract G-H starts at the turning point G, which projects at a right angle from the wall, 3.20 m deep. The bastion is constructed from trapezoidal blocks with concave faces. At its corner, traces of a plumb line still survive. This bastion is followed by a perfect tract in polygonal style, the outer face of which is constructed by blocks with concave faces. Despite an occasional use of irregular rectangular blocks,

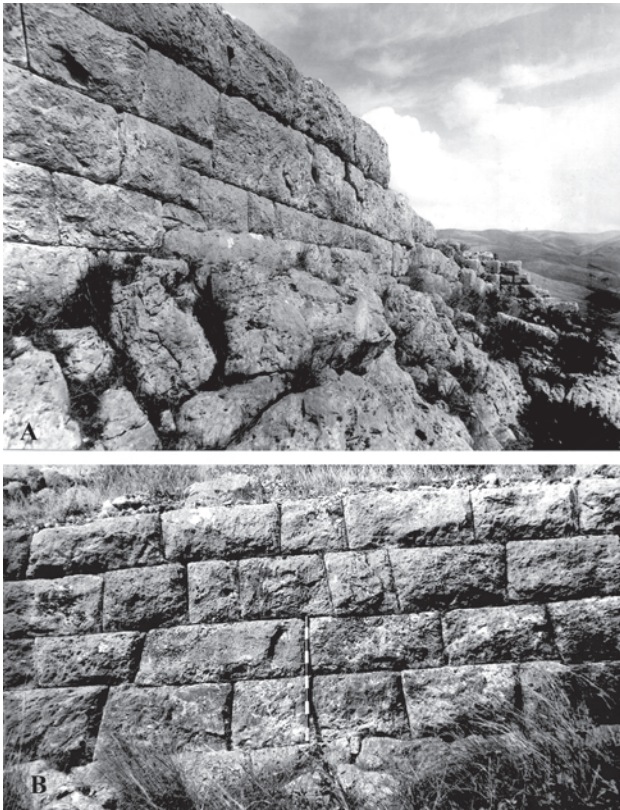


Figure 11.10. Detail of the wall construction along tract F-G1, showing (A) the organic merging from isodomic masonry to polygonal blocks and (B) detail of the isodomic masonry (BF archive)



Figure 11.11. Detail of the wall construction along tract F-G2 (BF archive)

the general features of the polygonal style are preserved. The wall itself is supported either on a rudimentary foundation constructed from blocks projecting 10–15 cm from the vertical line of the wall, or straight on the natural rock. The inner face of the wall is not easily discerned. This tract survives 23.50 m in length and 3.50–4.00 m in height (Fig. 11.13).



Figure 11.12. Detail of the wall construction along tract F-G3 (BF archive)



Figure 11.13. Detail of the wall construction along tract G-H, showing (A) the bastion at the start of the tract and (B) detail of the polygonal blocks used in the wall construction (BF archive)

Tract H-I-J continues for about 155 m from point H to bastion J. This part of the wall is poorly preserved; only 1–2 courses as well as some traces from Gate III survive.



Figure 11.14. The bastion at point L of the defensive wall circuit (BF archive)



Figure 11.15. The bastion at point M, forming the right side of Gate IV (BF archive)

Above the entire length of the wall are remains of the Late Antique castle, constructed mainly by *spolia* taken from the ancient wall.¹⁰

Tract J–K–L–M stretches westwards for about 170 m to the rocky base of the western side of the hill. In the course of its length, the wall changes direction four times: at points J, L, M and N. Gate III is situated at point K, while Gate IV is located at point M. The tract is not well preserved, and the wall cannot be traced throughout. It is best preserved at point L, as well as at Gate IV, described below.

The distance between points N–A1 corresponds to the rocky terrain on the western side of the hill, which closes the circuit wall of the acropolis. Traces of the defensive wall can occasionally be found along this stretch; though, in the main area the defences take advantage of the natural terrain.

The Bastions

Within the fortification system of Çuka e Aitoit, the bastions constitute elements of great importance. They are widely applied along the southern wall, where they project in a zigzag outline. These ‘bastions’ are predominantly set at right-angles to the wall, though at irregular intervals determined by the wall construction and by defensive needs. Thus, these bastions represent not only a structural element to buttress the wall, but also a defensive aspect, which can be seen as predating fortifications with towers. The bastions hence predominate near the gates, as do towers elsewhere.

The line of projection from the wall varies: mainly the distance is between 3.60–3.80 m, though at point G the bastion projects 3.20 m, while at point L it is 7.60 m deep. None of the distances between them is even: the distance between points E–F is 47 m; F–G is 72.50 m; G–H is 31 m; H–J is 74.50 m; I–J is 83 m; J–K is 15 m; K–L is 90 m; L–M is 25 m; and M–N is 27 m (cf. Fig. 11.3).

The bastions are best preserved at points G, L and M; the remainder are poorly preserved. The bastion at point G is described above. That at point L is notable for its solid

construction worked in massive, regular blocks mainly rectangular and trapezoidal in shape. At its corner is a well-preserved plumb line. The maximum height of this bastion is 3 m (Fig. 11.14). The bastion at point M projects c. 4 m from the line of the wall and forms the right side of Gate IV. This, too, is constructed from polygonal and trapezoidal blocks. It stands to a maximum height of 2.50 m (Fig. 11.15).

The zigzag arrangement of bastions is encountered at other ancient, fortified cities in Albania. For instance, at Butrint, Phoinike, and Amantia (Klos) further north, this technique is dated to the 5th century BC. The use of bastions is also found in the fortification of Lissos dated to around the end of the 4th century BC, though here they are of secondary use to the more common towers. The fortifications at Çuka e Aitoit must therefore date to the 5th or 4th century BC.¹¹

The Gates

Four gates provided entry to the acropolis of Çuka e Aitoit. These have been numbered I–IV, and are situated close to points A, I, K and M. (cf. Fig. 11.3)

Gate I: this gate, which was cleaned during the 1979 excavations, seems to have been blocked by the construction of the Late Antique wall. The gate was offset in style and designed with an entrance corridor 4.50 m long and 3.50 m wide. The corridor was formed by the offset elongations of the surrounding wall on both sides of the corridor (Fig. 11.16).

Gate II: this gate is similar in style to Gate I, though here the inner side of the wall is angled at the entrance. The entrance corridor, 5.50 × 3.50 m, narrows towards its end up to 1.70 m. Further, it is reinforced by a right-angled bastion (projecting 3.50 m forward) in the outer wall at point I.

Gate III: this is a small frontal gate 1.70 m wide. There



Figure 11.16. View looking through Gate I (BF archive)



Figure 11.17. Gate III, the small frontal gate (BF archive)

is no entrance corridor and the gate is simply defined by the thickness of the wall (Fig. 11.17).

Gate IV: this, too, is offset in style; however, it is provided with two right-angled bastions: one at the right of the entrance (at point M), the other one at the inner part of the gate, above the left wall. The space between the bastions defines that of the 5 m long corridor, which is quite narrow at its mouth (2.20 m) but widens to 3.50 m.

Three of the four acropolis gates are of offset style; any differences identified between them are simply variations responding to individual needs.¹² Offset gates are also found in the Hellenistic fortifications at Butrint (the Lion Gate and the Northern Gate), at the 5th-century BC gates at Amantia (Klos), as well as at Bylis and Lis, where variants of the type occur datable to the latter half of the 4th century BC.¹³

Overall, the defences at Çuka e Aitoit are characterised by polygonal masonry style, zigzag bastions and offset gates. This places Çuka e Aitoit within the group of southern Illyrian and Epirote cities where fortifications of this type can be found as early as the 5th or the first half of the 4th century BC.¹⁴

Identifying the fortifications as polygonal in style further avoids complex typological classifications. The difficulties associated with the stylistic and typological system developed by Scranton can be observed in the well-preserved state of the walls at Çuka e Aitoit.¹⁵ Indeed, it is likely that fortifications in Illyria and Epirus do not correspond precisely to the established chronologies for the Greek world. For instance, unlike the model proposed by Scranton, at Çuka e Aitoit the polygonal and trapezoidal styles do not represent different construction periods, but rather they are contemporary. Each of Scranton's variants can be distinguished within a single wall approximately 500 m long, and the well-fitting irregular or coursed polygonal and the irregular, isodomic or pseudo-isodomic trapezoidal must indicate contemporaneity of date.

The Tract F–G1 is particularly important in this respect. This has been characterised as rectangular or isodomic despite its oblique sides; however, it appears different from the fortifications of Çuka e Aitoit (*cf.* Figs 11.9 and

11.10).¹⁶ After careful examination it is evident that this tract, too, is well fitted to the polygonal wall at either end. This naturally questions its status as a unique and chronologically isolated element, and further research is needed on this tract.

Differentiations in individual tracts of the circuit wall at Çuka e Aitoit should probably be considered a spontaneous phenomenon, similar to almost all polygonal-style walls in Albania. Construction would have been conditioned by the angle and position of the blocks, which could at times give the wall different alignments and appearance. This does not naturally apply to the bastions and the gates, for which the builders deliberately used regular, especially trapezoidal, blocks in order to strengthen the corners. A crucial aspect of the polygonal construction technique is the *in situ* adaptation of blocks rather than preparation at the local quarry site.

To sum up, the style of the defensive circuit-wall of Çuka e Aitoit ought to be defined as polygonal, without particular variants. Economic concerns (maximum use of construction materials) and technical aspects (the angle and position of the blocks) were simultaneously the primary construction criteria and determinants in resolving the nature of the construction style. The various-shaped blocks and the different appearances of the walls do not indicate divergence from the general construction style. Rather, they are spontaneous and imaginative elements highlighting the crucial role of the artisan creating multiple expressions within a single over-arching style.

3. The Buildings

A considerable number of buildings survive at Çuka e Aitoit, which quite exceptionally can be seen above the present ground level. On the acropolis, the remains of as many as 40 ancient structures were identified. The majority are located at the western end, with only few remains at the centre and eastern end of the acropolis. A second, large group of structures were recorded in the lower western city, extending onto two big terraces, T1 and T2 (see Fig. 11.3). At the present time, it is impossible to say if the

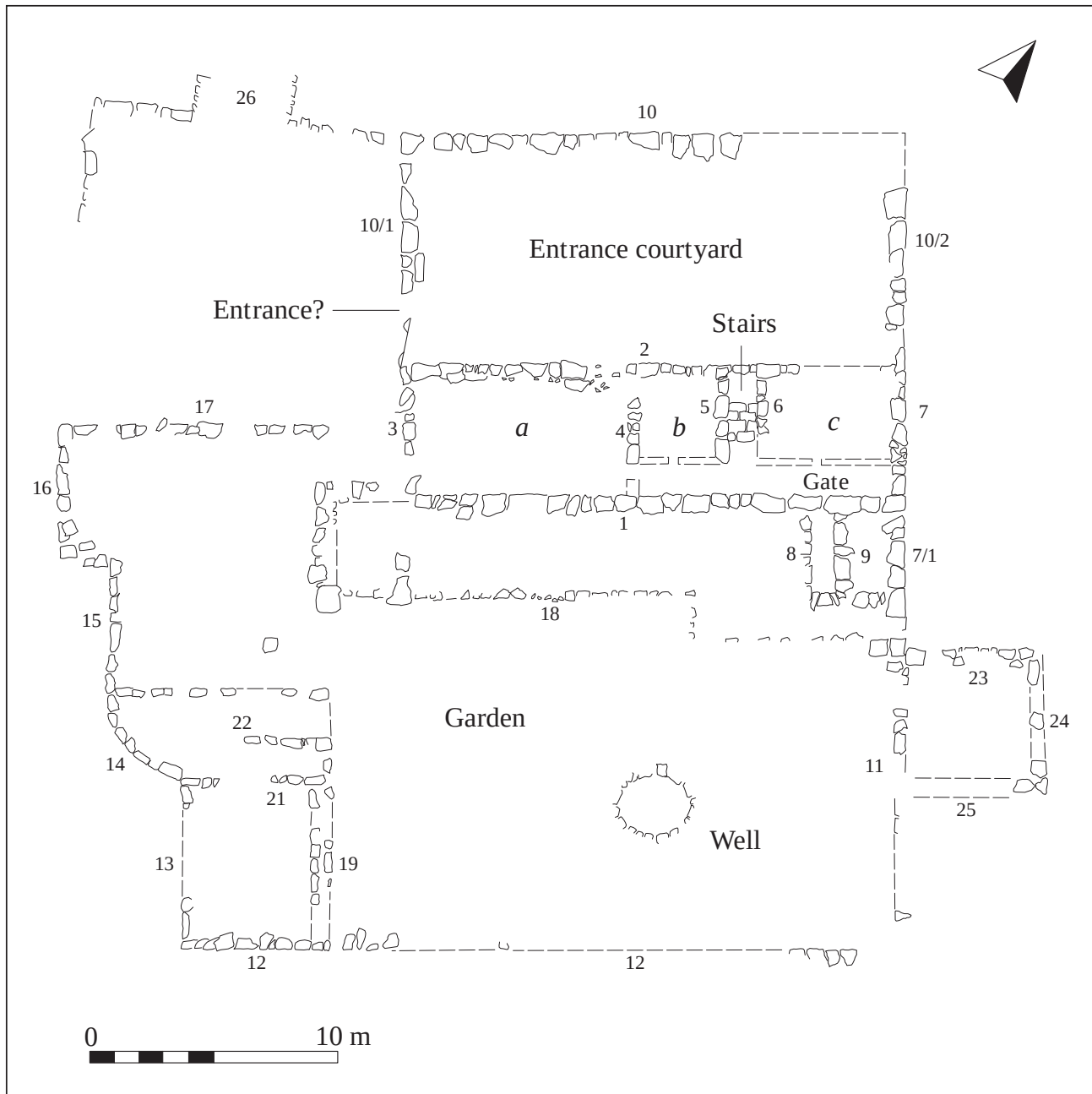


Figure 11.18. Plan of Building 1, 'the Palace', on terrace T1 (Drawn by Nevila Molla)

location and grouping of these buildings represent singular structures or even city blocks.

Considering the rocky geological conditions of Çuka e Aitoit, the most efficient solution for creating inhabitable areas was by terracing, and this is found on both the acropolis and in the lower city. At the western end of the acropolis, where the surviving building remains are of some considerable size, the structures follow the gradual upward line of the hill. No specific construction or planning method conditions the overall layout of the structures within the city. Rather, the structures seem designed individually, and to be spatially differentiated from each other, each offering views across the valley.

The following is a preliminary, and by no means complete, survey of structures in the lower city and on the acropolis. In conjunction with the topographical survey, excavations were carried out at each of these locations in 1979.

The Lower City

Building 1: this well-known structure is referred to by the local community as *Pallati*, 'the Palace'; it is located on terrace 1 (T1) of the lower city (see Fig. 11.3). Excavations at this structure were first undertaken by the Italian Archaeological Mission in 1929. The published



Figure 11.19. View of the rooms of Building 1 (BF archive)



Figure 11.20. View of the staircase between rooms b and c (BF archive)

photographs, as well as the photographic archive stored at the Institute of Archaeology, indicate that the 1929 excavations only partly revealed this building (Chapter 6).¹⁷ Initial excavations in 1959 were limited in scope, but the 1979 investigations extended across the entirety of this building.

The building is located on the northwestern side of the hill, offering a good view of the valley. It consisted of a hallway area, an atrium in front of this and a garden at the rear (Fig. 11.18). The hallway area occupied the central part of this complex. It was furnished with three rooms aligned on either side of a staircase: two (Rooms *a* and *b*) on the right, the third (Room *c*) on the left. A corridor (10 × 1 m) running lengthwise in front of the rooms facilitated access to them. The biggest room, Room *a*, which was furnished with a hearth, measures about 38 m² (8.40 × 4.50 m); Rooms *b* (12 m², 3.50 × 3.50 m) and *c* – (17.50 m², 5 × 3.50 m) seem to have been used as bedrooms. The entrance to Room *a* was located at the end of the corridor; the entrances to the other two are unclear. All three seem to have been fronted by a fine plinth towards the corridor. The floor of Room *a* was constructed on the natural rock, while those of the other two were set on the earth ground surface (Fig. 11.19). Generally, where the natural rock had been used as foundation it was often levelled to provide an even floor surface. The 0.60 m thick inner walls of the building were constructed in carefully worked polygonal blocks with flat faces and would have been plastered and painted. In Room *a*, a large number of fragments of painted plaster were found, decorated mainly in white but also in other colours like pink, green and light blue.

The staircase situated between Rooms *b* and *c* gave access to the atrium. It traversed another corridor (3.50 × 1.20 m) and consisted of six stair-treads and a landing between the second and third of these. The treads of the staircase measure 0.17–0.20 m in height while the landing measures 1.20 × 1.25 m (Fig. 11.20).

The atrium (10 × 20 m) was surrounded by walls, or possibly by a rail or fence. It seems to have been used as a hallway for the domestic life of the family. From here, the rest of the building could be accessed. The walls of



Figure 11.21. The front wall of the atrium (BF archive)



Figure 11.22. The arched gateway of the atrium (BF archive)

the atrium, too, were constructed in the polygonal style. The front wall, built in massive blocks with concave faces, survives up to 1.60 m in height (Fig. 11.21). An arched gate was situated at the rear wall of the building. This formed a small inner gate (2.25 × 1.10 m), the corbelled arch of which was formed by two blocks set on their edges at an angle of c. 40° (Fig. 11.22). Within the corridor leading to



Figure 11.23. The rock-cut well or cistern in the centre of the garden (BF archive)

the gate was located a staircase giving access to the garden. The corridor is badly preserved, but its alignment can be traced at either end. This tower-like entrance type is also found at the nearby fortified Hellenistic villa at Malathrea, as well as at an ancient building in the village of Çukë near Saranda.¹⁸ The same type has also been identified further north in the *temenos* wall in Apollonia and in the city gate at Irmaj; the former generally dated to the late Hellenistic period, the latter considered to be of the 4th or first half of the 3rd century BC.¹⁹ At Çuka e Aitoit, the archaeological material associated with this structure does not provide any evidence for its date. However, the fortified villa at Malathrea, being an *ex novo* construction of the late 4th–early 3rd century BC, could provide an indication for the date of the gate as well as for the *Pallati* as a whole (see Chapter 19, where the Hellenistic villa at Diaporit is ascribed to the 2nd century BC, and Chapter 20 for the possible 3rd century BC date of Malathrea).

The garden measured approximately 600 m². At its centre was situated a rock-cut well or cistern, with a maximum depth of 3.60 m. The diameter at the top is 3 m, while at the base it narrows to 1.70 m. The face of the well was made of stone, still with traces of the original plastering (Fig. 11.23). The garden was surrounded by a wall as well as by a fence. The wall mainly survives as a single course at ground level, though a tract at the southwestern side is better preserved. The wall forms a curvilinear outline, and originally served not just to enclose the garden but also as a retaining wall. It was constructed from polygonal and trapezoidal blocks, among which some are stepped. The faces of the blocks are usually concave; however, the wall in general seems solid. As a terrace wall, only the outer side survives to the ground level and serves as a support (Fig. 11.24). Other walls survive within the garden area, possibly related to industrial aspects of the building or other secondary purposes (*cf.* Fig. 11.18). However, in their present state of survival it is not possible to determine their function.



Figure 11.24. Details of the southwestern tract of the garden wall (BF archive)

Building 1 seems to have originated as a single-storey house, which expanded to three levels (Fig. 11.25, section A–A). Overall, the site covered c. 900 m², of which 130 m² were devoted to the building. The name *Pallati*, ‘the Palace’, given to it by the local community, must be derived primarily by the impression of the solidity of the walls and the presence of the gate.

Building 2: this is located at the southwestern edge of the terrace (T1); part of this was first discovered by the Italian Mission (Chapters 5 and 6). The 1979 excavations did not extend this much further but concentrated instead on the surviving ground-level structures. The outline of its outer walls indicates that it occupied an area of around 160 m². The building expanded over two levels. On the ground level, it consisted of a single room measuring 12 × 5 m, shown on the plan as *a* (Fig. 11.25). About 2.50 m above this level were situated the upper storey structures: a corridor and two rooms, indicated as *b* and *c*, respectively. The two rooms were of equal size (4 × 5 m), while the corridor measured 17 × 2.50 m. The corridor facilitated access to the rooms within the building, as might have done timber staircases. Traces surviving in the front of the building suggest the presence of a portico. The walls of the building were constructed of polygonal blocks with smoothed faces; occasionally also the natural rock was used. In general, Building 2 could be described as a ‘half-floored house’ type.

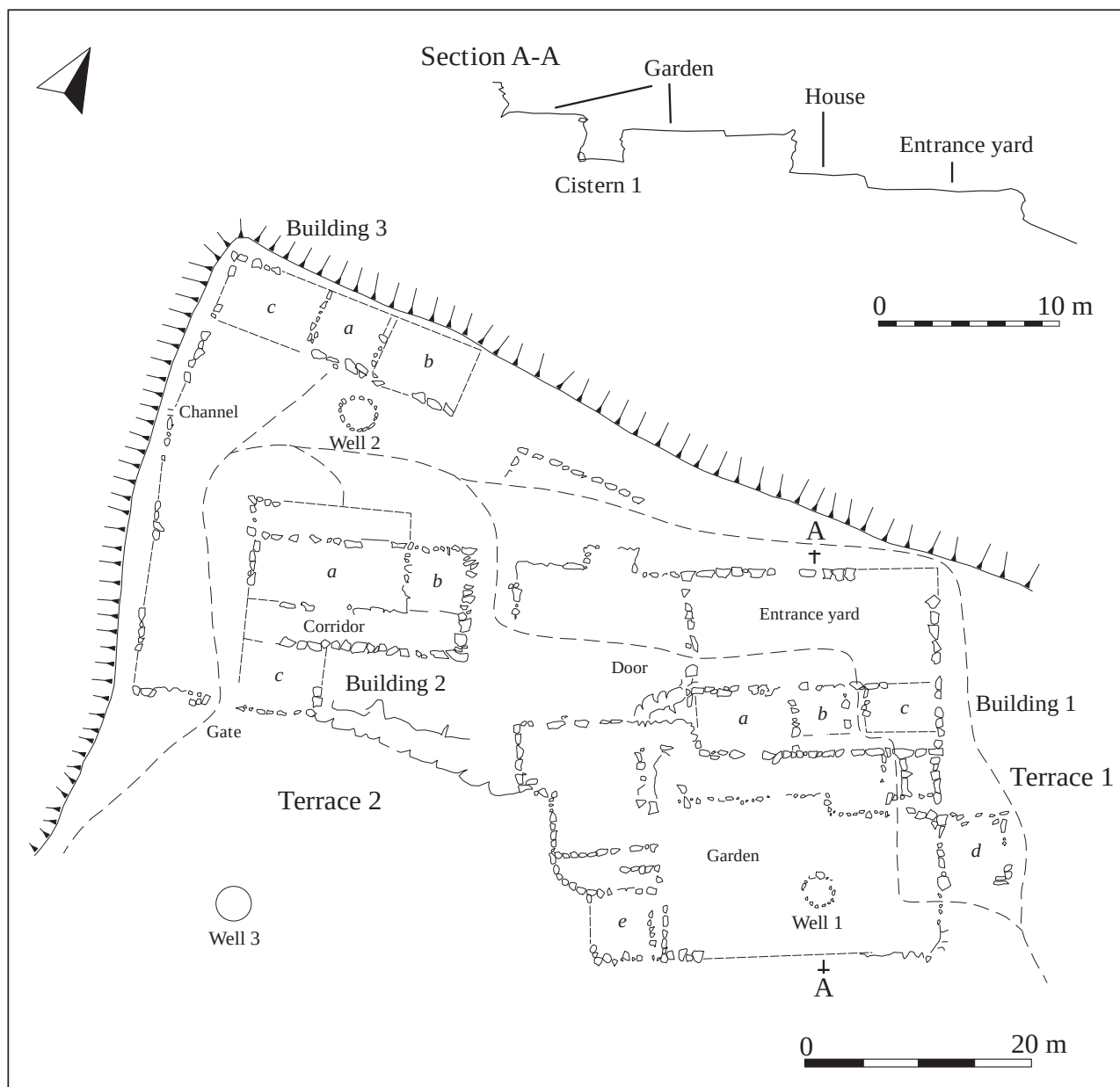


Figure 11.25. Plan of the three buildings on terrace T1 (Drawn by Nevila Molla)

Building 3: this is located in front of Building 2, on the northwestern side of terrace T1. Based on the outline of the surviving walls at ground level, it seems to have consisted of three rooms. The walls of the central Room *a* are better preserved than those of Rooms *b* and *c* on either side of it (see Fig. 11.25). However, further excavation is needed to provide a detailed plan of this building. Close to Building 3, traces of a well were found (well II), the outline of which was identified by the variation in the colour of the plants. The well/cistern must have served both Buildings 2 and 3.

Thus, on terrace T1, three dwellings were constructed, which would have been inhabited by a small community. On the western side, this group of buildings was enclosed by a terrace wall in which the canal *K* served as a drain. A gate facilitated access between terraces T1 and T2. Both

the gate and the terrace wall were constructed from blocks with concave faces set in polygonal style (Fig. 11.26).

Terrace 2 is situated approximately 10 m below terrace T1. The only surviving structure is the traces of a well (well III), defined by the distinguished colour of the plants around it (see Fig. 11.25). The size of terrace T2 seems large enough originally to have accommodated a building, or a group of buildings, as also indicated by the presence of the well.

The Upper City (The Acropolis)

A number of buildings were surveyed on the western side of the acropolis. The primary focus was confined to recording the surviving remains, since the rocky terrain



Figure 11.26. Detail of the terrace wall between terraces T1 and T2 (BF archive)

made excavation virtually impossible (Fig. 11.27).

Building 4: this is located 15 m to the south of Gate I on the acropolis, at a height 10 m above it. It is a small, one-floored building covering a total surface area of about 118 m². It is L-shaped in plan and consists of five different areas. Following the differences in the terrain, the building was constructed on two levels with only minor variation between them. The upper level consists of three rooms (*a*–*c*), whereas the lower level has Room *d* and Portico *e*. The rooms measure respectively 16 m² (4 × 4 m), 17.20 m² (4.30 × 4 m), 15.20 m² (4.10 × 3 m), 13.20 m² (4 × 3.30 m) and 13 m² (3.70 × 3.50 m).

The building has very solid walls; the outer walls are 1 m thick, with dividing walls about 0.60 m thick. The rear wall was cut from the natural rock to a height of 2.70 m. All other walls were constructed from polygonal blocks, with

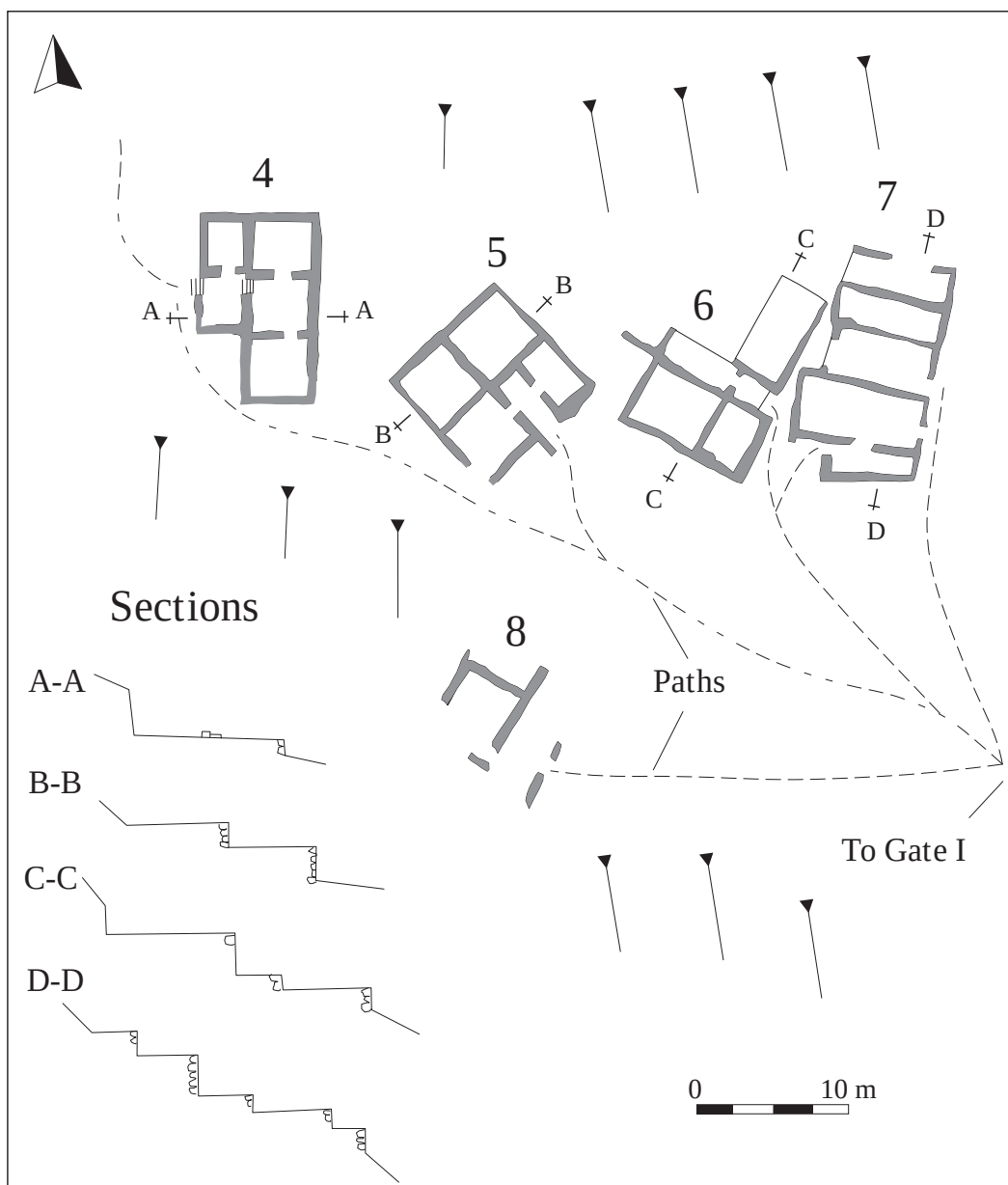


Figure 11.27. Plan of Buildings 4–8 on the acropolis (Drawn by Nevila Molla)

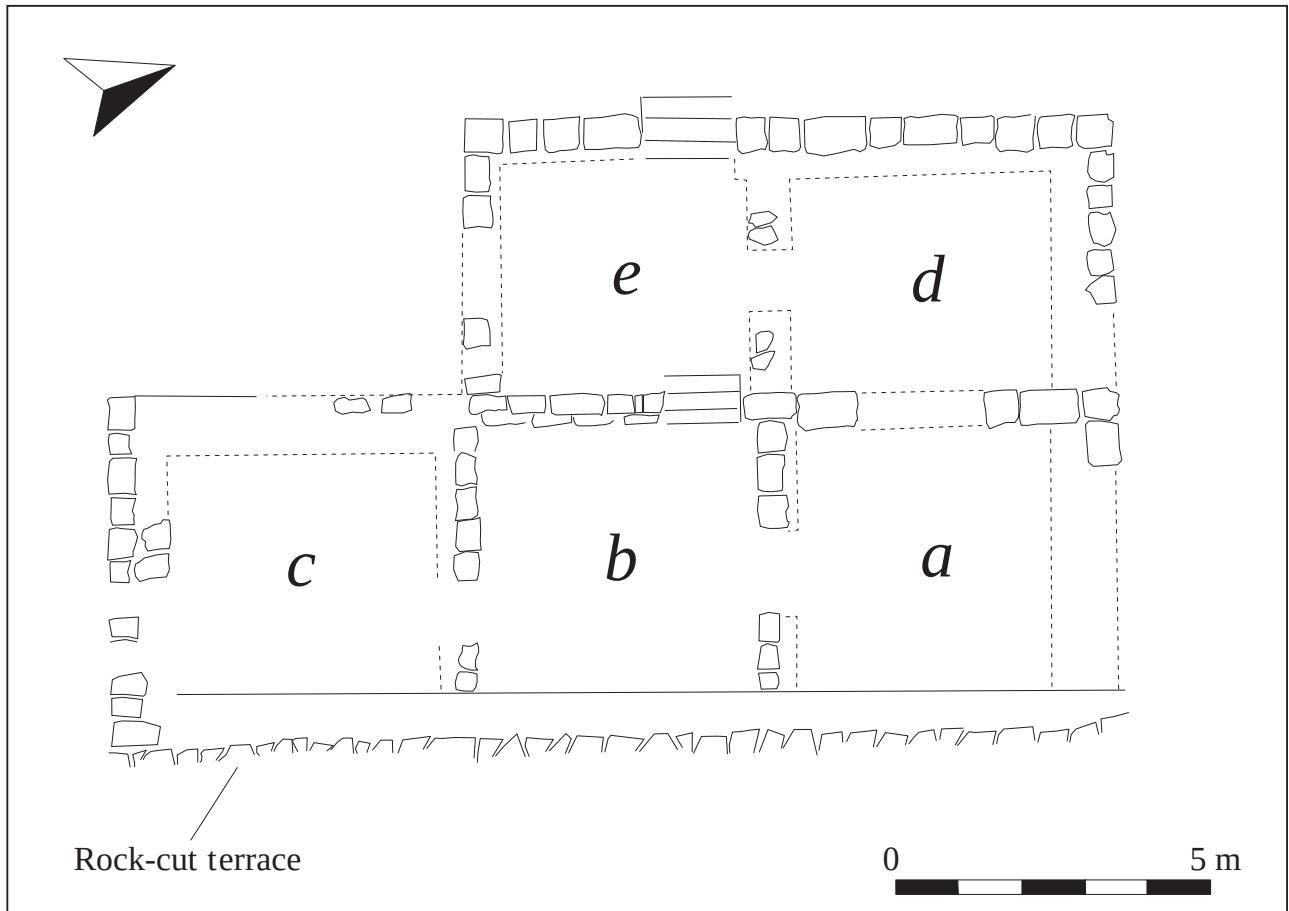


Figure 11.28. Detail plan of Building 4 (Drawn by Nevila Molla)

either rectangular or trapezoidal blocks at the corners but survive only for 2–3 courses. It was probably roofed with tiles, the remains of which were found all over the structure.

Facing west, this building was accessed from the same direction through a gate with a width of about 1.50 m. Two short staircases, one near the main entrance and the other in front of Room *b*, facilitated access between the two storeys of the building. The staircases consist of, respectively, three and two treads; the foundations (c. 0.40 × 0.20 m) were placed to the left of the portico and on the same axis. From the portico all the rooms of the building could be reached. This gave access to Room *d*, the door of which was placed at the left end of the portico, and to Room *b*, situated between the rooms of the upper level. From Room *b*, the Rooms *a* and *c* on either side of it could be reached. Room *b* contained a hearth and hence served as the main domestic area of the building, while the rooms next to it were probably used as bedrooms. Room *d* seems to have been used for cooking as well as for food storage. The Platform (*e*) of the portico was originally surrounded by low walls provided with railings; in front of Room *b*, the portico appears to have had a timber shelter shading the room from the sun. No evidence has been found of bathroom facilities or areas for livestock; these must have been placed outside the building itself (Fig. 11.28).

Buildings 5–8: these structures were oriented towards



Figure 11.29. View of Building 9, 'The House in the Rock' (BF archive)

the south and differ typologically from those described above. However, none are clear in plan and hence no detailed description will be given here. It seems likely that the atypical aspects of Buildings 5–8 were imposed by the terrain and the space available for construction. The buildings are included on Figure 11.27, and it is hoped that future research will be able offer a new interpretation of their function.

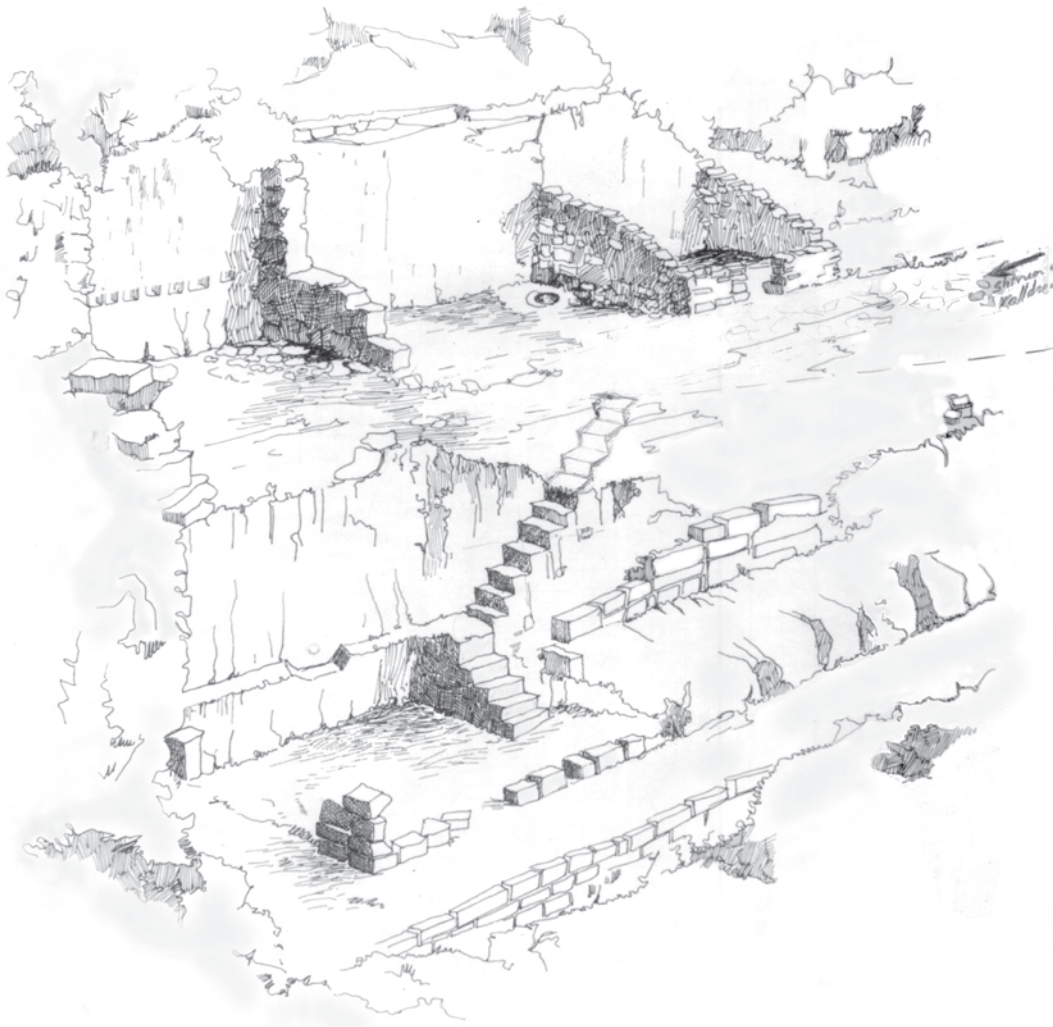


Figure 11.30. Building 9 viewed from the southwest, detailing the staircase leading down to room c (After Baçe and Bushati 1989/BF archive)

Building 9: this is located on the southwestern face of the acropolis, about 20 m above the level of Gate IV. The structure is predominantly cut from the natural rock, and thus the building has been named ‘The House in the Rock’ (Fig. 11.29).²⁰ It faces south and is of L-shaped plan divided into two different levels (Figs 11.30 and 11.31). It covers a surface area of about 138 m² and survives to a height of 10.50 m. The building consists of four rooms (*a*, *a*₁, *b*, *c*) and an annex (Room *d*), with the main habitation area on the upper level (Fig. 11.32).

Room *a* occupies the western part of the building on the upper level, and measures c. 30 m² (6.50 × 5 m). Its rear wall is entirely carved from the natural rock, while the front and side walls use the natural rock for foundation (and at the innermost corners) topped with a construction of polygonal and trapezoidal blocks set without bonding material. The floor of the room is laid directly on the levelled natural rock. On the southeastern side were found

the remains of a 1 m wide entrance. The rear wall survives to a maximum height of 6.50 m. Approximately 2.20 m from the floor-level, the wall is pierced by ten holes at a distance of 0.50 m from each other; each hole measures 0.40 × 0.40 m with a depth of 0.20 m. These holes undoubtedly served to support floor beams, thus proving the existence of an upper level. Indeed, the distance of the holes from the lowest floor level, being approximately a third of the entire height of the back wall, makes it tempting to hypothesise the existence of a third storey (see Fig. 11.30). The floor of this area would probably have been supported on a main set of beams, placed lengthwise and on a secondary set placed crosswise to these. The main beams would have been quite thick, placed at an interval of approximately 1 m, and with a length not less than 7 m to cover the entire 6.50 m span of the building’s length. The secondary beams – that is, those projecting from the holes carved from the rock of the rear wall – might have differed in size, though certainly

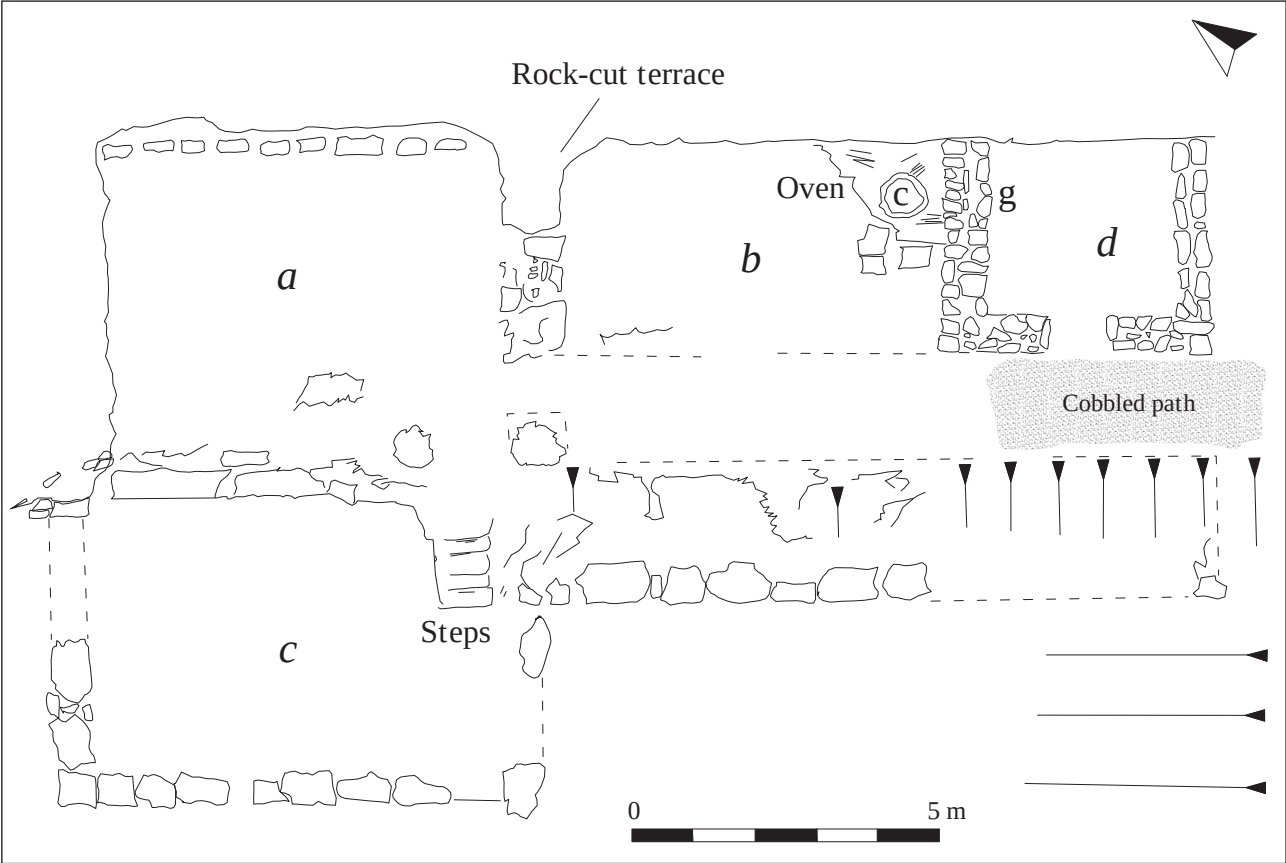


Figure 11.31. Plan of Building 9 (Drawn by Nevila Molla)

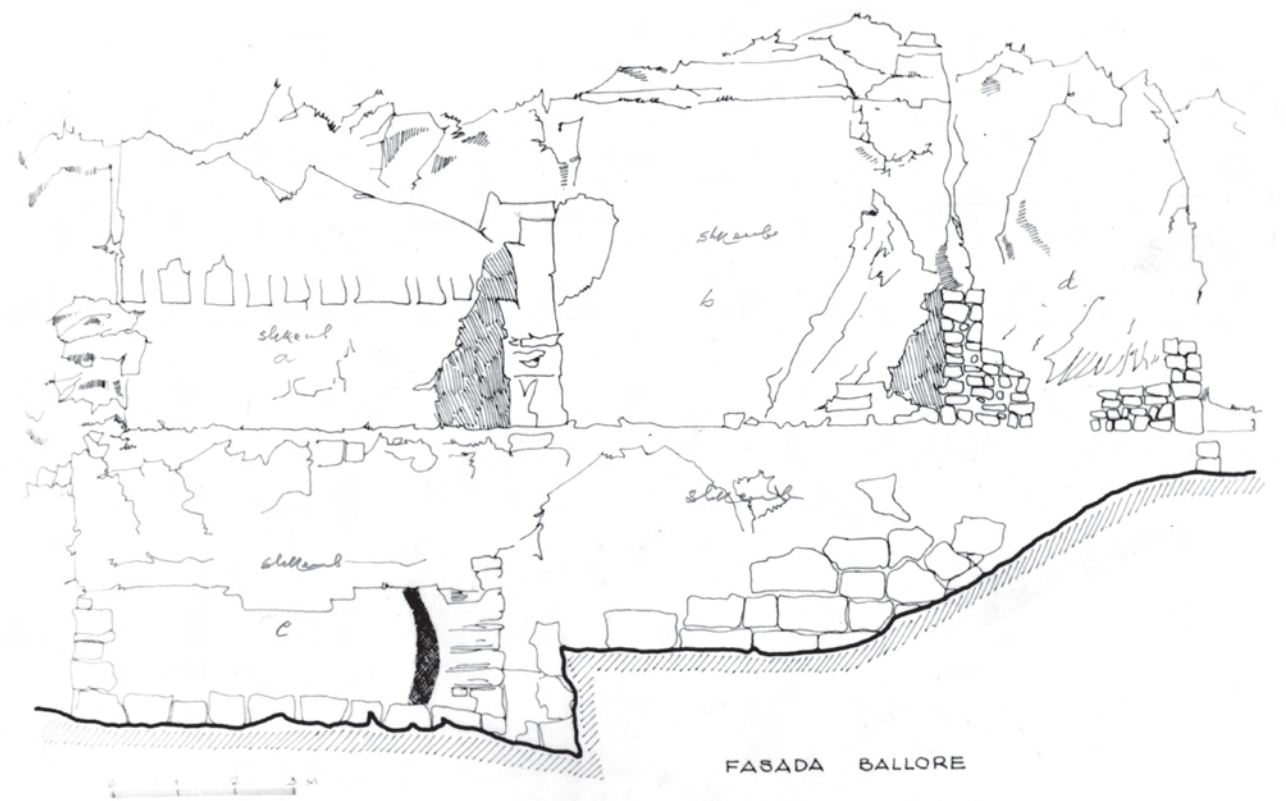


Figure 11.32. Elevation drawing showing the two levels of habitation in Building 9 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)



Figure 11.33. The rock-cut mortarium located in the back corner of room *b* (BF archive)

measuring 0.40×0.40 m. Access between the Rooms *a* and *a₁* would probably have been via a wooden staircase, built along the side wall to the right of the entrance.

Room *b* is located between Room *a* and Annex *d*, and measures c. 23 m^2 (6.50×3.50 m). Like Room *a*, its rear wall is cut from the natural rock, though better preserved here with a maximum height of 6.50 m. The side walls separating this room from those next to it are well preserved, but of the front wall no clear trace can be established. The latter may have been constructed from thin timbers or from wattle and daub. The floor is a simple beaten earth layer, though close to the back wall the cut rock is used. Of great interest is the feature carved into the rock at the join of the rear wall and the wall siding with Annex *d* (Fig. 11.33). It is sub-conical in shape, 0.42 m deep and with a diameter at either end of 0.57 and 0.42 m, respectively. A grindstone of volcanic rock was found close to it indicating that the rock-cut feature was a *mortarium* for grinding wheat. Other interesting finds from this area include clay loom weights from upright hand-operated looms, and a terracotta spindle-whorl.

A long corridor (6.50×1.50 m) was located in front of Room *b*. This gave access to the various rooms and may also have served as a portico for the building.

Room *c* was the only room on the upper level of Building 9. It measured 4.50×6.70 m (30 m^2) with a height of 4.50 m. As in the other rooms, the rear wall was cut from the natural rock, but the side walls were constructed from polygonal and trapezoidal blocks, joining on the rock at the inner corners. The floor was constructed from beaten earth, with traces of a flat rock surface close to the rear wall. A platform, 0.50 m wide, 0.40 m deep and 2.50 m long, is cut into the rock of the rear wall 1.80 m above the floor level, and at the inner right side of this are remains of a rock-cut staircase. The staircase consists of five steps each 0.30 m high; its total height is 1.20 m reaching to the level of the windowsill. From there it would probably have turned at a right angle and continued as a timber-built structure to give access to the uppermost storey. Neither

the door to this room nor how it connected to the rest of the building is clear; however, there seems to have been an outer entrance in the right-side wall.

Annex *d* is a small room of approximately 9 m^2 (3×3 m) situated next to Room *b*. As elsewhere in this building, the rear wall was cut from the natural rock, though the side and front walls were constructed from small- and medium-sized stones, irregularly placed and bonded with clay. These walls are 0.70 m thick and survive to a height of 1.20–1.70 m. In the front wall is a 1 m wide entrance; though, it is worth noting the door-blocking in the wall separating this room and Room *b*, which seems at some point to have provided access between these two areas. The walls of Annex *d* seem technically poorer than elsewhere in the building and may well represent a later addition.

The structure of the building suggests that both storeys of the structure were covered by a tiled roof directing rainwater from the upper to the lower level rooves before falling onto the rock-cut roadway in front. Indeed, an abundance of tile fragments were found throughout the site, in particular, overlying the eastern half of Room *b*, Room *c* and Annex *d* – neither of which were excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission. The majority of the tiles are datable to the Hellenistic period with some possibly belonging to the later early Roman period.

Two terrace walls were located in front of Building 9, each constructed in the polygonal style. Against one was constructed a 2.50 m wide roadway, which passed in front of Room *c*, while the other gave access to the ground level corresponding to the second storey. Against the latter terrace wall was a gravel road, passing in front of Annex *d* and the portico of Room *b*, thus potentially widening the atrium by another 2 m.

Building 9 is a stylistically uniform structure characteristic of split-floor buildings. The terrain determined the layout and size of the building, the house plot being partially obtained by carving into the natural rock and creating a two-storied structure. It is worth noting how the parts of the building are not evenly developed and only the northwestern side of the upper might have supported a third storey (cf. Rooms *a/a₁*). The rooms of the building were connected via stone or timber staircases constructed either inside or outside the structure. As excavated, the building consists of four rooms and an annex, but there is evidence of changes and alterations being made to the structure over time. For instance, the walls of Annex *d* seem to be a later addition. The substitution of a presumed earlier east wall of Room *b*, constructed from massive polygonal and trapezoidal blocks like those of the western wall, with the dividing wall to Annex *d* may be indication of a reduction in size of this room. Further, it is not clear if Room *a₁* formed part of the original construction of the building or to a second construction phase, and it may be safer to presume that the building originally consisted of three main rooms. Regarding their function, Rooms *a* and *a₁* were probably used as bedrooms; Room *b* contained the hearth and was used as a hallway area and for other

general activities; Room *c* served as a storage room, and Annex *d* as a warehouse for equipment.

4. The Finds

The Pottery

Most of the finds discussed below originate from the excavations at Building 1 (the so-called 'Palace') and Building 9 (the so-called 'House in the Rock'). Many of the archaeological contexts had been disturbed by previous excavations by the Italian Archaeological Mission, and hence only a limited area could be excavated in these structures. Within Building 1, the small atrium at its front was disturbed, while at Building 9 disturbances were particularly evident on its eastern side in Rooms *b* and *d*. The excavated pottery from both these buildings is very fragmentary and no complete examples survive. However, it is generally possible to classify it typologically and chronologically; though, the small amount of material recovered naturally limits any detailed evaluation of the history of these structures.

PITHOI (Fig. 11.34)

1. Rim fragments are represented by a few examples from both Buildings 1 and 9. Fragments found at Building 1 are either horizontal or slightly everted at the neck, and about 9–13 cm wide. The rim section is *c.* 4 cm thick, narrowing to 3 cm. The pieces are made from a coarse, pinkish-red fabric with a lot of sand and tile fragments in its texture (grog). Within Building 9, fragments of pithoi were found in Rooms *b*, *c* and *d* – in total 5 rim fragments and a considerable number of sherds. The rim shapes are similar to those from Building 1: horizontal at the top and everted outward with an undercut. Their width varies between 8–10 cm. One fragment is distinguished by a shallow groove around the neck under the rim, and with a rim diameter of *c.* 50 cm; it is made from a coarse, pinkish-red fabric with a lot of sand and tile fragments in its texture (grog).
2. Body sherds were occasionally found close to dwelling 4 (above Gate I at the acropolis). One sherd is decorated with a band of horizontal lines interspersed by a wavy line. It is made from a red fabric composed of fine sand and brick pieces (grog). At Apollonia, this type of pithoi dates to around the 6th–5th centuries BC.²¹ However, it is possible that at Çuka e Aitoit this type was used as late as the 4th century BC.

AMPHORAE (Figs 11.35–11.38)

This type of pottery is well represented, and within the group, transport amphorae of various types predominate.

3. Neck fragment. Diameter 18 cm; thickness 0.4 cm. Massive everted rim with narrow top and rounded underside. The rounded neck narrows slightly, and on the outer part are traces of handles. The fabric is

ochre to light orange. Date: late Hellenistic (2nd–1st centuries BC).

4. Neck fragment. Diameter 18 cm; height 3.5 cm; thickness 2 cm (rim), 0.45 cm (neck). Tall cylindrical neck with convex outer face, which narrows towards the end, and thick, flanged rim. On the rim are remains of a rectangular stamp with the letter 'A'. The fabric is ochre to yellow. The same type of amphora was also found at the fortified villa at Malathrea.²² Date: Italic amphora of late Republican to the early Imperial period (1st century BC–1st century AD).
5. Neck fragment: diameter 18 cm; thickness 2 cm (rim), 0.4 cm (neck). This fragment is similar to Cat. 4; however, the flanged, narrow rim is bordered on the outside by a shallow groove, and the neck terminates in a concave outline. It is made in a fine yellow fabric. This type is also found at the villa at Malathrea.²³
6. Neck fragment: diameter 20 cm; height 5 cm; thickness 2 cm (rim), 0.4 cm (neck). This massive rim is sloppily made on the outside and includes an undercut. The neck narrows toward the shoulder. The fabric is fine ochre. Date: possibly Late Republican type of the 1st century BC.
7. Neck fragment: diameter 20 cm; rim height 2.3 cm; thickness 1.5 cm (rim), 0.5 cm (neck). Fragment of a small amphora with a high conical neck becoming slightly narrower, thick rim wider on the outside. The rim on the outside is bordered with two shallow decorative grooves. Fine light ochre fabric. Date: 1st century BC–1st century AD.
8. Neck fragment. Diameter 12 cm. Similar to Cat 7.
9. Neck fragment. Diameter 11 cm. Similar to Cat. 6 and 7, but the profile of rim is everted inward.
10. Neck fragment. Diameter 24 cm; thickness 0.7 cm. Conical neck with wide rim; the latter gradually narrowing toward the neck. Pink, under-fired fabric with soupy surface. Date: 1st century BC–1st century AD.
11. Neck fragment. Diameter 16 cm; thickness 0.5 cm (neck). Similar in form to Cat. 10, but the fabric is ochre to orange in colour, and the surface slipped in red (pseudo-sigillata). Date: 1st century BC–1st century AD.
12. Neck fragment. Diameter 10 cm; thickness 0.3 cm. Conical neck fragment from a thin-walled amphora. Fine ochre fabric. Date: late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).
13. Rim fragment. Diameter 14 cm. Rim fragment widening towards the neck. Ochre fabric with light brown to red slip on the inside. Undecorated outer surface. Date: late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).

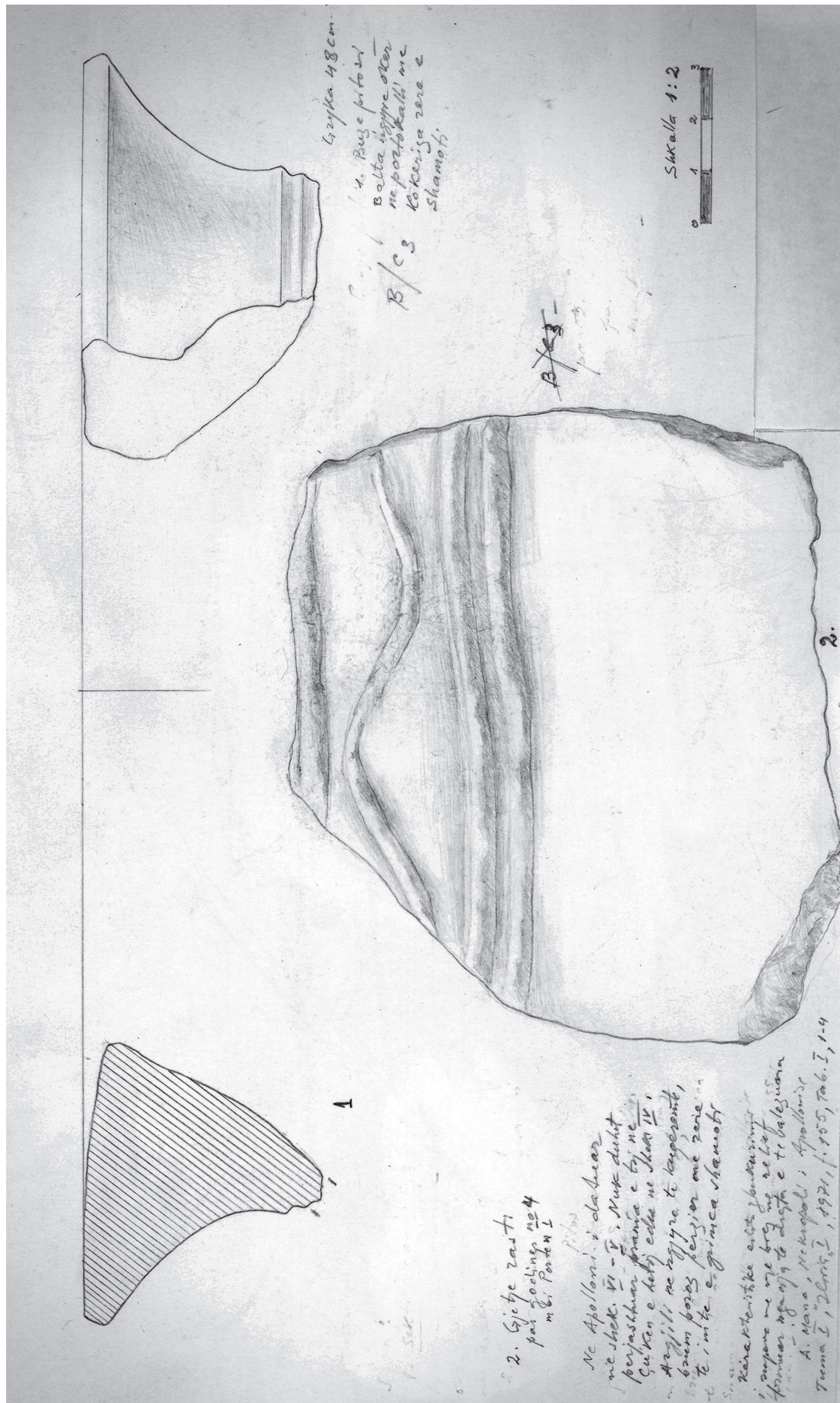


Figure 11.34. Pitthoi fragments: (1) Rim fragment from Building 9; (2) Body sherd found close to Building 4 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

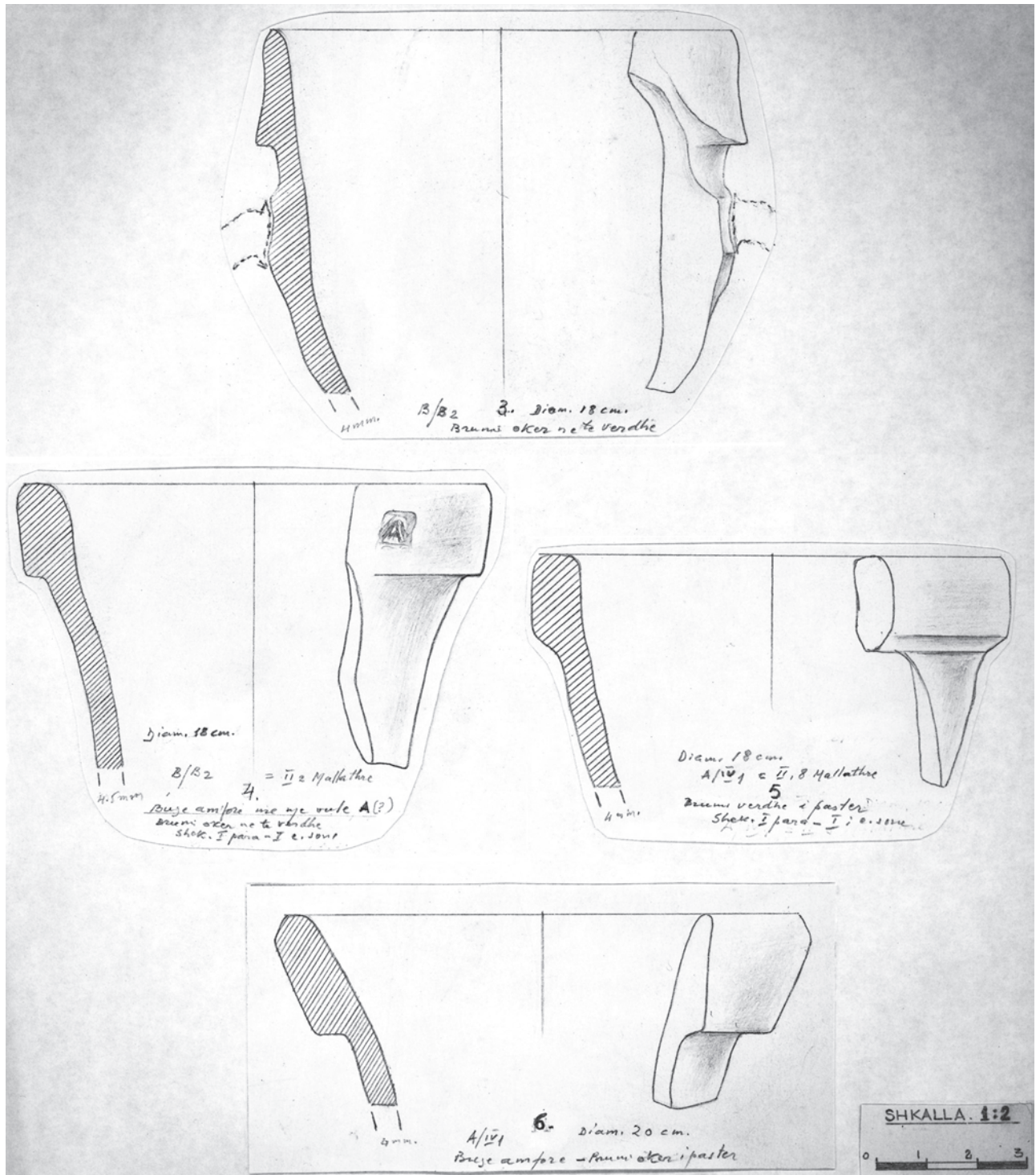


Figure 11.35. Amphorae fragments; Cat. 3–6 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

14. Rim fragment. Diameter 20 cm; thickness 1 cm. Wide-flanged rim in fine ochre fabric. The inner surface is slipped in black, outer surface light brown to red. Date: late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).
15. Amphora base. Medium-sized conical shape; ochre to yellow fabric. Possibly Corinthian B type amphora. Date: second half of the 4th century BC.²⁴
16. Amphora base. Elongated conical base; ochre to red fabric. Probably Greco-Italic type. Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.
17. Amphora handle. Stamp with palmette at the end of handle. The fabric is coarse, light red with sand and tile inclusions in its texture (grog). Similar to Corinthian type B amphora thought to have been produced in Kerkyra (Corfu). Handles of this type have been found at Butrint,

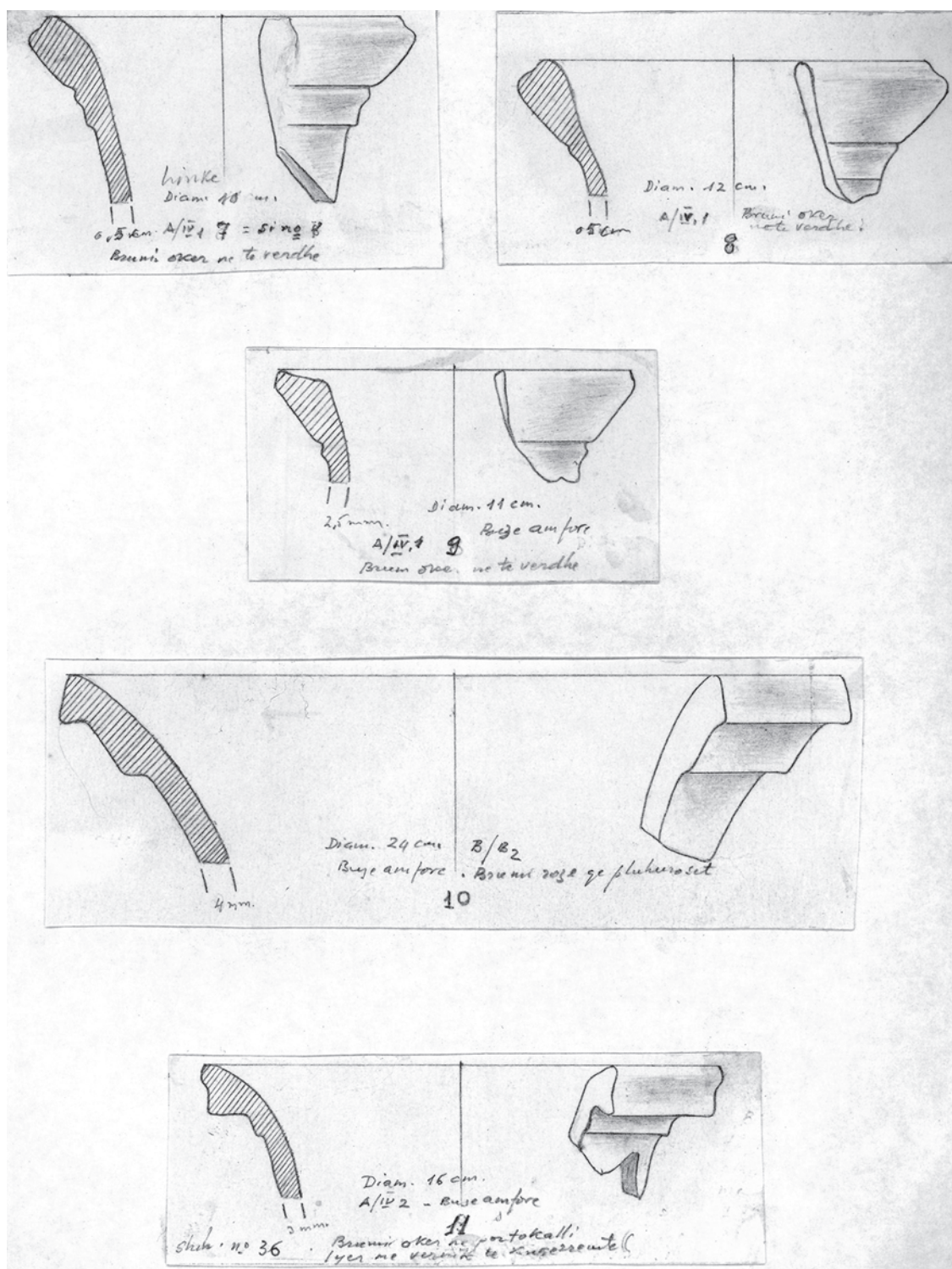


Figure 11.36. Amphorae fragments; Cat. 7–11 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

Qeparo, Apollonia, Zgerdhesh, Gajtan and Kratul.²⁵
Date: second half of 4th century BC.²⁶

18. Amphora handle.

Stamped with the name ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ and with a spindle-whorl. The fabric is fine ochre to orange in colour. The letter style with rectangular sigma and straight E provides the date for the piece. Date: late 4th–early 3rd centuries BC.

19. Amphora handle.

Stamped with the name ALEXANDRI. Fine ochre to yellow fabric. Possibly Italic type. Date: possibly 1st century BC–1st century AD.

20. Amphora rim.

Stamped with the name SALVI.²⁷

21. Amphora rim.

Stamped with EPICER.²⁸

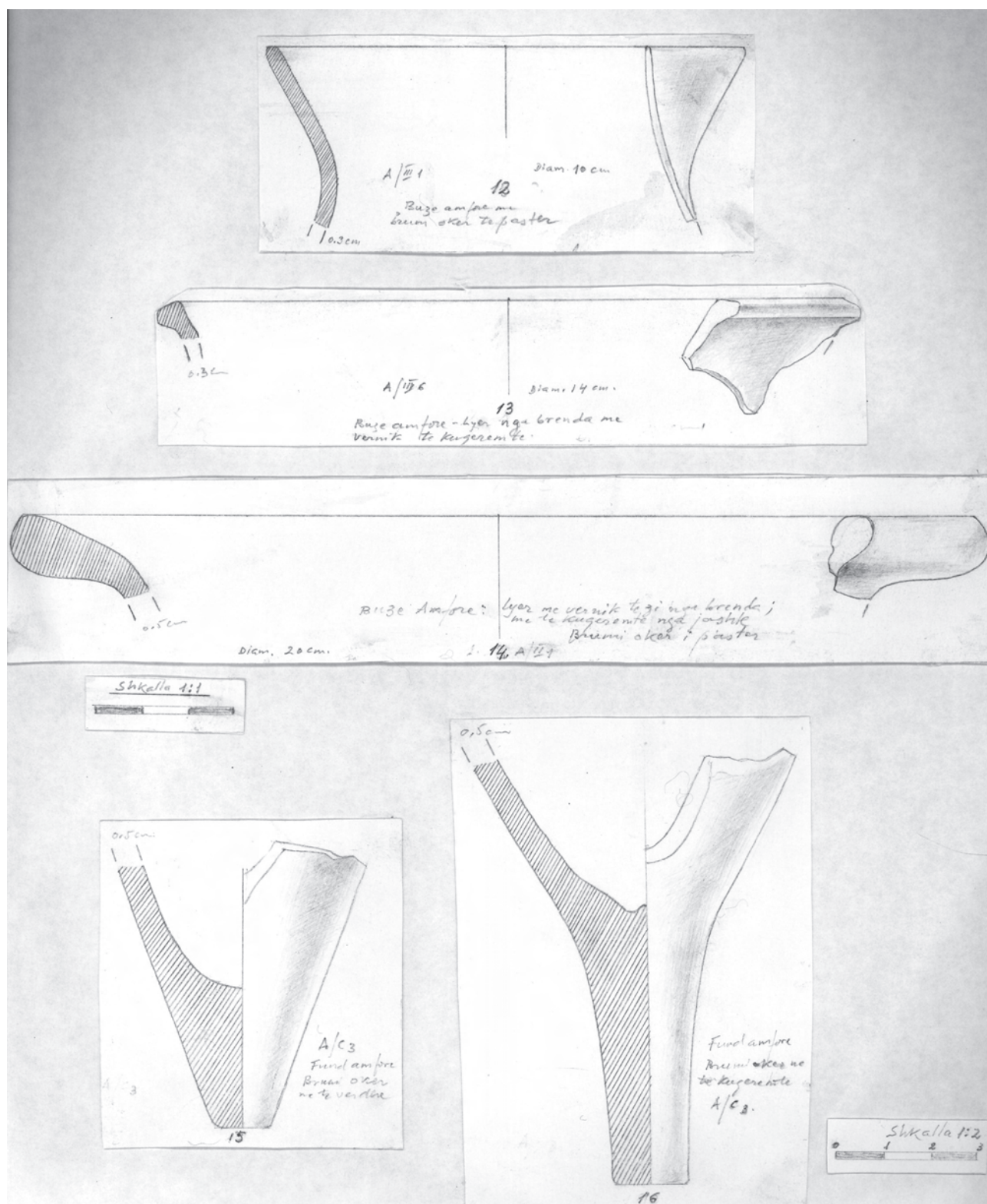


Figure 11.37. Amphorae fragments; Cat. 12–16 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

22–23. Plain amphora handles.

Two types found during excavation: with slipped surface and oval section, and with concentric grooves. The fabric is fine ochre to orange in colour. These

pieces may be associated with the last occupation phase of the buildings. Date: late Hellenistic (2nd–1st centuries BC) or late Republican to early Imperial.

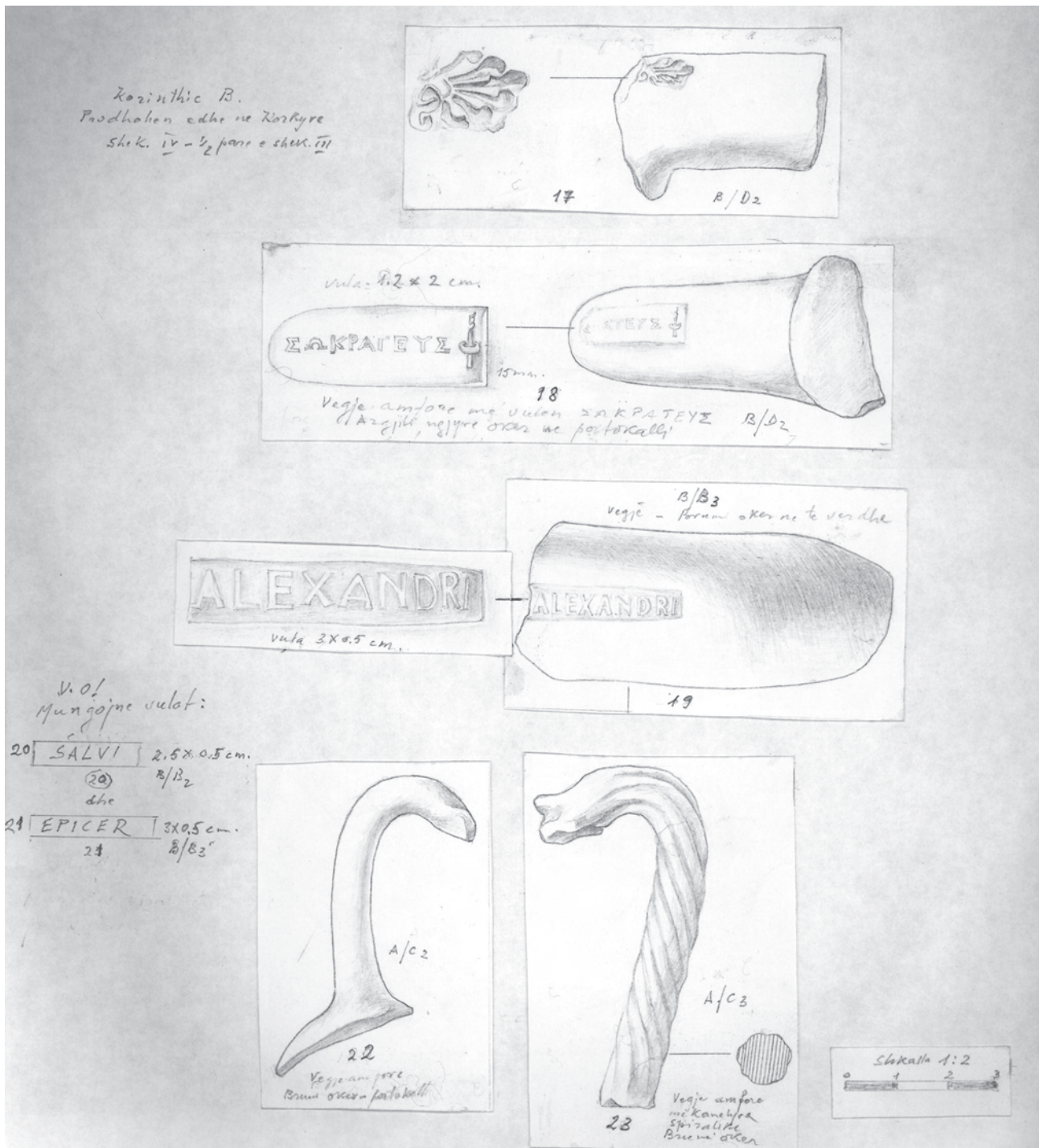


Figure 11.38. Amphora handles; Cat. 17–19 and 22–23 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

TABLE WARES

These constitute the main bulk of the pottery found in Buildings 1 and 9.

24–36. Skyphoi (Fig. 11.39).

Rim and base fragments vary in sizes but are generally small and medium in size. Height generally 5–7 cm, with neck diameters of 6–8 cm and base diameters of 3–4 cm. These are thin walled wares 1.5–3.0 cm

thick, with rare instances of thickness of 4 cm. They are covered in black slip without figurative design. Date: precise date difficult to establish but most likely of the late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).

37–42 Bases of bowls (Fig. 11.40).

Some fragments are covered in black slip, others are undecorated. The former are decorated with a central disc motif representing the sun, encircled by four concentric circles. A single fragment is decorated

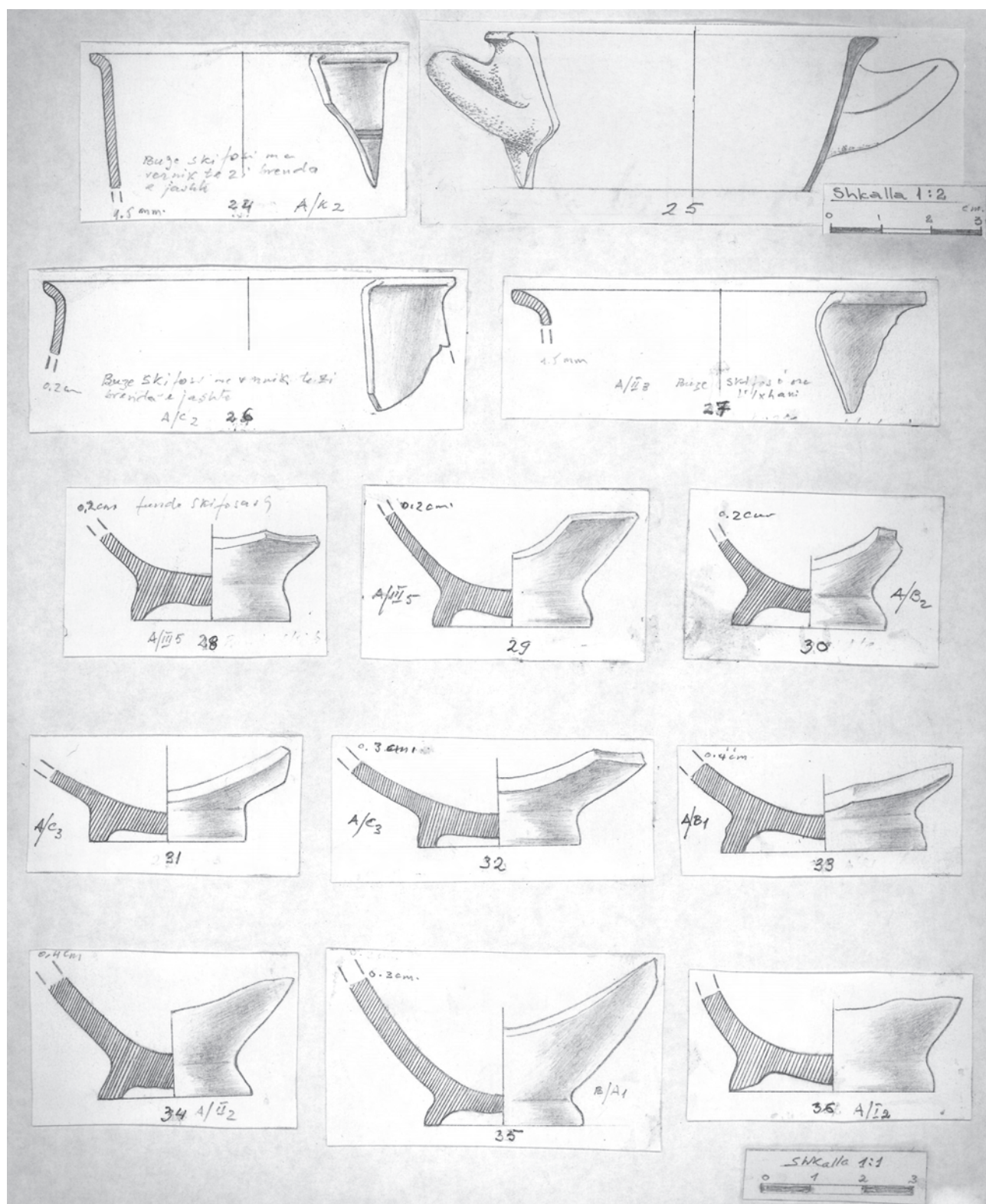


Figure 11.39. Skyphoi rim and base fragments; Cat. 24–36 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

with a palmette motif similar to an example found at Malathrea; the diameter of this base is about 4–7 cm, with a thickness of 3–4 cm.²⁹ Fine, pinkish fabric. Seems similar in date to the skyphoi fragments Cat.

24–36. Date: most likely of the late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).

43–46. Rims of cups and bowls (Fig. 11.41).

Four sherds of varying sizes (neck diameters of 7,

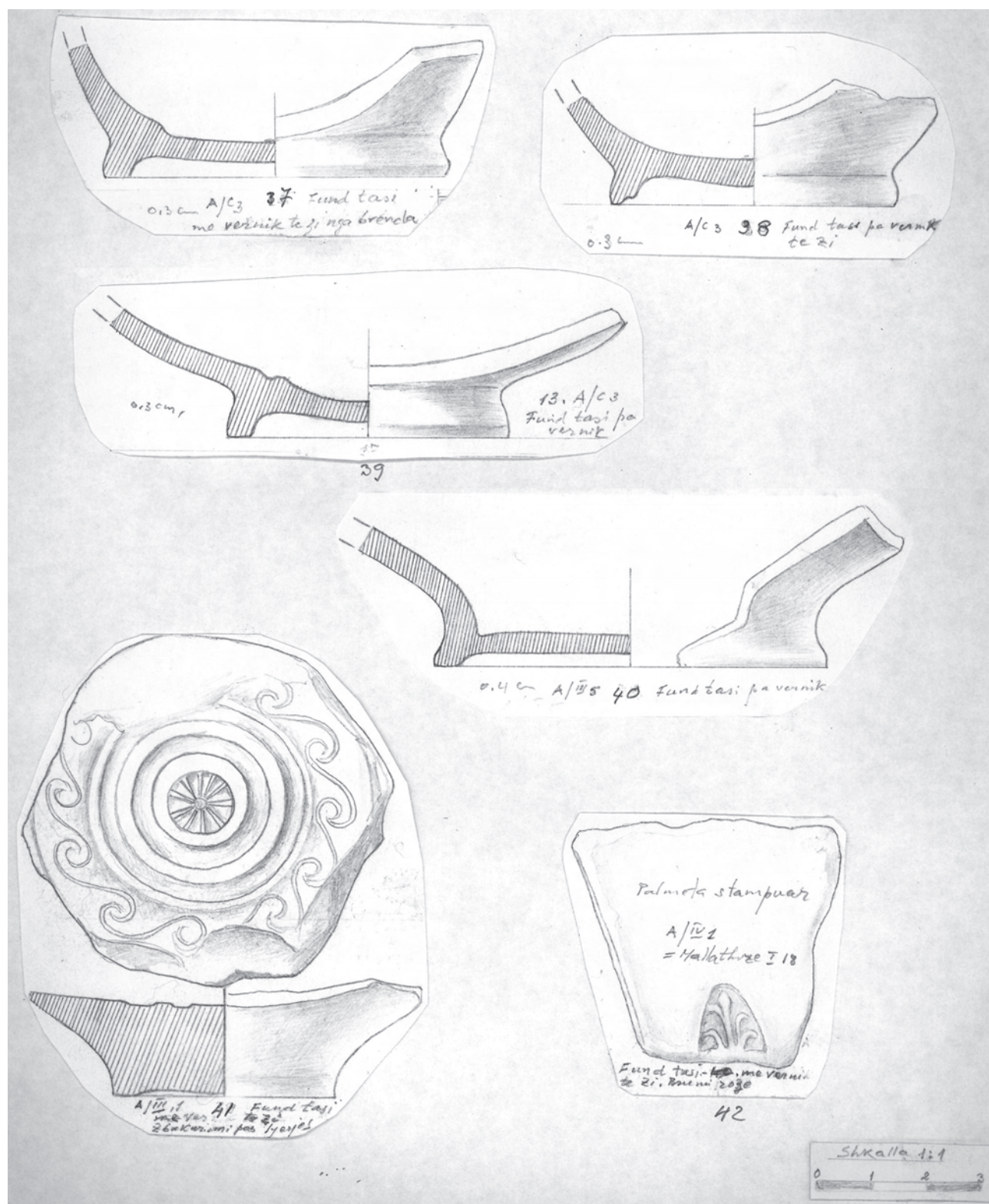


Figure 11.40. Bowl base fragments; Cat. 37–42 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

11, 12.5 and 20 cm, respectively) and thickness (2–4 cm). Black slip badly preserved due to inadequate firing, and the pieces thus appear light brown or red. Probably contemporary with the pieces, Cat. 24–36

and 37–42. Date: most likely of the late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st centuries BC).
47–52. Rims, bases and body sherds of dishes (Fig. 11.42). A series of sherds of varying sizes (rim diameter

20 cm; base diameters of 10, 11, 13.5 and 14.5 cm, respectively) and thickness (0.2–0.6 cm). Some fragments are finished with a black slip. One dish is distinguished by a grooved band on the exterior; another is finished with a red slip similar to *terra sigillata*; all other diagnostic pieces of this group are undecorated. Date: probably all 1st century AD.

COOKING WARES

Cooking wares are represented mainly by fragments of casseroles and bowls.

53–56. Casserole rims (Fig. 11.43).

The rims vary in size between 10–14 cm in diameter and 2–4 cm in thickness. Flanged rims are decorated with three deep grooves encircling the neck of the vessel. The pieces are made from a coarse red fabric with sandy texture and are blackened on the exterior from firing.

57–59. Open bowls for baking food. Diameter 2–24 cm. (Fig. 11.44).

The bowls have thick rims with a wide flange used handle. One of the examples (Cat. 59) is decorated by a band of parallel lines interspersed by a wavy line. The fabric is coarse and contains sand; the surface is ochre to orange in colour, and brown/black from firing.

Other Finds

60–63. Rim fragments (Fig. 11.45).

The four examples represent small forms of bowls for common use in cleaning. One of the pieces is made of marble (Cat. 60), 12 cm in diameter, 4.5 cm high, 1.0–1.5 cm thick. It has a base 7 cm in diameter with a low foot, and two small projections at the height of the rim serving as handles. The other pieces are ceramic and consist of a handle fragment (Cat. 61) and two rim fragments (Cat. 62–63) with a maximum diameter of 22–24 cm, a thickness of 0.4 cm, and – as in the marble version – triangular projection used as handles. The rim of Cat. 63 is decorated with a line of small, finger-made holes. Cat. 62 is made of an ochre to red fabric, Cat. 63 from ochre to yellow fabric with no inclusions in the texture.

64–65. Loom weights (Fig. 11.46).

The pyramidal weights measure 9–10 cm in height, with a lip height of 5–6 cm. Some are stamped with an image of a doubled needle, others with a disc shape probably representing Helios. The fabric is ochre to red.

66. Spindle-whorl (Fig. 11.46).

Biconical spindle-whorl measuring 3.2 × 2.2 cm; ochre to orange fabric with no inclusions.

67. *Kantharos*. Diameter 8 cm (neck), height 7 cm (Fig. 11.46).

Globular body, with two vertical handles between the short neck and the body; flat base. Dark grey fabric. Found at the blocking wall of Gate I on the acropolis, where it seems to have been deposited after the construction of the Late Antique fortress.

68. Terracotta head of Cybele. Height 19 cm (Fig. 11.47). The earliest worship of this goddess, whose cult originated in Anatolia, can be traced to the 3rd century BC if not earlier. She was worshipped as a mother goddess connected with fertility and associated with the protection of cities. It is in this guise that the Çuka e Aitoit head with its turreted crown is represented. Cybele is also known as *mater turrita* or described as *turrigera* (ornamented with towers). The head was found in Building 9 (the so-called ‘House in the Rock’). Date: 3rd–2nd centuries BC.

The Coins

Coins 1 and 7 were discovered close to the fortification wall at point ‘L’. Coins 2 and 3 were both found during the excavations of Building 1 (the so-called *Pallati* – ‘Palace’); coins 4 and 5 are unstratified finds close to this building. Coin 6 was found in Room *b* of Building 9 (the so-called ‘House in the Rock’).

THE EPIROTE KOINON (c. 234–168 BC)

1. Æ. 17 mm; 3.905 gr.³⁰
Obv: head of Dione r. with crown and mantle. On either side monograms: ?? and ΣΩ.
Rev: triangle; legend ΑΠ[ΕΙ-ΡΩΤΑΝ] all within a laurel wreath.
2. Æ. 17 mm; 3.79 gr.³¹
Obv: crowned bust of Artemis r. Monogram ΦΙ, all within a dotted circle.
Rev: spear and legend ΑΠΕΙ-ΡΩΤΑΝ, all within a laurel wreath.
3. Æ. 17 mm; 2.56 gr.
As coin 2, although the monogram is not preserved.

CORFU (300–229 BC)

4. Æ. 18 mm; 5.04 gr.³²
Obv: prow of a ship r.
Rev: *kantharos*, on either side of base is legend K-C.
5. Æ. 18 mm.
As coin 4 except the *kantharos* is topped by a pinecone; the legend is not preserved.

EPIROTE KOINON AFTER c. 148 BC

6. Æ. 21 mm; 7.75 gr.³³
Obv: head of Zeus r. with oak garland.
Rev: thunderbolt; above and below legend ΑΠΕΙ-ΡΩΤΑΝ, all within laurel wreath.

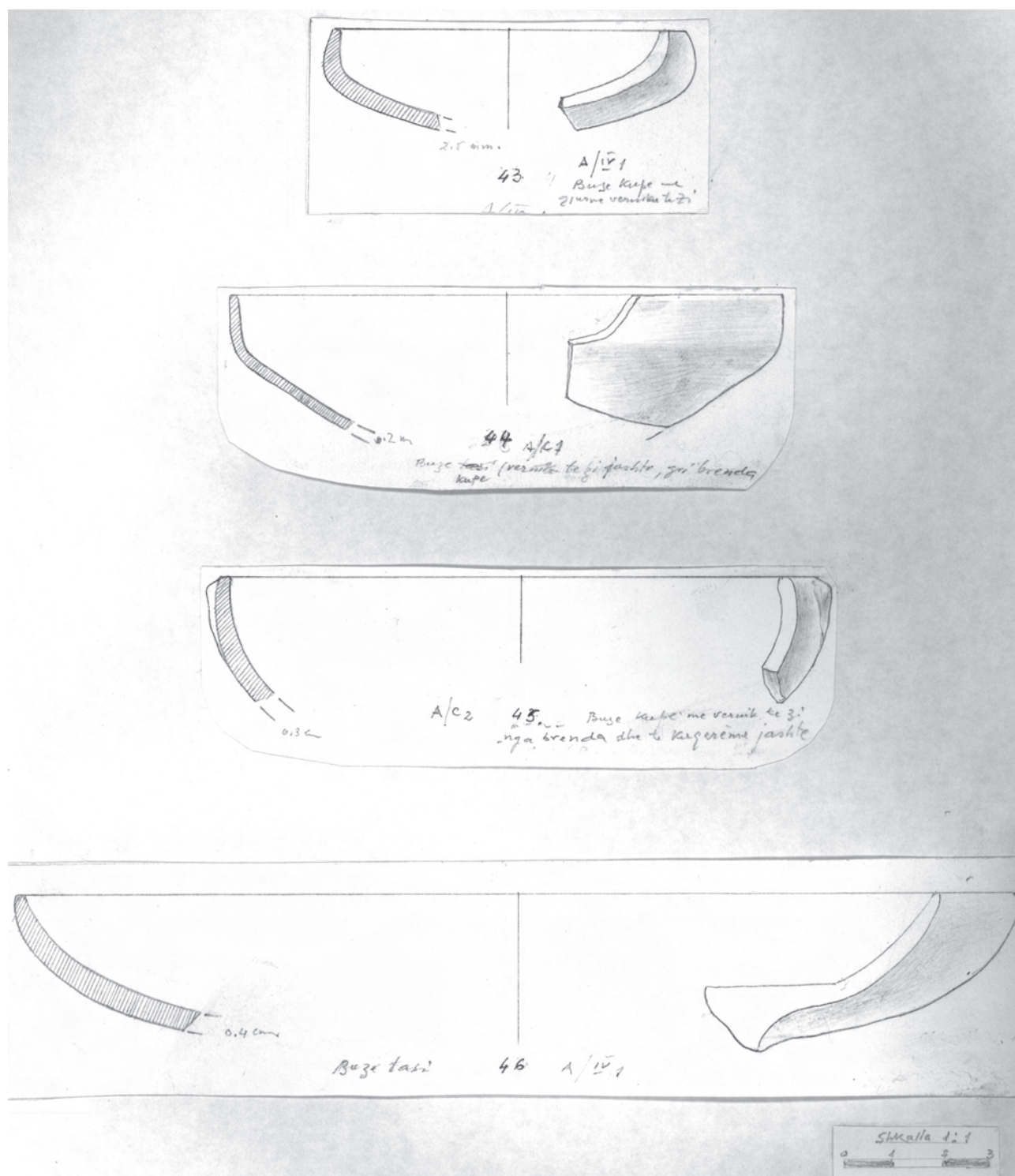


Figure 11.41. Rims of cups and bowls; Cat. 43–46 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

AMBRACIA (2nd–1st centuries BC)

7. Æ. 17 mm; 4.80 gr.³⁴
 Obv: head of Dione r.
 Rev: an obelisk; A-[M-B-P].

5. The Chronology of the Settlement

The earliest evidence produced by the 1959 and 1973 investigations at Çuka e Aitoit dates to the second half of the 4th century BC, or possibly even earlier. Although the material is sparse, it can be dated with some certainty. This period can be assumed to represent the earliest settlement

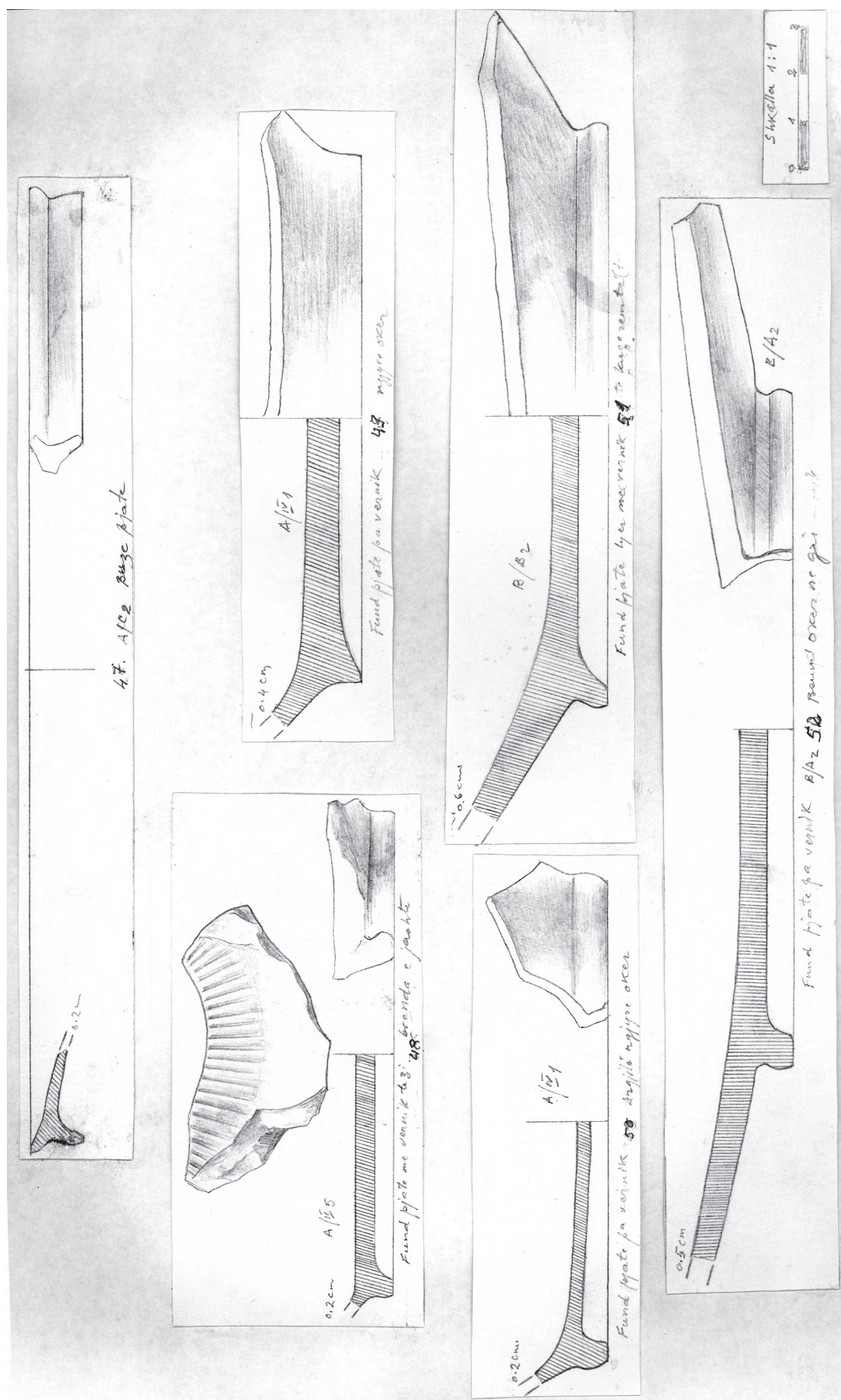


Figure 11.42. Rims, bases and body sherds of dishes; Cat. 47–52 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

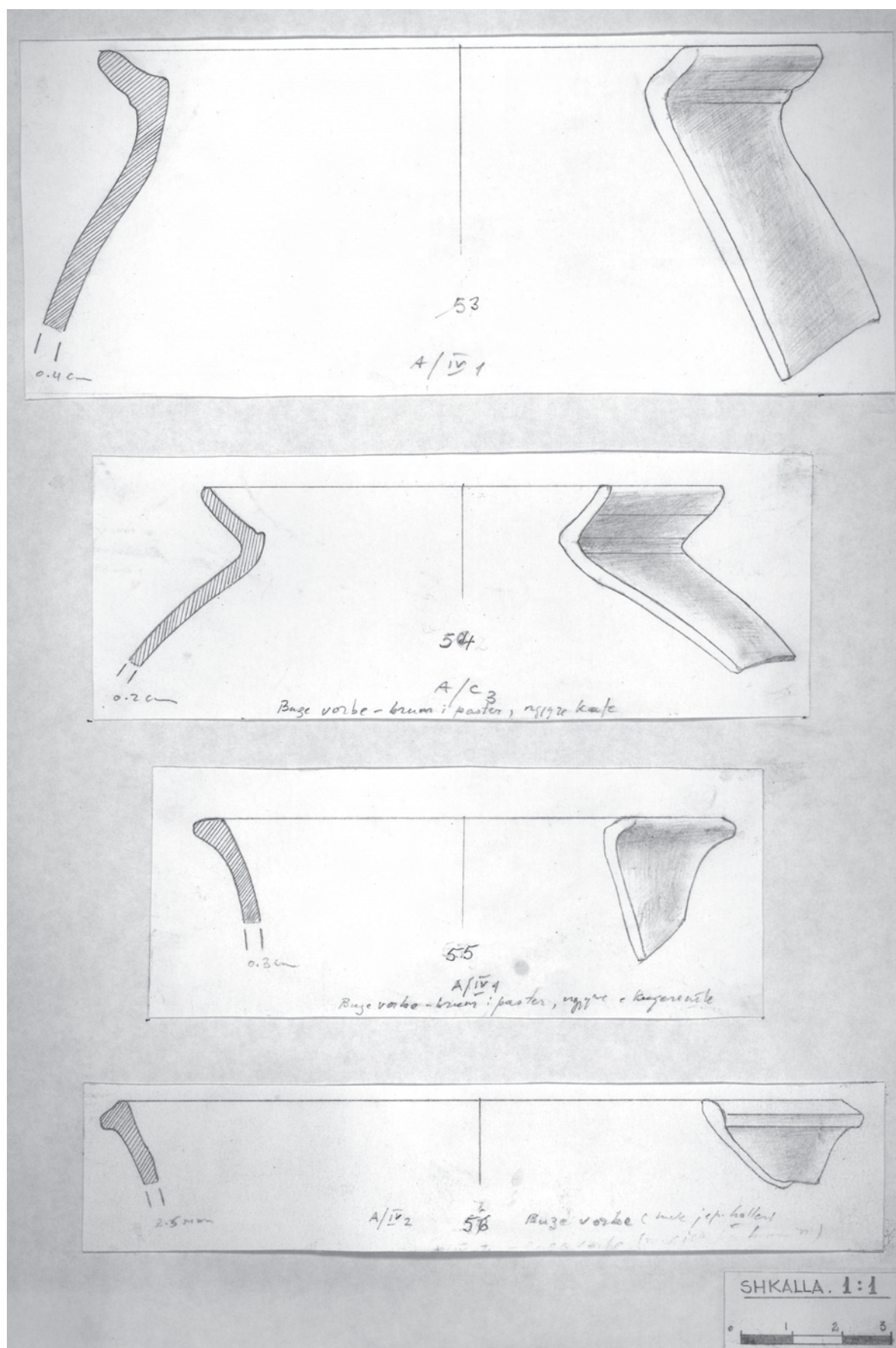


Figure 11.43. Casserole rims; Cats 53–56 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

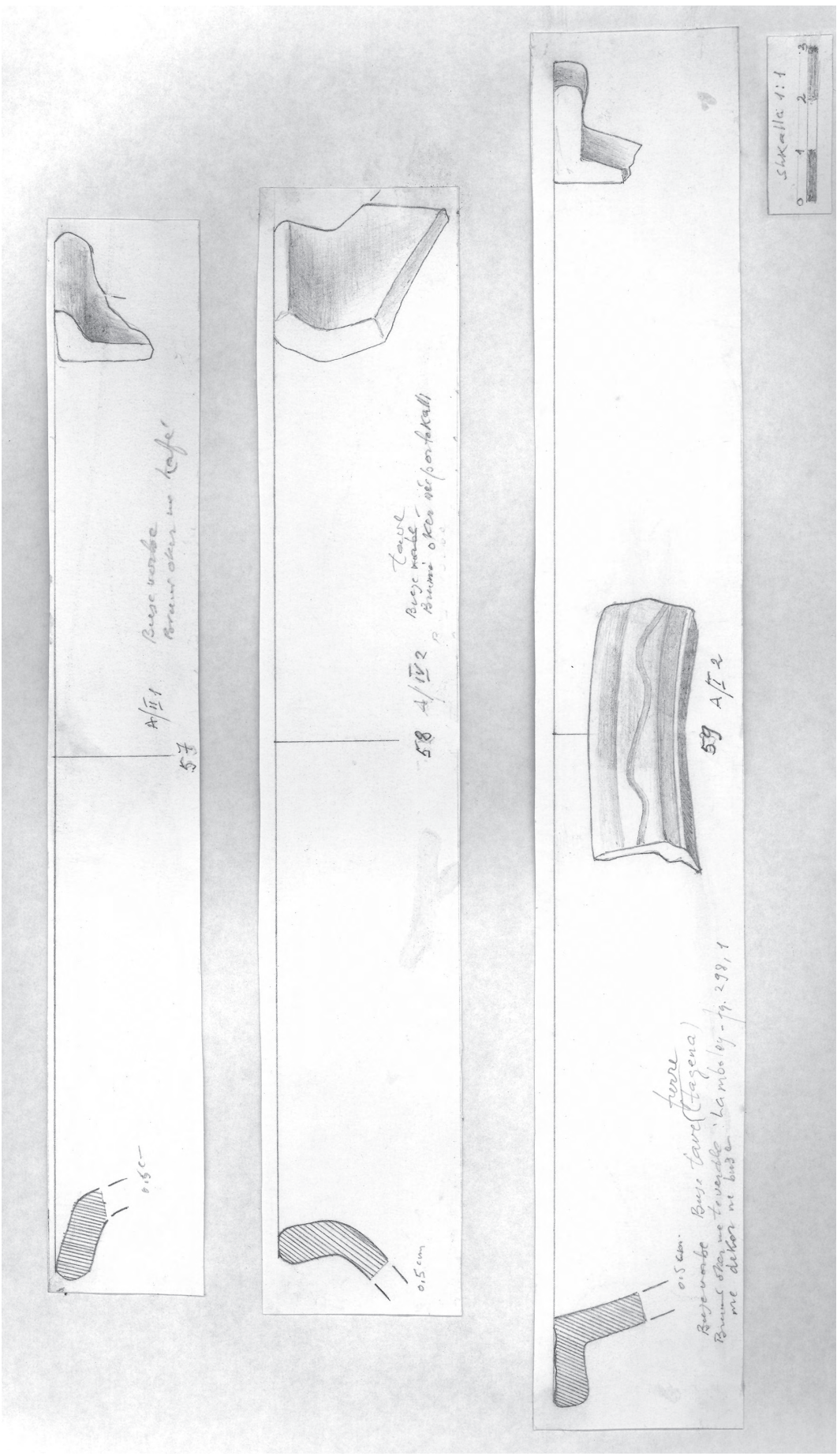


Figure 11.44. Rims of open bowls; Cats 57–59 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

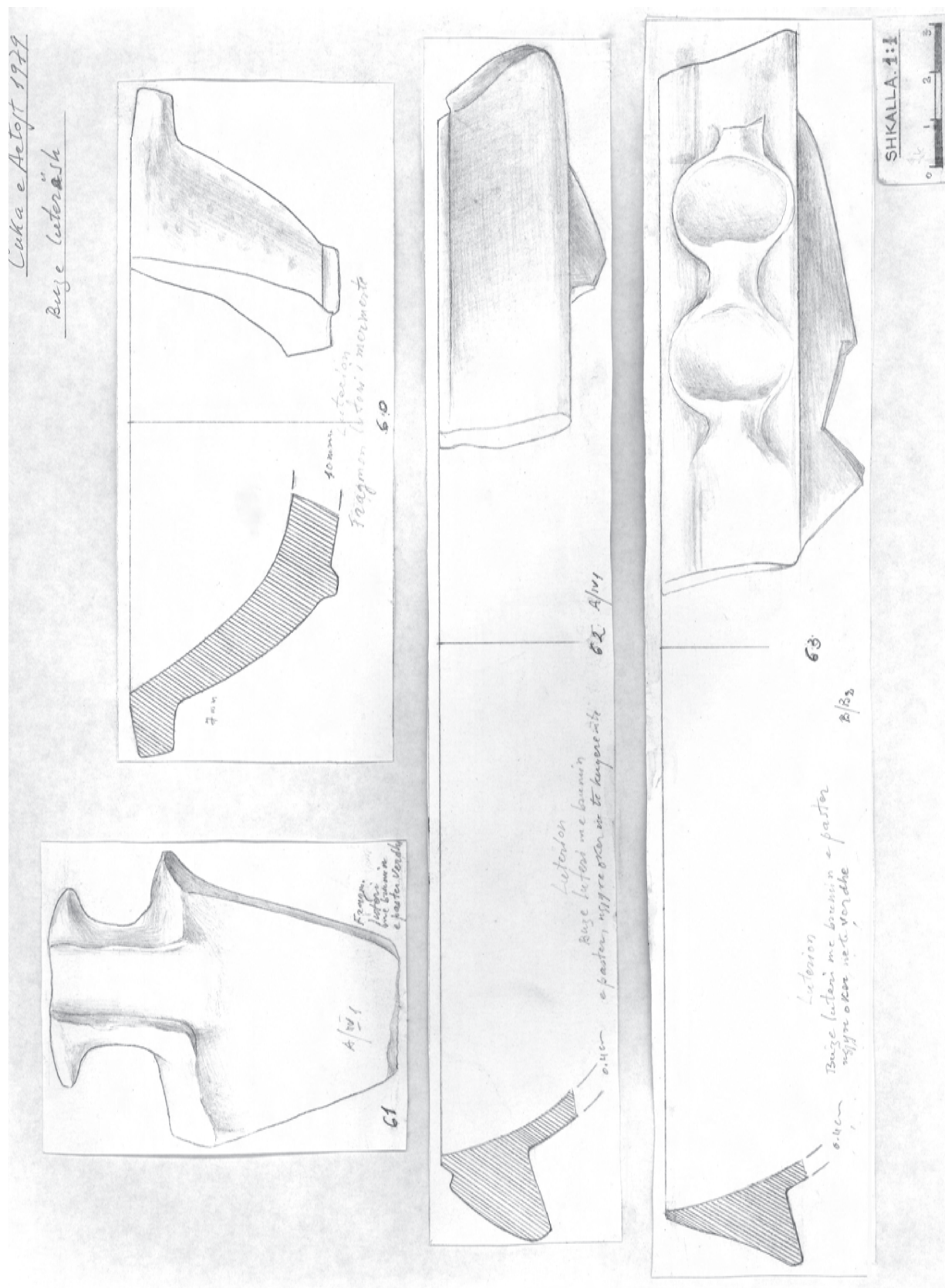


Figure 11.45. Rim fragments; Cat. 60–63 (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)

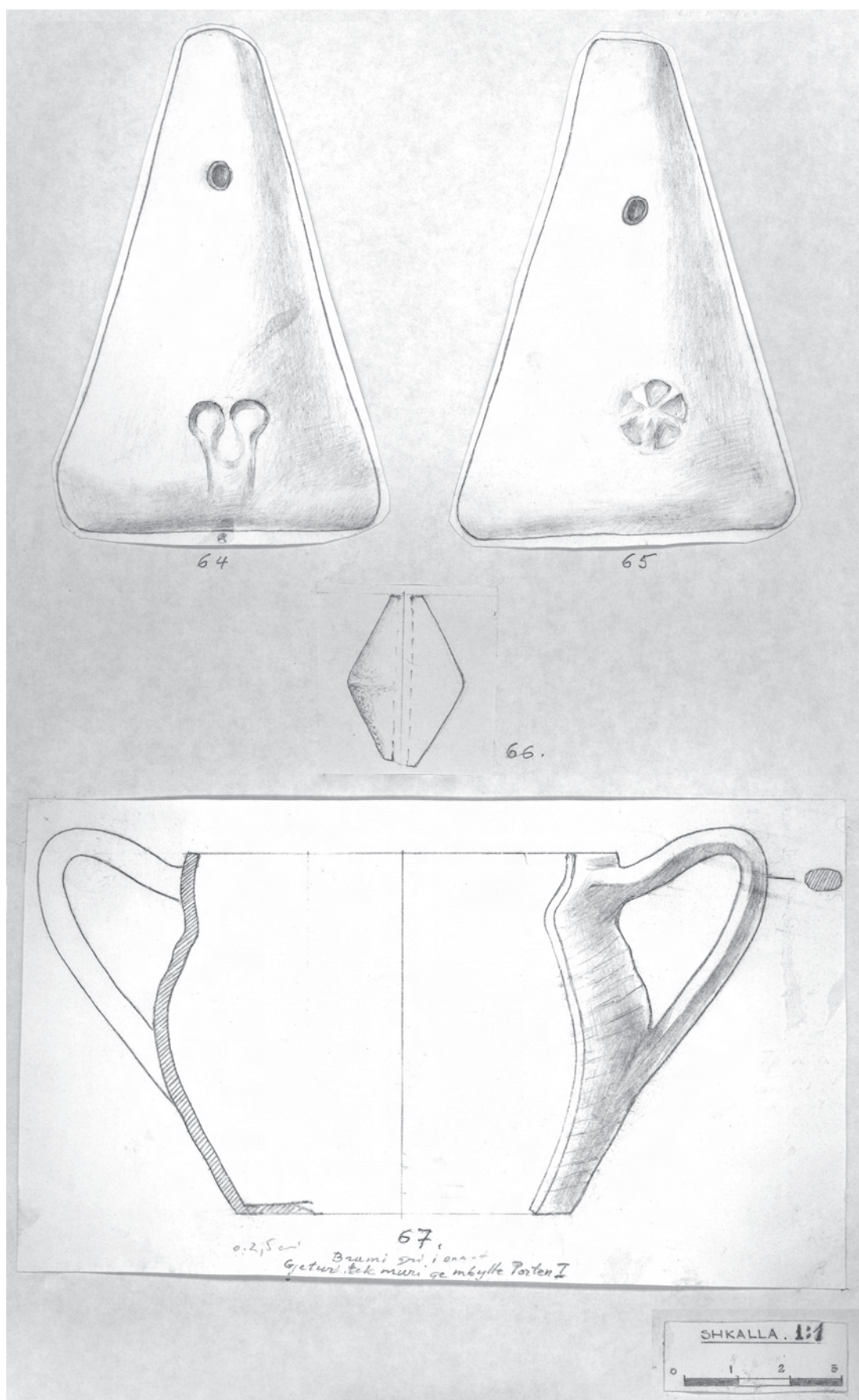


Figure 11.46. Loom weights (Cat. 64, 65), Spindle-whorl (Cat. 66) and Kantharos (Cat. 67) (Courtesy of Selim Islami/IA)



Figure 11.47. Terracotta head of the goddess Cybele (BF archive)

at the site and the construction of the fortification walls on the acropolis.

The majority of the excavated material dates from the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC and corresponds to the principal period of expansion of the city. For instance, the public

building works including Buildings 1 and 9 belong to this period. The period is also well represented in the numismatic material found in the settlement, the ceramics and by the terracotta head of Cybele.

The stratigraphic sequence belonging to the 1st century

BC and 1st century AD clearly indicates a decline and termination of use at Buildings 1 and 9. Both structures seem to have been abandoned during the early years of the Roman Empire, when also the fortifications probably lost their significance, and this urban settlement appears to have been replaced by rural communities. During Late Antiquity, Çuka e Aitoit was reduced to a small fortress site, probably constructed during Emperor Justinian's reign.³⁵

The ancient name of Çuka e Aitoit is not known. However, it has been suggested that it might have been called Kestria after the name of the Kestrian tribe – a proposal that merits more research.³⁶ Çuka e Aitoit is a site of great archaeological interest, which may with further research help solve a series of problems related to Illyrian-Epirote cities.

[Translated by Brikena Shkodra]

Notes

- 1 This chapter is a translation of Selim Islami's manuscript completed in the later 1990s. Professor Islami (1927–2001) and his family were very enthusiastic about the original text being published in English. We are especially grateful to Agron Islami for his support in this venture and to Brikena Shkodra who made the translation which was corrected by Oliver Gilkes and Inge Lyse Hansen. We have not updated the bibliography or altered the author's interpretation of Çuka e Aitoit. See Islami 2008, 263–328, for his original account in Albanian.
- 2 Ugolini 1937, 18, 50, 85, 131, 179, 189, figs. 136–137; 1942, 19, no. 2. fig. 9. Some photographs are preserved in the archive of the Archaeological Institute of Tirana; see Chapters 5–9.
- 3 Hammond 1967, 94, pl. 6a, b.
- 4 Budina 1971a, 317–321, pls. 17–19.
- 5 Neritan Ceka and Lazër Papajani collaborated on this project. A more correct city-plan was obtained from these campaigns, but certain questions regarding the relationship between the acropolis and the lower city remained unanswered. Despite the early stage of the results, these were published in Ceka 1976.
- 6 The excavations of the structures on the acropolis and in the lower city were supervised by Dhimosten Budina and Kosta Lako; my thanks to both of them for their help.
- 7 Budina 1971a, 317, fig. 31. Ceka 1976, 33–35, pl. 4.
- 8 Islami employed a clockwise labelling system for his plan that began with the southeastern gate (Gate I). Ugolini, on the other hand, used a counter-clockwise labelling system, beginning at the same gate (see Chapter 5: *prima porta* (P1)). As a result, Ugolini's Gate 2 = Islami's Gate IV and vice versa, while Ugolini's Gate 3 = Islami's Gate III. See Plate 4.1.
- Both Ugolini and Islami began their surveys at the best preserved gate (Gate 1). Ugolini probably understood that there were four close together and decided to label them starting from that gate. Islami, on the other hand, appears to have followed the wall all the way around clockwise until he came to the next gate (Gate II), which was at a considerable distance from the first gate.
- 9 *Contra* both plans published by Budina 1971a and Ceka 1976 in which the line of the wall is at times represented with elements that do not in fact exist.
- 10 Lako 1982.
- 11 Islami 1984.
- 12 On the plan published in Ceka 1976, 34, pl. 3, a further two gates – Gates V and VI – are indicated. However, the former is an entrance outside the acropolis, facilitating access between the terraces of the lower city on the western side of the hill, while the latter does not exist, as confirmed in the 1979 excavations.
- 13 Butrint: Ceka 1976, 30, pl. 3b. Amantia: Ceka 1975. Klos: Papajani 1974, 509, fig. 2. Bylis: Ceka 1984a, 65. Lis: Prendi and Zheku 1972, 243.
- 14 Islami 1976a; 1976b; 1984, 7–8; 13–14; 1987, 67.
- 15 Scranton 1941.
- 16 Hammond 1967, 94 describes this as an ashlar wall with oblique vertical joins, compared to other tracts characterised as well-fitting polygonal.
- 17 Cf. notes 1 and 2 above.
- 18 For Malathrea, see Çondi 1984, figs. 5–6. On the ancient site at Çukë near Saranda, see Budina 1980.
- 19 For the *temenos* wall at Apollonia, see Ceka 1958, 28. For the city gate at Irmaj, see Prendi and Budina 1972.
- 20 This building, too, was investigated by the Italian Archaeological Mission, however, archival photographs suggest that it was not excavated in full (see Chapter 6).
- 21 Mano 1971, 155, pl. I.1–4.
- 22 Çondi 1984, pl. II.3.
- 23 Çondi 1984, pl. II.8.
- 24 Koehler 1978, 239, fig. 2e; 1979b, 54, fig. 2.
- 25 Islami 1972, 206, pl. IV.8–9; Fistani 1983, 113–114.
- 26 Koehler 1979a, pl. 23, no. 159; Desy 1982.
- 27 Unfortunately, the drawings of the stamp are missing, hence the description is based on the excavation notebook.
- 28 Unfortunately, the drawings of the stamp are missing, hence the description is based on the excavation notebook.
- 29 Çondi 1984, pl. I.18.
- 30 Franke 1961, 148, 196, 200, pl. 37 (group VI/6 a).
- 31 Franke 1961, 149, 201, 205, pl. 40 (group VIII/4).
- 32 Head 1887, 276.
- 33 Franke 1961, 327, pl. 45 (group I/9 and 14).
- 34 Franke 1961, 329, pl. 67 (nos. 32 and 47).
- 35 Lako 1982, 207, 219.
- 36 Hammond 1967, 677; cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Τροία...καὶ πόλις ἄλλη ἐν Κεστρία τῆς Χαονίας.

12 The Perimeter Walls of Kalivo: Electronic Survey, 2001

Andrew Crowson

Introduction

A measured electronic survey of Kalivo's perimeter walls was undertaken in November 2001 in conjunction with a descriptive review of the circuit (Fig. 12.1). The aim was to assess the survival, condition and general characteristics of the standing structures, as well as to record any changes to their state of preservation and conservation compared to the description furnished by Luigi Maria Ugolini some 70 years earlier. The survey was carried out using a Zeiss Elta R50 total station theodolite supported by comprehensive descriptions and photographs. Vegetation cover was reasonably low, although the east side remained difficult to view in any detail because of mature trees and scrub.¹ All horizontal measurements given here are approximate and based upon pacing. Comparative evaluations were made on the basis of the plan produced by Ugolini in 1928 and that published by Dhimosten Budina in 1971 (Figs 3.1 and 12.2).² This report is structured following Ugolini's description and provides a commentary on Ugolini's survey. Overall, Ugolini's plan of the site (as surveyed and drawn by Dario Roversi Monaco) has proved to be an exceptionally accurate representation and the standing structures seem to have suffered little, though in certain cases the wall has been broken through by cattle and upper courses have fallen away.

In 2002, the Butrint Foundation acquired vertical colour satellite imagery of the area around Kalivo.³ This has enabled additional interpretation of the presence of the wall on the western side of the hill (Fig. 12.3). In this photograph, the sun is falling on the western flank of the hill and the level of lighting is such that it has been possible to further interpret the likely position of the defences along this side. As the discussion below will highlight, large tracts of the western defensive wall are no longer extant (compare Figs 12.1 and 12.3 showing the measured survey and the

wall in highlight superimposed on the satellite image). It now seems likely that the fortifications extended for 230 m further than previously recorded, continuing along the whole of the western hillside for a distance of *c.* 580 m, leaving only the approaches on the lake-side undefended. The 2001 survey also provided the opportunity to assess the presence of intramural structures. The results are detailed at the end of this chapter.⁴

The Perimeter Walls

The defensive wall encloses the eastern, southern and western flanks of the hillside, but its survival and preservation vary considerably around the incomplete circuit. The perimeter wall is constructed of local limestone blocks, most likely quarried from Kalivo itself, some of which are rectangular and laid in relatively even courses, though its construction is dominated by a polygonal style based on irregular components. Throughout its length, the wall is built without any bonding materials, but generally displays very fine jointing. It is almost always more readily observed from the outside, as the interior face is often buried by soil creep and down-slope infill. In effect, the wall today is acting as a revetment or terrace wall for soils further upslope. This can clearly be seen in bowed stretches of the wall. Elsewhere, regular livestock movements and animal tracks are causing considerable erosion to the wall fabric, with many modern breaches apparent.

The circuit is best considered in the three portions that shield the eastern, southern and western approaches in turn.⁵ From its northern terminus the wall rises gradually uphill as far as a large entrance in the eastern wall. Thereafter, it follows a fairly even natural contour as far as its southwestern corner. Mature scrub masks large sections of the eastern arm of the wall (*c.* 690 m long), but it is traceable

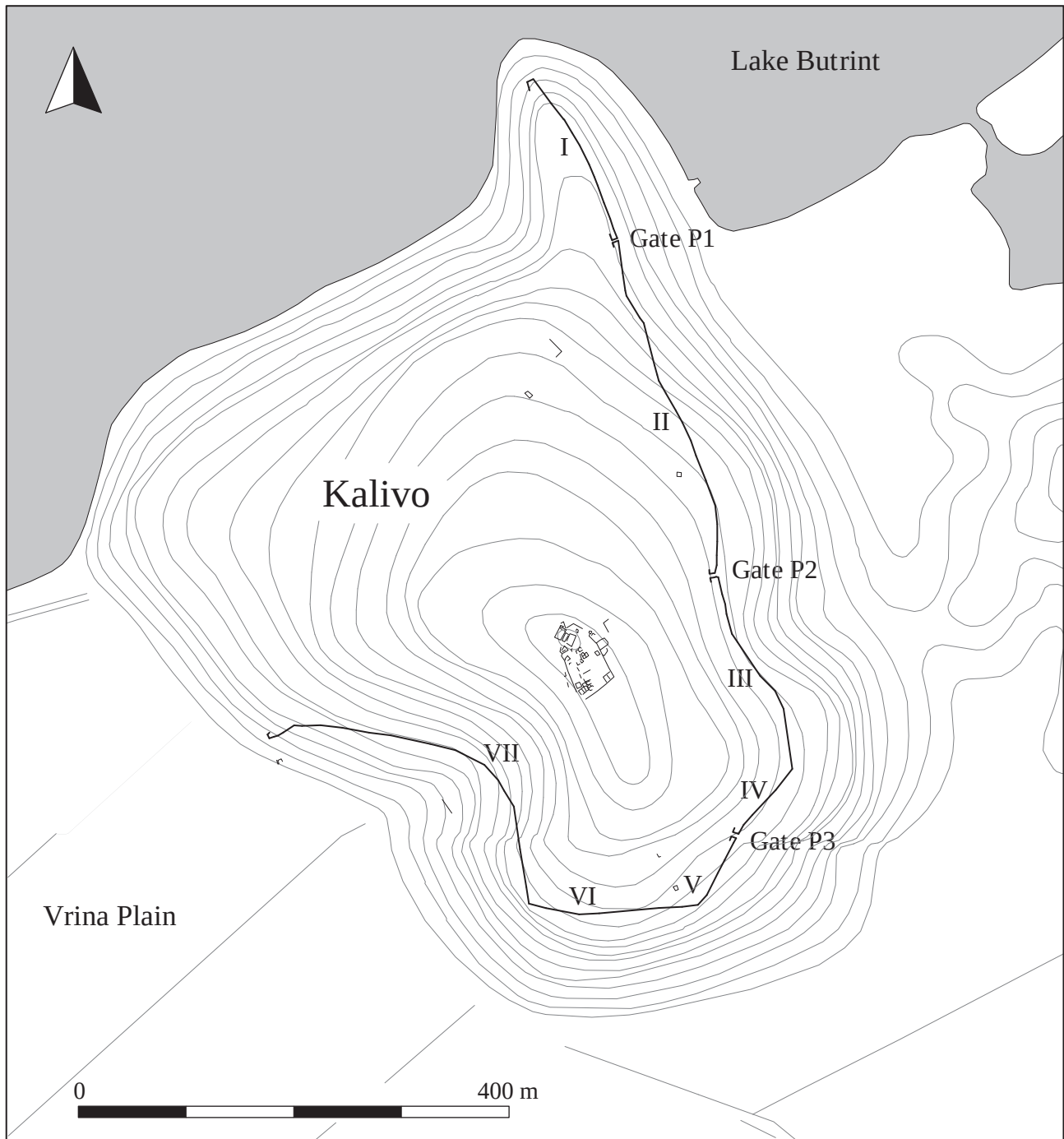


Figure 12.1. Kalivo, wall and contour plan, 2001 (BF archive)

throughout in spite of various breaches and gaps. With a few minor deviations it follows an essentially straight line, but for a pronounced dogleg towards its southern end. Where it survives at all, the southern arm (c. 315 m long) contains some of the best-preserved remains extant to a height of over 3 m. This section comprises an open V-shape, consisting of two relatively straight segments with a distinct elbow in-between. The western arm (c. 350+ m

long) exists principally as a low remnant that meanders across the uneven hillside following a contour apparently lower down the slope than on the other two sides. No traces of wall masonry could be discerned beyond this, and it seems that the circuit never extended across the north side of the hill.⁶ Two gates, one large and one small, are located on the east side and a further narrow entrance is extant to the south.⁷

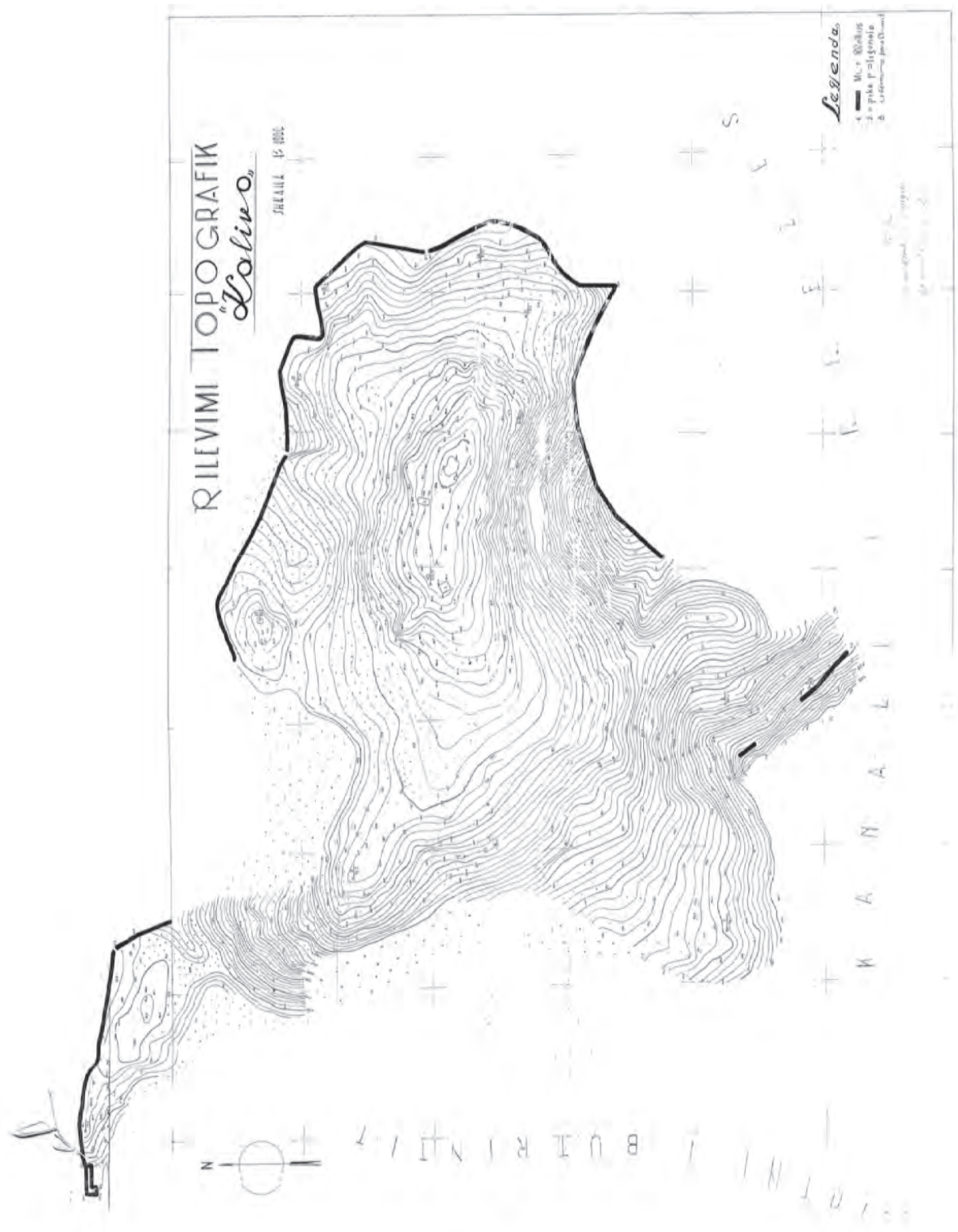


Figure 12.2. Topographic relief plan of Kalivo by the Albanian-Soviet Archaeological Mission, c.1958–1959, later published by Dhimos Budina (IA)



Figure 12.3. Wall circuit superimposed on vertical satellite image (Courtesy of the Earth Science and Image Analysis Laboratory, NASA Johnson Space Center, through Digital Globe (UK))

Eastern Circuit

Northern Terminus to the Small Gate (I)

The northern terminus of the wall is built upon a flat stone platform on a narrow promontory, which projects northward at the top of a series of naturally terraced rocks (Fig. 12.4; see also Fig. 3.2). The wall commences on the western edge, turns across the north face and then heads south along the eastern side of the promontory. It thereby comprises a splayed U-shape forming an opening c. 6 m wide. Budina's plan (Fig. 12.2) appears to show it as an enclosed 'tower', although the existing masonry simply forms a protective recess that would have appeared strongly fortified from the Lake Butrint approach. Tumbled masonry and jutting natural rock could easily be interpreted as an enclosing southern 'tower' wall, though Ugolini's plan (see Fig. 3.1) also depicts it as an open arrangement.⁸

The west-facing wall extends for c. 9 m from the terminus. It is constructed from large, generally squared, faced blocks laid in regular courses with some polygonal corner 'notch' fits. The north-facing wall is 8 m across. It is founded on natural rock with cut blocks placed as offset foundations where necessary.⁹ The north wall stands to a maximum height of just over 3 m. Large, nearly



Figure 12.4. The northern terminus of the perimeter wall (east side) (BF archive)

always squared, blocks are used throughout. Coursing is somewhat erratic, however, and there are some polygonal joints. The northeast corner is destroyed down to two overlapping blocks built on bedrock, and the thickness of the wall is only c. 2 m. There are steep descents all around the north end.¹⁰ On the east side the wall stands up to a height of c. 2.5 m (Fig. 12.5). It is founded on both natural outcrops and offset blocks. Numerous large pieces

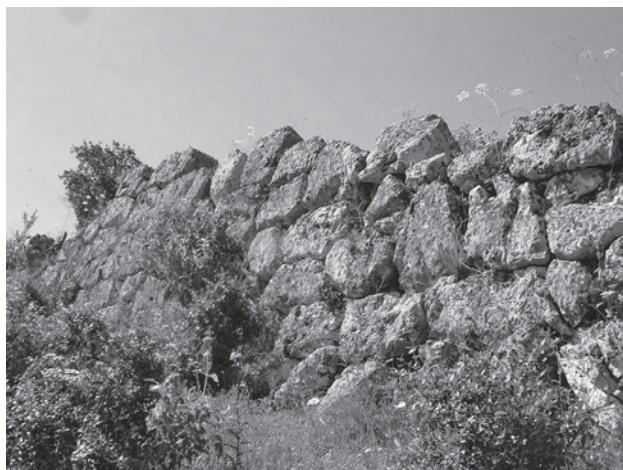


Figure 12.5. The eastern face of the north wall (BF archive)

are used, and there are several neat cuts and polygonal joints visible.

However, this degree of survival is not uniform and, just to the south, the wall is reduced to a low remnant.¹¹ It runs from the northern platform on ground sloping up for c. 38 m as far as a rocky outcrop. Block construction stops abruptly upon meeting a protruding limestone massif that apparently negated the need for walling.¹² The bedrock massif extends southwards for 15 m before the wall recommences. The next stretch, c. 43 m long, survives intermittently to a height of over 1 m, but is badly ruined, breached and overgrown. The subsequent tract of approximately 40 m is for the most part eroded to a low height, breached completely and/or is to a large extent inaccessible because of vegetation.¹³

From this point, improved visibility allows a relatively straight stretch of wall c. 44 m long, as far as the small eastern gateway, to be better recorded. The first 10 m stand c. 2 m high, in parts in characteristic polygonal stonework. A mixture of shaped and sized faced blocks are used and bare bedrock forms a foundation. It seems most likely that the bedrock would have been cut flat to build the wall, although in certain places it may naturally have been sufficiently level for direct construction. The wall is then tumbled to more-or-less a single course for c. 18 m, with frequent exposures of its rubble core and with what is probably the inside face. From these glimpses, the wall-width can be calculated as 3+ m. The final 16 m down to the gate stand to a maximum height of around 3 m, but the outer face is once more largely inaccessible.¹⁴

The Small Eastern Gate (P1) (Fig. 3.3)

All three gateways in the wall are constructed in similar fashion. The smaller of the two in the eastern wall and the opening in the southern wall are approximately of the same size. The eastern gate has a squared entrance, but the corner stones on both sides are missing above ground level.¹⁵ The gate is less than 2 m wide and is recessed into the hill for

c. 6 m, splaying slightly wider towards the interior. The stones forming the recess are large, squared and faced, coursed blocks.¹⁶ Some of the blocks have fallen out of the wall in the front part of the entranceway.¹⁷ Because of rubble and undergrowth cover it is impossible to assess the shape and form of the rear of the gate.¹⁸ The gate is approached from the foot of the hill by a modern path.

Between the Two Gates (II)¹⁹

Immediately to the south of the small gate the true line of the wall is obscure; it is largely lost against a limestone outcrop and boulder-strewn landscape that is almost completely overgrown.²⁰ The wall cannot be clearly detected again for some 53 m until just before a kink in the wall to the southeast. Intriguingly, Ugolini's Kalivo plan hypothesises an additional eastern gate at a point within this 'missing' section.²¹ There is little doubt that the wall must have been in a similarly poor state at the time of the Italian survey, since both the wall and the gate are marked as uncertain and illustrated with a broken line. The potential third gate is situated in a dip similar to the larger of the two eastern gates and Ugolini's plan proposes that it may have been of similar dimensions. Very few stones are visible here today, though scrub clearance could determine whether or not a gate once stood in this place. To the south, the dip is flanked and protected by a limestone outcrop.

The wall reappears with a few stones beyond the kink. It is set slightly down-slope from a more natural break of the slope, overlooking the modern Lake Butrint shoreline and fish traps. It skirts to the southeast and runs along a relatively even surface for c. 25 m before rising sharply up a short, steep incline covered with brambles.²² At this point the wall becomes almost entirely lost, traceable by only a few stones. The line moves back in toward the hillside; in front of it, c. 20 m down-slope, is a protective natural outcrop of limestone. Ten metres beyond the drop the wall bends again, quite sharply, towards the south. The line of the subsequent section is very clear and, although the wall survives only intermittently, it is clear that it is characterised by rare intact/upstanding blocks. These include some massive squared pieces and some blocks stood on end. Elsewhere, extant sections are masked on the outside by dense vegetation. In places where the face of the wall has fallen away, parts of the rubble core and the rear of the wall are exposed. The average width of the wall at this point is less than 3 m; the true width almost certainly varies according to the materials used. The wall stands to around 1 m in places; two, occasionally three, stones high. The slopes below are covered with wall rubble. The construction style is generally poor polygonal: eroded, unstable and frequently breached.

Beyond this section the wall is entirely ruined. It can be traced as it continues upslope for about a further 9 m, before ending in a 9 m wide tumbled breach, with masonry spilling down the hillside. Within this breach, a slight shift in alignment seems to occur towards the southeast.

Wall-width over this last section is estimated at 3 m from the position of stones at what is probably the rear of the wall. The wall continues to the south of the breach at a height of 2+ m for c. 27 m with a small breach at roughly a half-way point. Medium- and large-sized blocks are used, some semi-squared, but mostly irregular (see Fig. 3.4). As found elsewhere, some coursing is evident of the square blocks, but polygonal work predominates with some very open joints (perhaps where smaller filling stones have fallen out).²³ Occasional exposures of bedrock can be seen as foundation stone. Just beyond the breach (at 14 m) a 4 m run of proper, offset foundation stones are visible. This section terminates with an isolated, large block precariously balanced on the otherwise reduced wall. Beyond the large block, the wall survives particularly well over a distance of c. 22 m, standing to over 3 m tall in places. The line of the wall appears to be fairly straight, and it rises gently to the north following a distinct break of the slope for a further 37 m to a small crest. Infilling behind the wall may give the false effect of a plateau at this point, but the hillside falls away far more steeply below the outer base of the wall. It is readily accessible from the outside and is characterised by small and medium-large faced stones, some semi-squared with attempts at regular coursing, but generally in a polygonal build (see Fig. 3.5). The wall stands over 2 m high where it occupies undulations in the surface of the slope, and there is a lot of tumbled wall masonry down the lower slope.

Approximately 62 m north of the large eastern gate the wall takes another, more clearly emphasised deviation, towards the south, although there is little more than foundations and the odd block surviving at this point.²⁴ Over the final c. 50 m southwards to the large eastern gate, the wall descends fairly steeply downhill from the small crest. It is mostly reduced to rubble, frequently breached and it is generally difficult to access the exterior. The wall is rarely standing above 1 stone high.²⁵ Nevertheless, its line, as viewed from the inside, is fairly clear for the most part and a small shift in alignment to southeast may be detected. Further, its rear line is often apparent giving a wall-width of c. 3 m. Throughout, natural outcrops have been built on and incorporated as the lowest 'course' in the wall itself.

The Large Eastern Gate (P2)

This occupies a natural saddle, a low point that is still approached today via a relatively short and gently inclined path or animal track from the base of the eastern slope. It is far more overgrown and survives in considerably poorer condition than the other gates. However, it is clearly built in similar fashion to its counterparts, although on a significantly larger scale. Only a single corner block on each side of the gateway entrance is visible. The entrance is over c. 4 m wide, possibly tapering to slightly less than this on the inside.²⁶ It is recessed c. 7 m and ascends at least two substantial steps.²⁷ Possible stone steps can be partly

seen outside the gate.²⁸ The walls flanking the entrance return to run parallel to the principal wall on either side. The internal returns measure at least 3 m in length on the north side (buried under soil creep beyond this length) and perhaps as much as c. 7 m in length to the south. Part of the south-facing wall of the entrance-recess is exposed and the coursing of the stonework is out of line as a result of the use of somewhat irregular-shaped blocks.

The Large Eastern Gate to the Southeast Corner (III)

The distance to the southeastern corner from the large gateway is approximately 192 m. South of the gate the wall begins to ascend uphill once more; though, initially little of the wall's exterior can be seen due to scrub and tree cover.²⁹ A short section is accessible to the north of an 8 m wide animal breach: it consists of both squared and irregular shaped blocks, all faced with a generally loose polygonal fit founded on bedrock. The wall's rubble core is exposed and indicates a width in excess of 3 m. South of the collapsed section the wall reappears; loose and a little bowed under the weight of soils to the rear. The bedrock is here used as a natural footing course and the wall is constructed from predominantly polygonal stones along with some semi-squared blocks.³⁰ For a stretch of approximately 50 m the wall is present but unapproachable because of dense thorny scrub. At some point within this section the alignment of the wall kinks towards south. Around the 40 m mark of this section the wall appears to deviate to a yet more southerly line with a relatively sharp change of angle.³¹ The following 55 m are more readily observed. The wall-build is characterised by polygonal construction including a large range of block sizes. It rarely survives above 2 m in height and c. 3 m in width, and there are numerous minor breaches – and one much more substantial one – and many corresponding tumbled stone blocks on the outside. Following this, there is a 4 m wide breach in the wall that is much used by livestock.

The final stretch of 32 m, from south of the cow path to the corner, survives in reasonably good condition (see Fig. 3.6). Medium, large and massive polygonal blocks are used and the wall, occasionally founded on exposed bedrock, stands to 3.5 m high in places.³² Coursing with sub-rectangular, faced blocks are only sporadically found. Good tight fits are rare, and lengths of the foundation course are visible. Lower 'coursing' is missing at c. 28 m north of the corner and a rubble core consisting of large limestone rocks is revealed, reaching 3 m back into the slope. Just before the corner there is a noticeable amount of rubble on the inside of the wall. While this could be debris from the collapsed upper part of the wall it *could* conceivably represent a separate structure. At the southeast corner the polygonal style is replaced by squared, coursed blocks: it is almost as though the corner was built independently, as it does not match, nor is it keyed in to, either of the adjacent sides (Fig. 12.6). Similar to those used in the southwest



Figure 12.6. The southeast corner of the perimeter wall (BF archive)



Figure 12.7. Detail of the southern part of the circuit wall (BF archive)



Figure 12.8. The southern gate (BF archive)

corner, each block is cut to create an interior corner angle of approximately 134° . Six corner blocks survive, balanced on another stone (a foundation stone?), which is sliding out beneath them; the whole corner is leaning inwards

in a somewhat unstable manner, and looks in danger of collapsing as are the adjacent walls.³³ A core of large rubble blocks can be seen within the gaps between facing stones.

Southern Circuit

The Southeast Corner to the Southern Gate (IV)

The distance from the corner to the gate is c. 88 m. There is a 10 m wide breach/established cow path c. 20 m west of the corner. Otherwise, the stretch of wall between the south gate and the southeast corner is the best preserved and most readily accessed element of the entire circuit (see Figs 3.7 and 3.8). The section is built on relatively level ground throughout, which may help account for its good survival. West of the corner the course of foundation stones is exposed and can be seen almost all the way towards the gate.³⁴ The wall stands up to a height of 4+ m in places and is over 3 m wide. Aside from around the neatly finished edge of the southern gateway, coursing is only rarely seen. Building blocks are of all shapes and sizes, including some massive examples, and polygonal construction is the norm (Fig. 12.7).³⁵ However, many of the joints between the stones are now loose and open, and in places the wall is considerably bowed out under the pressure of soils accumulated behind it.³⁶ Earth and rubble can be seen between open joints.

The Southern Gate (P3)

The gateway is built of medium–large, faced, rectangular blocks with overlapping corner stones on the outer face (Fig. 12.8, cf. Fig. 3.9). It is splayed from the outside (c. 1.8 m wide) to the inside (c. 2.4 m wide). The entrance is c. 5.5 m deep and stands four or five courses high from the foundation level. A threshold stone is well preserved just inside the wall line and probable approach-steps up to the gate can be seen on the exterior. Possible steps can also be made out within the gateway itself.³⁷ Masses of down-slope, tumbled masonry at this point suggest the gate may have been more extensively fortified than the adjoining wall. The gate is situated at the head of a gully that runs south-eastwards to the base of the hill; it seems likely that this would have provided a suitable contemporary point of ascent/access to the gateway.

A small excavation has been carried out on the east side of the gate interior, with possibly another on the west side.³⁸ These reveal a thickening of the wall to c. 5 m where the walls turn back on themselves for 3 m: *maybe* they were built over with towers. Although there are some marks on the gateway masonry, which merits further investigation, there is no obvious evidence of a drawbar, or grooves, to take a door. Twenty-five metres east of the southern gate, a trench c. 5×4 m has been dug along the inner face of the wall, c. 0.70 m deep.³⁹ The interior face is still exposed in part and demonstrates a width of at least 3 m. Although the trench sides and wall face are badly eroded, there appear

to be some faced stones surviving. The build is apparently random with small and medium, sub-square and irregular material used. Just to the east of the trench, the rear of the wall line shows fairly clearly on the surface and suggests a width of over 3 m.

The Southern Gate to the East Side of the Destroyed Section (V)

The western edge of the southern gateway is well finished with neatly coursed blocks. A distinct section of wall runs for c. 15 m west of here, with some elements standing nearly 4 m high. The most well-defined instance of offset foundations can be seen at this point. Largely squared, rectangular blocks are laid on bedrock, which acts almost as a second offset. Further, larger rectangular blocks are laid on top of these with each end set above the centre of the underlying stone, and some attempt is made to preserve coursing throughout before the polygonal techniques become the stylistic norm. The subsequent 20 m also survive relatively well, although with some very recent livestock damage. A mixture of material is used: ranging from very small to very large blocks. Coursing is apparent where sub-rectangular pieces are present but is somewhat lost where polygonal blocks are inserted. A fairly low and rubbly section, of mainly polygonal build, then ensues for c. 25 m; occasionally founded on exposed bedrock. Tumbled blocks are visible on the gentle slopes between here and the southeast corner. At a point where the wall kinks to the southwest, the low, ruined section stands to no more than 1.3 m in height. This section runs for c. 13 m to another shift of angle and is built from predominantly medium-sized polygonal blocks incorporating exposures of the bedrock. Rubble to the rear indicates a relatively slender width of only c. 2 m, the narrowest recorded part of the southern line of the wall circuit.

The wall is lost at a point where a more significant change in alignment is apparent. The wall turns almost due west forming an angle of c. 139°, approximately the same as that of the southeast corner. This occurs at the eastern edge of a large limestone outcrop, which is split and almost forms a natural 'gateway' and defensive strongpoint. The presence of large blocks above this gap shows that it was once well fortified but perhaps the ground was insufficiently stable for the wall to survive. Ugolini's plan shows that this tract of the wall had already fallen by the 1920s. West of the change in alignment, the wall is ruined over a distance of c. 10 m. Where it survives once more it continues in a seemingly random construction style for some little distance. Approximately 17 m west of the angle it is built down into a natural dip in the hill, and here it stands up to as much as 3 m high. Large shaped blocks can be seen down the southern slope. The final c. 20 m of surviving wall, before a lengthy destroyed section, stands variously between 1.0–2.5 m high ending in a large, faced, semi-squared block perched on top of smaller and natural rocks. This stretch is an amalgam of large (some massive)

and medium-sized, faced blocks displaying a mixture of coursed, sub-rectangular stones and some tight polygonal jointing. Within this section of the defences, a wall with a length of 8 m incorporates a stone offset of c. 0.2 m at its base. These stones are similar to those observed on the western side (see below), although they are much larger and there may be a degree of slippage; that is, stone blocks at the base being squeezed outward. Wall-width is unclear but estimated at up to 3 m. The rubble core can be seen in places where facing stones have weathered, or been forced out, and fallen; from this there is no clear evidence that a rear/internal line of large faced blocks ever existed. Further excavation may reveal how high the original wall stood from the inside. If the wall was cut into the hillside, the soil may have been dug out for the wall base and have been embanked behind the construction. It is presently unclear where the contemporary ground level on the inside was and, indeed, how much natural soil slippage and infill has occurred post-abandonment.

The Destroyed Section to the Southwest Corner (VI)

A substantial break in the circuit, measuring c. 60 m, follows. The wall is either completely eroded to the ground or is entirely absent and was also recorded as such in Ugolini's plan. Its likely former position is indicated by a marked break in the slope and a 'shelf' or ledge can be followed along the course of the collapsed section to where it re-commences to the west.⁴⁰ On the slope below this lie many large stones, some evidently faced, which are clearly tumbled remnants of the wall. Occasional stones protruding from the ground may be individual elements of the wall. In places discrete sections of tumbled blocks can be discerned. From the terrain it seems likely that substantial natural outcroppings may have been incorporated in the circuit. At the west end of the gap, immediately before the point at which the wall is upstanding, is a possible gateway. Evidence for this is largely circumstantial, although it is possible to pick out a space of c. 2 m between apparently parallel protruding lines of rock. This dimension approximates to that recorded at the small gate further to the east (see *the southern gate* above). The slope in front of the possible gate is relatively clear of natural rocks and has a 'ramp-like' appearance, as might be seen in a gateway approach.

West of the 60 m long break in the circuit, the wall stands at progressively one to four blocks high. The individual building blocks are of vastly different dimensions and shapes. Some coursing has been achieved with large rectangular and squarish blocks, but for the most part a polygonal construction method is employed with use of irregular shaped material. One massive block, c. 2 m square, is perched on top of the wall at a point where the wall stands c. 3.75 m high. Elsewhere, it includes rough-cut and natural rocks no larger than 0.2 × 0.3 m. Blocks are generally loose fitting, sometimes due to slipping under



Figure 12.9. Detail of the southwest corner of the perimeter wall (BF archive)

the weight of soils to the rear or to erosion, but they do not give the appearance of ever having been snug. Small-sized rubble fill can occasionally be seen in gaps behind the facing stones. The wall is inclined inwards from bottom to top. In places, upstanding bedrock is used as the 'lowest course' or foundation. The interior of the wall is frequently difficult to identify being nearly entirely filled into the highest surviving blocks. Approximately 15 m further west, the wall is much reduced in height and stands as only one or two small blocks. Large quantities of fallen wall masonry can be seen down the southern slope. The wall continues in a semi-intermittent fashion for c. 20 m with occasional blocks protruding from the ground surface; again, natural bedrock outcrops are employed as foundation stone. It is difficult to gauge the width of the wall in this area due to the infilling of the interior and the generally eroded nature of the ground; although it is certainly at least 2 m. Elements, which may form part of the rubble core, can be observed from a vantage point on top of the wall. The hilltop falls away to the southwest along the whole of the stretch described above. There is a small kink at the northwest, approximately 50 m before the southwest corner. The wall persists as a low remnant over the following c. 30 m; frequently incorporating bedrock at its base. Some finely crafted polygonal joints are preserved in places and one or two very large blocks are still in position.

A final section, c. 20 m long, leads down to the southwest corner. This tract survives as a fine example of polygonal construction-technique using smallish stones, with many large (and some very large) stones towards the corner. It stands up to nearly 4 m high in one place. Rubble-core filling can be seen in gaps where the facing stones have slipped. The southwest corner itself consists of three monumental blocks topping a cut/squared-off exposure of bedrock (Fig. 12.9).⁴¹ Each of the three large blocks is shaped to create a corner with an internal angle of c. 114°. The corner is leaning inwards and stands between 3.0–3.5 m tall.

Western Circuit

The Southwest Corner to the North End (VII)

Northward from the southwest corner the wall occupies a position overlooking the natural embayment/harbour on the western side of Kalivo. Its course curves around the upper slope – falling very gently downhill – rather than following the contour across the face of the western slope, until it disappears on the north side of the embayment. Immediately north of the southwest corner the wall is eroded down to one or two 'courses', although these include some fine polygonal joins. Eight metres from the corner, the natural degradation of the wall is exacerbated by damage from a 20th-century military trench. Beyond the trench two huge natural rocks have been used to provide foundations and polygonal infilling is wedged between the two. As in many other parts of the circuit, the exact width of the wall is difficult to assess, but it is likely no more than 1.5–2.0 m thick. Approximately 12 m north of the corner, a short stretch, c. 4 m long, consisting of low, mixed squarish and polygonal blocks is easily identifiable. Beyond this stretch, for a length of more than c. 10 m, the pattern of blocks changes abruptly; firstly, to more massive blocks, then, curiously, to huge blocks, all of which are rough shaped but square faced, and balanced on much smaller square-ish (and random, semi-squared) stones. The wall stands nearly 4 m high here. One of the largest blocks is over 2 m long; its face is remarkably flat (though no chisel or fracture marks can be discerned) while its rear is unshaped. Other large blocks/rocks can be seen further downhill around this point and to the south. Small limestone rubble fragments can be seen in gaps from where the facing stones have fallen. At the north end of the large blocks a 2 m long section has slumped forwards down-slope; the construction here are of small, faced and irregular blocks on top of two large elements.

There follows a low stretch of c. 20 m of small and medium blocks, faced and irregularly shaped, standing two or three courses (no more than 1 m) high. Bedrock is once more used for foundations. The wall is steeply inclined where the lower blocks have slipped or have been forced outwards. It gradually vanishes; though, some massive wall-blocks lie fallen immediately in front of it, and others can be seen all the way down to the base of the slope – even on the far bank of the channel that skirts the western and southern flanks of the hill.⁴² Subsequently, the wall is missing for c. 11 m but one or two small protruding rocks that clearly mark its line. Beyond this is an almost unbroken line (c. 20 m long) of very small, faced stones, c. 0.2 × 0.3 m; an apparently intact course, currently not more than one stone high (Fig. 12.10). Rubble to the rear (inside the wall) suggests that here the wall may never have been more than 1.2–1.5 m wide. The general narrowness of the wall along this part of the defences contrasts starkly with the more formidable build, twice as thick, recorded on the east side of the hill.

For the following c. 20 m the wall is impossible to



Figure 12.10. The remains of the western defensive wall (BF archive)

identify. It reappears in a single, *in situ* large, faced block c. 2 m long, and in a few smaller stones over an area of 3 m towards the north. Rubble core infill-stones are exposed on the surface behind it. As on the south side of the hill, it is difficult to assess how much of the earth behind the wall is contemporary infill/construction and how much is soil creep. More boulders and probable wall-facing stones litter the slopes below for approximately 30 m to the north. The subsequent c. 52 m are characterised by rare glimpses of the wall. Intermittent small blocks and a shelf, or ledge, indicate the wall's former presence. Sporadic small exposures of rubble may represent its core. This stretch of missing wall corresponds with the back of the natural embayment; on which the slopes on the north side of the bay become precipitous above a large rectangular platform (supporting a possible substantial structure). Wall masonry dots the slope.

The wall reappears once more standing up to three courses, 1.5 m, high. Small and medium, roughly squared stones are employed in undulating courses. Tumbled gaps appear at intervals over the following c. 116 m, but the wall is characterised by smaller, faced, unevenly coursed blocks; generally inclined inwards from base to top. Larger gaps between stones are the product of erosion as evident by the presence of some closely fitting blocks. Wall-width is again estimated as 1.2–1.5 m. This section is essentially a straight line, having passed beyond the crescent shape of the natural embayment below. Forty-five metres along this long stretch, a foundation level is clearly exposed. Around 25 squared, flat-topped blocks can be seen 'emerging' from the ground. They are offset (down slope side) by up to c. 0.2 m. Some medium-large blocks are used, especially on top of the founding level. The blocks are coursed unevenly, rarely completely square and some enforced polygonal jointing is consequently evident.

The slopes below the west-facing wall are generally steep and rubble strewn. The wall in this section is less than 1 m high, and rubble core/infill can occasionally be seen on

the surface behind it. There is a break between 65–70 m; though, existing elements probably belonging to the back of the wall suggest a width of over 2 m. What seems to be a foundation course is exposed again between 70–80 m. In places the wall is badly affected by down-slope erosion and gaps between stones are accordingly large with the rubble core visible. Short lengths of the wall stand up to 1.5 m in height. Another gap is present around 95 m, and the foundation course is visible for 5 or 6 m around 100 m distance. Polygonal fitting of smaller stones is common around larger square elements. The wall becomes no more than a single 'course' of rough, natural-looking stones at 116 m; it follows a northwesterly course.

To the northwest of the long section described above, the wall is frequently absent, its course betrayed by individual or small groups of stones. At c. 50 m further along, its course is intercepted by an oblique military trench and it is very difficult to locate thereafter. The alignment undoubtedly continues for another 25 m before being replaced by a natural and imposing stone outcrop that rises very steeply in a V-shaped promontory from the slope below. In the plan drawn up by the Italian team, the line of the wall is indicated as uncertain at this point; however, in his written account Ugolini indicates that he did, in fact, believe the rocky outcrop to have been adopted as a continuation of the wall.⁴³ Budina on his plan not only proposes this same alignment, but also indicates an uncertain extension almost as far as the northwest 'corner' of the hill. In spite of intensive surveying of the hillsides north of the rock outcrop in 2001, no convincing continuation of the wall can, however, be found between here and the northern terminus. The north-facing slopes are precipitous and naturally defended along much of this stretch and the supposition remains that the exposed rock face, coupled with the proximity of Lake Butrint, was considered an adequate barrier to outside threats.⁴⁴

The Intra-mural Structures

While surveying the perimeter wall of Kalivo during 2001, the remains of up to 50 possible stone-founded structures were sighted and recorded. Some of these had already been identified in a surface artefact collection programme organised by the Butrint Foundation in 1996, which included not just Kalivo but the immediate hinterland of Butrint in general.⁴⁵ The electronic survey recorded the outlines of the most prominent buildings on the acropolis. Other buildings elsewhere on the hill were spatially located as reference for future investigation. Although the survey did not comprise a systematic investigation of the all the intra-mural structures, the sheer number and their physical locations are interesting.

The structures identified were located in four main areas and representative building outlines were plotted at each location (see Fig. 12.1):

- On the northeast facing slope above the small eastern gateway



Figure 12.11. Sketch plan of the structures within the walled enclosure on the southern summit of the hill (BF archive)

- Immediately west and north of the large eastern gateway
- On the southern slope above the defensive wall and on the next natural terrace upslope
- Within a walled enclosure on top of the southern summit and on the surrounding slopes to the east and west (Fig. 12.11)

One of the most notable structures is a walled enclosure situated on the southern summit of the hill (Fig. 12.12). It occupies a relatively boulder-free domed plateau, and measures c. 65–70 m long × 40 m wide at its south end (tapering to 32 m at its north end). The enclosure walls are of natural limestone blocks, some faced, but the walls are eroded throughout and rarely stand more than one stone high. The circuit is nonetheless clear, although the northern and northeastern sections pose intriguing questions. To the north a possible funnelled or conical entrance flanked by substantial structures can be discerned.

To the northeast, the walls have tumbled down the slope, but the remains may represent a large complex entrance. This probable entrance lies directly above the principal gate on the eastern side of the main hillside circuit and may have been additionally fortified or protected. Numerous close-built structures, ranging from 2 × 2 m cells to more sizeable buildings, are situated within the enclosure; these,



Figure 12.12. The area of the walled enclosure, looking north (BF archive)

too, are laid out principally in a systematic grid-like plan. Among these, the most striking example is a rectangular-shaped, block-built structure immediately outside the enclosure on the north side. It stands c. 1 m high and appears to be accessed through an internal corridor.⁴⁶ The enclosure wall respects its position and it seems plausible that it performed a significant role in relation to the walled complex. Within the enclosure, a further two rectangular structures are positioned in alignment with its rear wall.⁴⁷

A scatter of Roman tile, possibly disturbed from its original context by illegal digging or treasure hunting, was distributed across the centre of the enclosure, but no other artefacts were identified.⁴⁸ It is unlikely that all the buildings are contemporary with the main wall circuit; indeed, the hilltop most likely witnessed multi-period occupancy, which combined with the absence of stratified and securely dated finds, makes it virtually impossible to date the individual structures. Immediately south of the enclosure, the outlines of a series of very small rectangular structures appear to form an approach to the highest point of the entire hill. Here boulders have been heaped up in a horseshoe shape around a shaft or pit that is still partly open. Whether this is a natural opening, a cistern, a type of mine or a structure of ceremonial function is yet to be determined.⁴⁹ Outside the principal enclosure complete base-plans of other structures are readily observed on the northern, eastern and western sides. Other structures and groups of structures are almost certainly located elsewhere on the hill slopes.

The 1996 survey team interpreted most of these structures as sheep-folds, milking pens and insubstantial shepherds' huts.⁵⁰ Though the steep boulder-strewn landscape of Kalivo would provide relatively better grazing for flocks of goats than sheep, the interpretations of animal husbandry are compelling. The interrupted building lines, and the lack of tumbled masonry surrounding the buildings, suggest the original walls were probably very low and/or not constructed entirely of stone. The regular grouping of structures may be characteristic of livestock management, although those buildings that, at least in part, comprise cut

stone are more likely interpreted as dwellings rather than sheep-folds. Moreover, the enclosure on the hilltop platform implies something beyond semi-permanent pastoralism. Here, the walls are considerably more substantial, and the building at its north end is clearly designed for sustained occupation. The density of structures immediately outside the enclosure suggests overcrowding within, making use of the cleared ground close to the main walls for construction. The planned layout, and the effort and extent of construction indicate community labour: a community of the nature of a settlement rather than a temporary camp.

Strangely, no archaeological investigations prior to those carried out by the Butrint Foundation have recorded the hilltop enclosure. Although the Italian Mission excavated on the acropolis, Ugolini makes no comment on the enclosure or its internal structures. Nor, indeed, does he detail any structures elsewhere on the hillsides.⁵¹ Similarly, Budina's investigations did not record the enclosure, in spite of producing a detailed relief map and recording Ugolini's excavation trenches on the acropolis. However, the intra-mural buildings are far from the only structures to pose intriguing questions regarding the nature and development of Kalivo. At the foot of the western slope there is a raised, cleared platform measuring c. 16 × 8 m and delimited by what appear to be structural remains. Adjacent to the small channel on the west side, an eroding horizontal layer of seafood shells may represent a beach horizon; and, in 2003, an assemblage of Roman and Medieval ceramics was collected here during surface survey. Likewise, a monumental tomb, probably dated to the 2nd century AD, is situated at the base of the western hill close to the lakefront. The tomb probably belongs to an extensive cemetery further to the west.⁵² There are clearly many more possible avenues of investigation at Kalivo than the circuit of defensive walls. It is hoped that future campaigns will be able to investigate these in detail, adding to the expanding account of the settlement history of the Pavllas River Valley in southern Albania.

Notes

- 1 Ugolini, too, notes the problems posed by the vegetation cover and, in particular, remarks on the impenetrability of the hill during the summer (see D. R. Monaco's notes in Chapter 2, as well as Ugolini's notes in Chapter 3). In fact, it is clear from his photographic record that the hillside was impenetrably overgrown in the late 1920s. It is only with systematic woodland clearance and livestock grazing since the 1930s that the modern visitor is able to see any part of the walls.
- 2 Budina 1971a, 326, fig. 36.
- 3 The satellite image was obtained courtesy of the Earth Science and Image Analysis Laboratory, NASA Johnson Space Center through Digital Globe (UK).
- 4 Certain individual structures are discussed in more detail in Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 5 Ugolini further sub-divides the southern extent into 'southeastern' and 'southern' faces.
- 6 This layout corresponds well with the survey of the Italian Archaeological Mission. Ugolini remarks that the circuit should not be interpreted as unfinished, rather the fortified northern terminus was never intended to be connected to the remainder of the defences. Moreover, he suggests that walls were employed only where the natural defences were insufficient (*cf.* Chapters 3 and 25).
- 7 All of these gateways were excavated to some degree by Ugolini's team, but no datable material was discovered (or, perhaps, recorded). The late Astrid Nanaj, of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, also excavated in one of the gateways during the 1980s. The Italians dug several trenches elsewhere (*cf.* Chapter 3, 'molte trincee'): behind the wall, on the slopes, and on top of the acropolis; although there is no specific contemporary record of the location of any of these excavations. It is somewhat ironic, therefore, that our only knowledge of Ugolini's interventions comes from the plan made by Dhimosen Budina and the Albanian-Soviet Archaeological Mission which shows the position of two earlier trenches – 'gërmime para Çlirimit' (excavations before liberation) – on the acropolis.
- 8 In spite of this, Ugolini's notes repeatedly refer to a 'torrione' (tower) at the northern terminus. Most likely, the arrangement of walls served as an observation point, and in all likelihood contained a raised viewing platform. Note, for instance, Ugolini's descriptions of the panoramas afforded from this spot, and his remarks that Kalivo is higher and has more expansive views than Butrint.
- 9 Ugolini records that offsets, measuring up to 0.30 m from the base of the wall, are used to form a horizontal construction plane only where exposed bedrock is not sufficiently flat; elsewhere he observes that the bedrock surface is cut flat to take the wall.
- 10 Ugolini remarks that the presence of two proximate corners made the levelling of the promontory all the more important. He also observes that the walls are constructed sloping slightly inwards, with a degree of stepping for structural stability and defensibility that is not seen elsewhere on the circuit. Whilst rectangular stone components are more practical for this purpose, Ugolini also notes the 'interruption' by polygonal style; this method of construction, he claims, 'Si potrebbe forse con più proprietà chiamare *pelasgica* o *ciclopica*, perché questi termini ci richiamano alle mura di Micene o di Tirinto con cui quelle di Kalivò hanno le maggiori analogie' (could be more properly called 'Pelasgian' or 'Cyclopean', as these terms remind one of the walls of Mycenae or of Tiryns, with which those at Kalivo have the most numerous analogies). The Mycenaean connection was one which he would repeatedly revisit in his attempt to interpret Kalivo.
- 11 As Ugolini's description makes clear, this situation is little changed from the time of his survey.
- 12 While the outcrop is drawn clearly on his plan, Ugolini's account disputes the apparent absence of the wall. He records a possible line of foundations above the edge of the exposed rocks and, more curiously, claims that the presence of irregular blocks and stone flakes are *in situ* remains from shaping the blocks. This may be one of the locations excavated by the Italian team, since it seems implausible that these ancient 'residues' would be visible on the 20th-century ground surface given the degree of soil infill behind the wall. Otherwise, the stone flakes may more likely be due to weathering.
- 13 The Italian Mission also encountered considerable difficulty in observing this section of the wall and remark that very

- little of it could be seen over certain stretches. Although no precise drawn or written record was made, one of Ugolini's excavation trenches was sited at some point along this section. It is apparent that the rationale for this trench was to investigate the possibility that one of the breaks in the wall was formerly a gateway. However, this idea was disproved by the discovery of continuous foundation stones surviving beneath the surface, showing that the break was due to the wall having collapsed.
- 14 Within this section, Ugolini notes that soil creep has infilled to the top of the surviving wall; speculates whether the internal face was finished in the same manner as the exterior face; and calculates wall-width at 3.40 m. His observation that the visible rubble core of the wall in some part comprises off-cuts from shaping the facing stones can still be demonstrated today.
 - 15 The northern corner was missing when Ugolini made his record, but the southern corner apparently survived to a height of 1.40 m, with a single great rectangular corner block measuring 0.82×1.50 m still *in situ*.
 - 16 Strangely, Ugolini claims that the gate masonry is constructed in polygonal style, when it can be seen quite clearly in his own photographs that this is not the case. One can only imagine that he wrote up his account at some time after his team completed their survey, and that either his notes or descriptions committed to memory were incomplete.
 - 17 Possibly including the large corner stone described in Ugolini's account.
 - 18 The records of the Italian Mission state that the width of the in-turned wall is 4 m on the north side and just over 3 m on the south side.
 - 19 It is not always straightforward to follow Ugolini's account along the walls in this area as his description jumps backwards and forwards rather than forming a structured and measured progression.
 - 20 Ugolini's account similarly laments the loss of the wall in this area, and identifies a few faced blocks tumbled down the hillside.
 - 21 However, Ugolini makes no mention of a possible additional gate in his written account.
 - 22 Ugolini's account also remarks that the wall is set on a flat surface and situated a few metres below the natural 'crest' of the hillside along this stretch. Moreover, it seems that this is one section of wall that has deteriorated significantly since it was surveyed by the Italian team.
 - 23 The Italian team was particularly struck by the technique of mixing masonry components of various shapes; conjoining rectangular and polygonal stones are described several times, and large hexagonal and pentagonal blocks are often the object of individual measurement and description.
 - 24 This situation is little changed from the 1930s, and Ugolini remarks that the shift in alignment is represented only by exposed foundations and one or two small blocks. He clearly thought that it was a significant element of the structure, however, and describes it as a corner (an interpretation accentuated by the sharp change represented in his plan).
 - 25 This contrasts starkly with Ugolini's record, which states that the wall here stood to almost 3 m high. He describes some substantial sub-rectangular blocks but admonishes the masons for setting them imperfectly with both horizontal and vertical gaps. In fairness to the masons, these spaces were probably the result of the wall later becoming destabilised by the weight of soils accumulated behind it. The disappearance of much of this section over the 70 years since Ugolini observed it is perhaps testament to this fact.
 - 26 Ugolini's account states a width of 2.40 m for the opening, although this is suffixed '?'.
 - 27 Ugolini records that the southern side is shorter than the northern one; possibly only a bit more than 5 m.
 - 28 The Italian team records only the possible presence of a stone threshold within the gateway. However, they remark on masonry tumbled from the upper slopes that partly infilled the gate, which could be that interpreted as steps in 2001.
 - 29 The Italian Archaeological Mission's plan shows an uncertain, broken line of the wall in this area, although it is not clear if this was because the wall was inaccessible or had collapsed.
 - 30 Ugolini comments that there seems to be no distinct preference for either regular or polygonal-shaped blocks in this stretch, or for the size of masonry utilised.
 - 31 Ugolini's account describes several kinks, terming them 'curve appena pronunciate' (shallow curves), and notes that at these points the blocks themselves are shaped to include the curve on their outer faces.
 - 32 Ugolini generally equates good survival, particularly of polygonal construction, with the use of a foundation course.
 - 33 Based on Ugolini's photographs it is worth noting, though, that this situation has remained virtually unchanged and stable for the past 70 years.
 - 34 Ugolini attributes the preservation of 'un tratto ... che è uno dei più belli di tutta la cinta' (one of the most beautiful sections in the entire circuit) to the presence of horizontal foundations, and he may well be correct.
 - 35 Ugolini aptly describes the mixture of stonework as 'confusissima' (very confused).
 - 36 This may represent a considerable deterioration in the condition of the wall since the 1920s, as Ugolini describes the defences at this point as being 'quasi perfettamente a perpendicolo' (almost perfectly perpendicular).
 - 37 Ugolini notes only a single step or threshold, some 0.60 m high, at the entrance to the gateway.
 - 38 The excavation to the east of the gate was carried out by Dh. Çondi of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology (pers. comm.).
 - 39 The freshness of this excavation makes it unlikely that it was dug by the Italian team. More likely it is the work of the late Astrid Nanaj of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, whose records are unfortunately missing.
 - 40 Ugolini confesses to finding it difficult to reconstruct the exact line of the wall in this area. He was helped by the existence of one or two blocks (now lost), which remained *in situ*. Elsewhere he was able to identify natural rock outcrops that had been cut flat to serve as foundations for the wall.
 - 41 Evidently one block from this corner has been lost since the Italian Mission visited the site, since Ugolini records the dimensions of four stones in the corner construction.
 - 42 Ugolini depicts this part of the wall as uncertain on his plan, and notes in his description that the wall here was both very low and difficult to locate within the undergrowth. The evident zeal with which the enceinte was traced and cleared on the east and south sides may not have been repeated on the west face of the hill: the results are far less impressive, and Ugolini's description is somewhat summary in regard to the western extent of the defences as a whole.
 - 43 Ugolini proposes this despite being unable to find any evidence of built blocks in this part of the circuit.

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- 44 Ugolini, too, was of the opinion that the northern slopes facing the lake were naturally defended: sections of vertical rock acted as an inaccessible ‘wall’ in their own right. Furthermore, he observes incisively that the hillside may have been surrounded on the east, south and western sides by open water or swamp, with bridges to dry land only below the defended gateways in the enceinte.
- 45 The details of the 1996 survey are published in Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 46 This is the building described by local shepherds as a ‘castle’, see Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 47 Both of these structures are discussed in detail in Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 48 Ugolini’s notes record the recovery of artefacts from only one of the trenches he dug at Kalivo: the trench on the acropolis (although material from other trenches may have been discarded). His descriptions of ceramics, including one piece depicting a human head in relief (see Chapter 3, no. 2), are suggestive of ARS wares, though they provide insufficient evidence to date the material with more precision than pre-Medieval. However, the 1996 survey, too, noted the presence of large amounts of Roman tile and some later Roman wares on the surface within the enclosure, see Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 49 There remains the less-appealing alternative that it is a modern feature, perhaps a machine-gun nest, part of the Socialist period military excavations and installations on Kalivo.
- 50 See Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
- 51 The ground-cover of scrub could conceivably have been too dense for them to be able to see these features; or the Italian team may simply not have considered the walls ‘ancient’ enough to merit recording.
- 52 The substantial remains of this tomb were excavated in 2003; see Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 154–155.

13 Excavations at Kalivo, 2004

Andrew Crowson (with an appendix by Paul Reynolds and Nadia Aleotti)

Introduction

During July 2004, two small-scale excavations were conducted by the Butrint Foundation on Kalivo (Fig. 13.1 and see Fig. 0.6). These aimed principally to recover datable material to assist interpretation of the defensive wall circuit and the low structural remains evident within the walls. Two areas were selected for investigation: the small gate (P3) within the southern circuit of the defences, and the northernmost, most substantial, of the structures situated inside the acropolis enclosure.

The Southern Gate

Condition and Appearance Prior to Excavation

The vicinity of the southern gate was extensively overgrown with mature scrub and littered with blocks and boulders fallen from the wall itself and from higher up on the acropolis, as was the case when the site was surveyed in 2001. Indeed, Ugolini's photograph of the southern gate shows this to be little changed from 1924: the rear of the gate is completely blocked by boulders and soil (Fig. 13.2 and see Fig. 3.9). However, except for one block on the eastern side, the gate survives to the same height as depicted in Figure 3.9. At the exterior entrance to the gate, the wall circuit is built on bedrock outcrops, which protrude from beneath the wall, cut or shaped to serve as foundations for the wall. As described in Chapter 12, this is a technique found in numerous other sections of the defensive circuit. The exterior corners of the gate are formed from large square blocks, while on either side of the gate the wall is of polygonal construction. The front of the gate stands to a height of four courses, c. 1.90–2 m, on both sides. Two blocks from a fifth course are still extant further in on the east side.

The height of the interior gate masonry is only c. 1 m. Conjoined with the principal wall circuit, the gateway is c. 4.50 m deep. It splays from an outer opening 1.60 m wide to an internal width of 2.30 m. It is reinforced on both sides, forming internal bastions. After c. 4 m, the reinforcement for the gate ends and the wall returns to the normal width of c. 3 m. The east face of the gateway is comprised largely of substantial, sub-rectangular blocks with occasional smaller filling stones. Rectangular blocks are also employed on the west side, though the upper course is clearly cut to take polygonal style masonry. As throughout the wall circuit, the blocks are cut from the hillside limestone.

The area identified for excavation comprised three adjoining elements: the entranceway of the gate itself, the western interior alongside the wall, and the exterior of the wall immediately in front of the gate (Fig. 13.3). The internal trenches were located to investigate the structure of the gate and wall and to produce an elevation of the interior faces, while the external area was examined to understand the approach to the gate and recover any material washed down from the enclosed hillside.

Colluvial Overburden

Soils exposed beneath the vegetation were universally of reddish-brown crumbly clay [101]. These deposits were typical of colluvial soils also encountered at the nearby villa site at Diaporit, and were interpreted as material washed down the hillside and trapped behind the wall.¹ The thin colluvial deposit [100] sealing the wall and gate masonry on the western side produced a few ceramic sherds spanning a wide date range: fragments of a dark fabric containing large inclusions, almost certainly prehistoric and possibly Bronze Age; a sherd of a distinctly later Roman period fabric; and a single piece of late painted pottery, perhaps

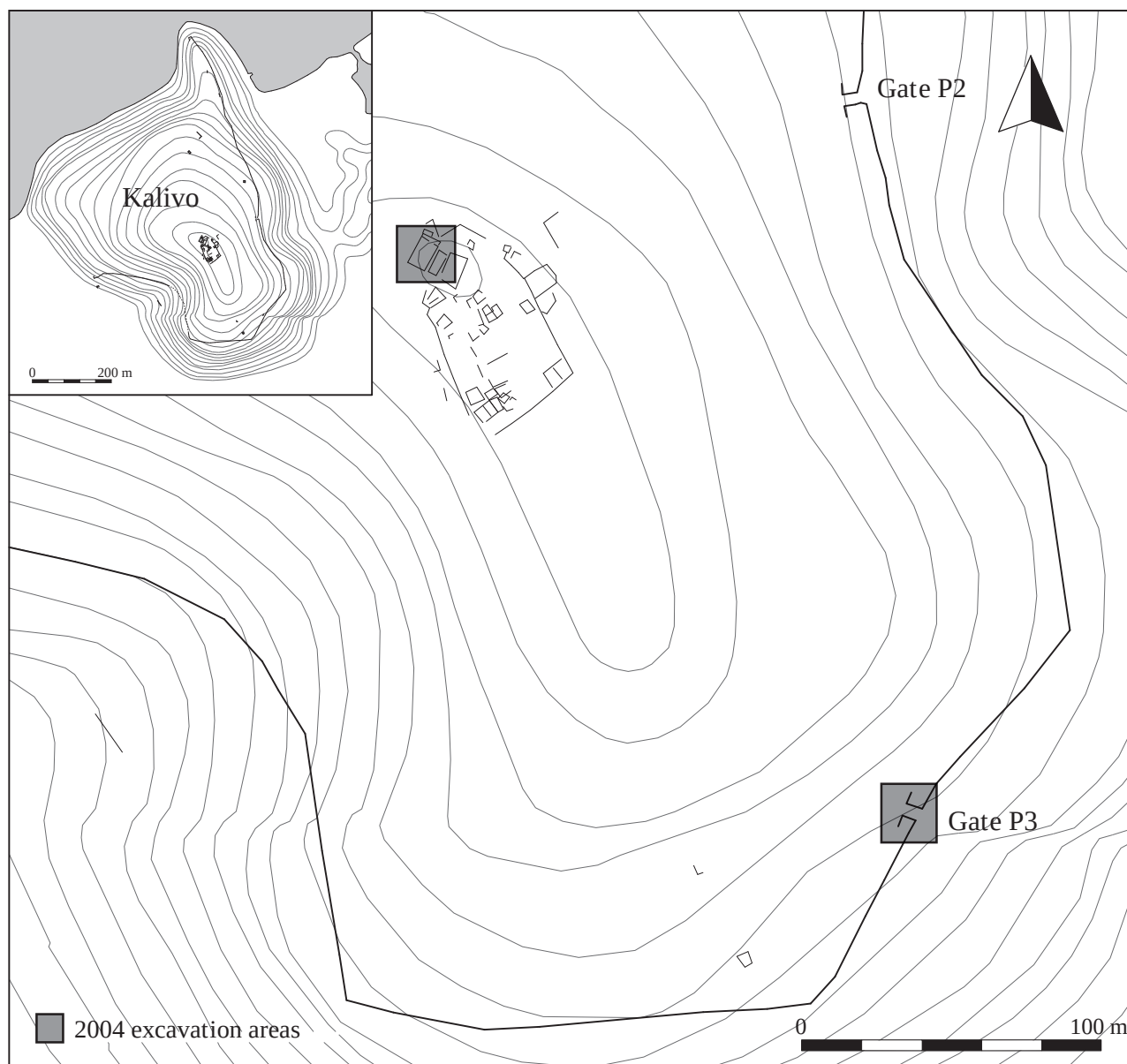


Figure 13.1. Plan of the Kalivo wall circuit showing the excavated areas (Drawn by Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

a Venetian maiolica. Though none of the ceramics from this deposit are *in situ*, they demonstrate the occupation of, or activity on, Kalivo from prehistoric through Roman to late Medieval times.

Colluvium at the rear of the gate had accumulated to a depth of c. 0.60 m; at the western end of the trench it was somewhat less, c. 0.40 m, deep. The deposit was homogeneous and sterile throughout the excavations north of the wall. Two small and abraded (probably prehistoric) potsherds were recovered, along with two small lumps of fired clay and a single buff tile fragment, from the colluvium at the eastern end. Occasional small isolated patches of burnt clay were observed relatively high up in the hillwash, but these may be modern.² At the rear of the gate a concentration of large blocks was revealed within the colluvium in an apparent line formed by the back of

three stones, however, they proved to have fallen and been trapped in their respective positions. The presence of large stones at this depth (0.40 m) suggests that the Italian Archaeological Mission did not excavate at this point; even though in his notes Ugolini records that his team excavated in all three of the circuit's gates (see Chapter 3). Within the entrance itself, aside from a few tumbled cut stones, the bulk of the masonry exposed in the colluvium comprised smaller and medium-sized angular and rounded limestone pieces.

The Gateway

Beneath the colluvial overburden, a deposit of predominantly flat, medium-sized limestone pieces [107] was exposed within the gate (Fig. 13.4). Not all of these pieces

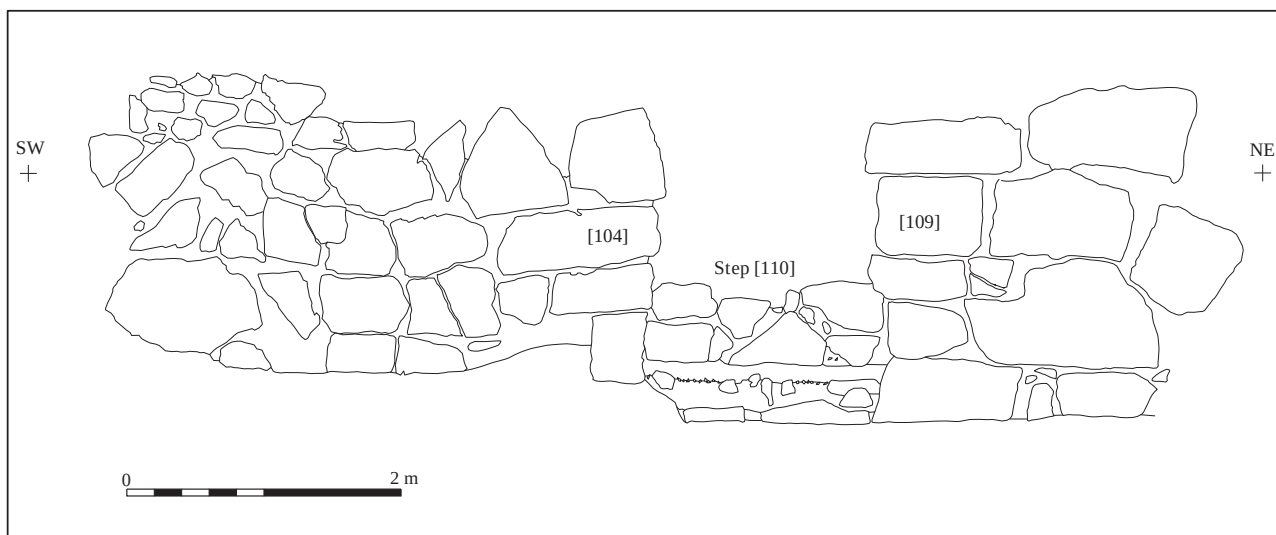


Figure 13.2. The southern gate at Kalivo: southeast-facing wall elevation (Drawn by Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

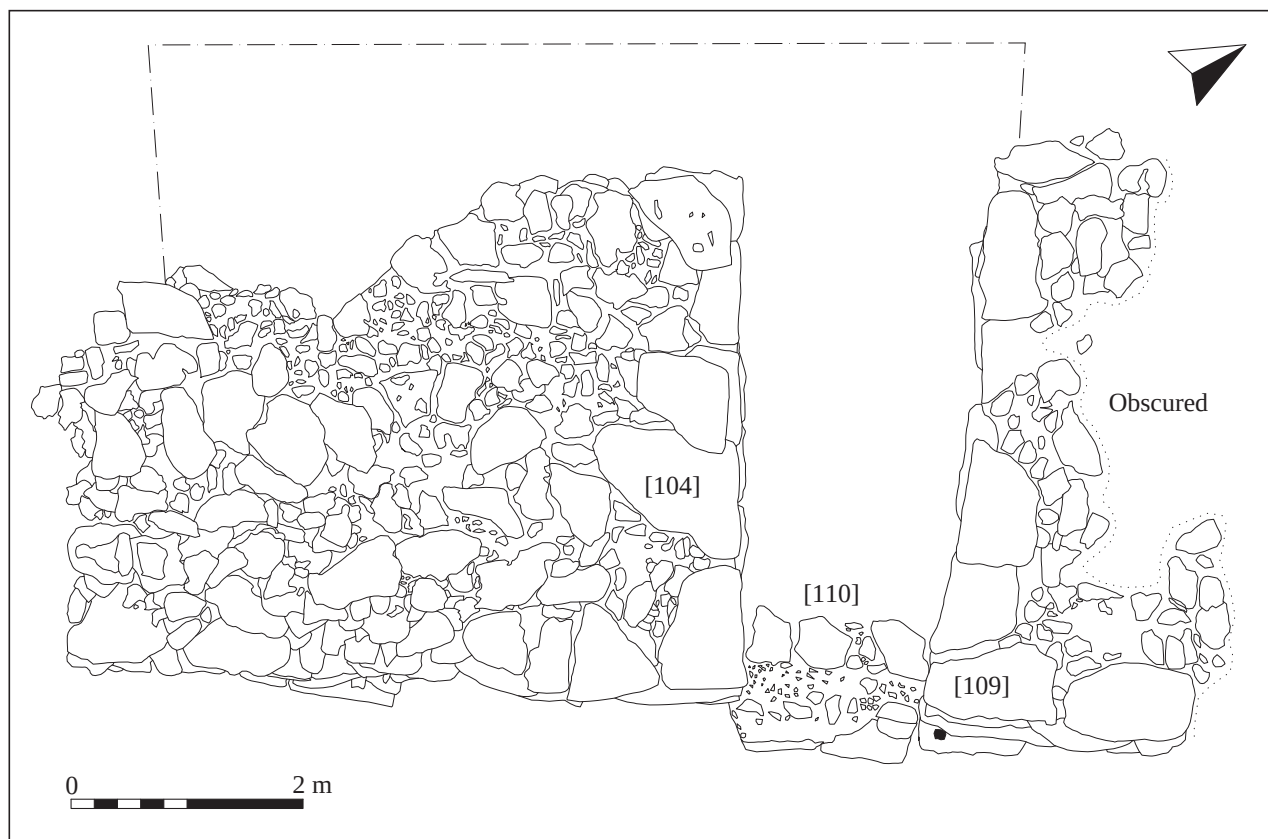


Figure 13.3. Plan of the southern gate at Kalivo (Drawn by Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

presented flat faces upwards and they had clearly been disturbed through centuries of traffic passing through the gate or other intrusion. These ‘cobbles’ were surrounded by, or contained within, a loose clay deposit similar to the hill-washed topsoil. The stones abutted (post-dated) the sides of the gate but were interpreted as the remains of a

ramped surface contemporary with its use. No steps were present within the gateway, and the stones were removed to investigate the primary construction of the gate.

Removal of the cobbled layer exposed a deposit of thick dark brown clay [105], which was subsequently observed throughout the excavated area. It contained small and



Figure 13.4. Cobbled ramp inside the southern gate at Kalivo (BF archive)

medium-sized, angular limestone rocks and occasional fragments of degraded, burnt clay. Most significantly, the deposit continued beneath the lowest courses of the gate masonry, on both east and west sides, and beneath the wall where it was exposed in the trench extension to the northwest. Small blocks and chunks of limestone were seemingly placed deliberately to help level up the lowest elements within each successive wall course. Appearing to be the immediately pre-wall surface, the incidence of the thick dark brown clay [105] suggests that it was laid as foundation or bedding for the wall and, within the gateway, additionally providing a base for the ramped cobbles [107] laid above. A useful assemblage of prehistoric ceramics was collected from the thick dark brown layer [105], including one sherd that was retrieved from directly underneath the wall on the west side, providing a *terminus post quem* for its construction (Fig. 13.5). Moreover, since the thick dark brown layer [105] is an *in situ* deposit and interpreted as part of the preparation for the building of the wall, the inclusion of probable Bronze Age ceramics may provide a reasonably good indication of when the work for the wall began. There may even be some symbolism in the placing of a semi-complete vessel beneath a large stone at the head of the gateway (Fig. 13.6).³

Along with prehistoric ceramics, a modern cigarette filter was found in the thick dark brown layer [105], in the central part of the entrance. The presence of the filter questions the reliability of the context, but we remain convinced that, at the very least, the finds from the rear of the gate are derived from *in situ* deposits. The cigarette end could have found its way in through cow trample (livestock regularly use the gate as a thoroughfare to the upper slopes) or other intrusion during excavation, or through other archaeological excavations in the recent past, though this remains unclear from conversations with local archaeologists.

Beneath the brown clay [105] the earliest deposit

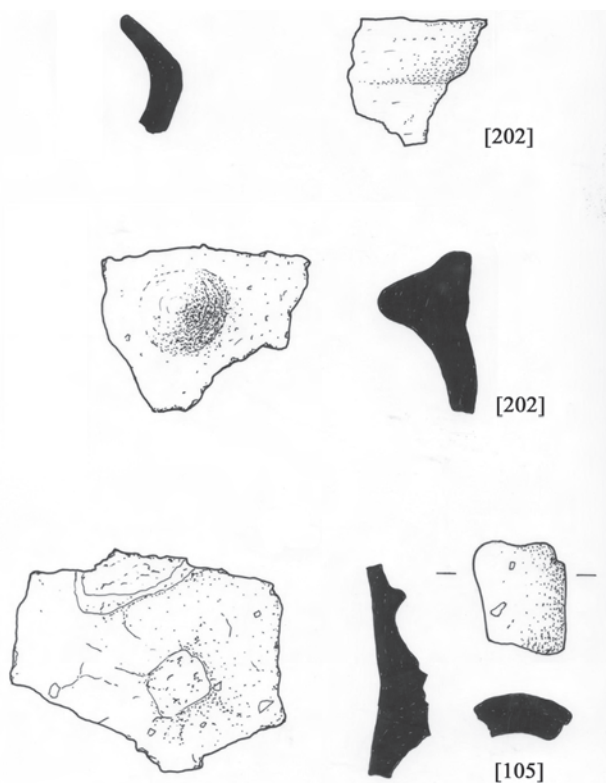


Figure 13.5. Bronze Age ceramic finds from Kalivo (BF archive)

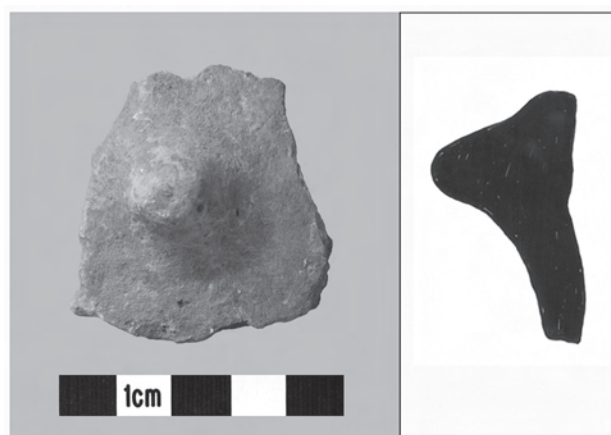


Figure 13.6 Fragment of closed pottery form with plastic lump decoration in strong brown fabric (BF archive)

exposed was a distinctive red clay [108]. This deposit appeared to be some sort of early soil development – perhaps a palaeosol comprised of weathered rock and vegetation (however, it might also represent a cultural horizon, see the excavation of the acropolis trench below). It was only present *in situ* to the rear of the gate and wall and was not excavated. In front of this, the clay had been entirely cut away within the gateway as part of landscaping the hillside to build the defensive wall. A sharp and distinct



Figure 13.7. The southern gateway after excavation (BF archive)

east–west cut through the red clay [108] was recorded in a line approximating to the head of the gateway, indicating that the red clay [108] is a pre-wall soil.

Between the walls forming the gateway, and for a short distance to the west at the rear of the wall, the excavation proceeded to bedrock to ascertain the construction methods employed to build the defences (Fig. 13.7). The bedrock [111] consisted primarily of cracked limestone, but also included angular chips and stones weathered from the parent rock, and orange-brown clay formed between the fissures in the rock. Inside the gateway the bedrock had been cut to present a relatively even, gently inclined surface to prepare it for wall construction. This revealed that the wall was terraced into the hillside and not built in a single deep, flat cut. Hence the interior wall face contains two or three courses less than the outer face, representing a considerable saving of time and effort in construction and the amount of raw material required. There is no reason to assume that this would not have been the case throughout the circuit; and it helps explain why, particularly on the western slope, there is no evidence of a cut into the hillside where the wall is lost: the missing wall blocks have simply slipped down the slope.

Post-excavation it was clear that the gateway is constructed from a sequence of superimposed courses

stepped into the hill (Fig. 13.8). On the east-facing elevation, at the bottom of the gate/wall corner, a single block is used to build up to the level of the first course proper. The top of the block is at a comparable level to the bedrock used as foundation on the western exterior. From south to north, the first multi-component course comprises three medium-sized rectangular blocks and then a single small block; the second course penetrates further into the hill with five medium-sized rectangular blocks. The final extant course also uses five blocks, though these are much larger, the northernmost of which also forms the internal westward return of the gate/wall. Two polygonal pieces, perched somewhat loosely, survive from a fourth course towards the north end. On the west-facing elevation of the gateway the terraced courses are as follows. At the base are two blocks, the back of the southernmost is in line with the face of the upper step (see below); little can be seen of the second block as it is obscured behind the step and continues some little way north. The front block sits on top of the offset cut bedrock foundation. Above these, from south to north, the first terraced course proper comprises one medium block, one smaller and a further two medium-sized blocks. The second course has two large stones; one medium block (this course is continued into the hill by a small filling stone); and one further half-depth medium-large stone, which protrudes into the line of the course above. This achieves the desired break of slope for the ramped paving without interrupting the course. The subsequent stone course comprises five large stones. The northernmost course, forming the eastward return at the rear of the gate, is finished poorly if at all.

The Hearth

At a depth of 0.60 m beneath the modern surface, a small (0.40 m diameter) clay-lined hearth [106] was excavated in a central position at the head of the gateway, just to the north of the mouth of the entrance (Plate 13.1). This was primarily coloured deep orange on its north and east edges with a black or dark grey fill to the south and west. This unassuming feature represents both a hiatus in soil formation/deposition and the latest activity around the gateway prior to the accumulation of the sterile hillwash deposits. Moreover, it affirmed that the soils below this level were *in situ* deposits, and that the Italian Mission (or subsequent others) did not excavate through these deposits.

The sub-circular hearth was cut into the top of the thick dark brown layer deposit [105]. It was apparently clay-lined around half its edges (possibly representing the rear of the feature) and the corresponding part of its base. The lining had baked to an orange colour. The front of the hearth opened to the southeast. It contained a characteristically burnt deposit consisting of dark grey or black silty clay. No ceramics were found within the hearth but a sample of the lower portion was retained for radiocarbon dating.

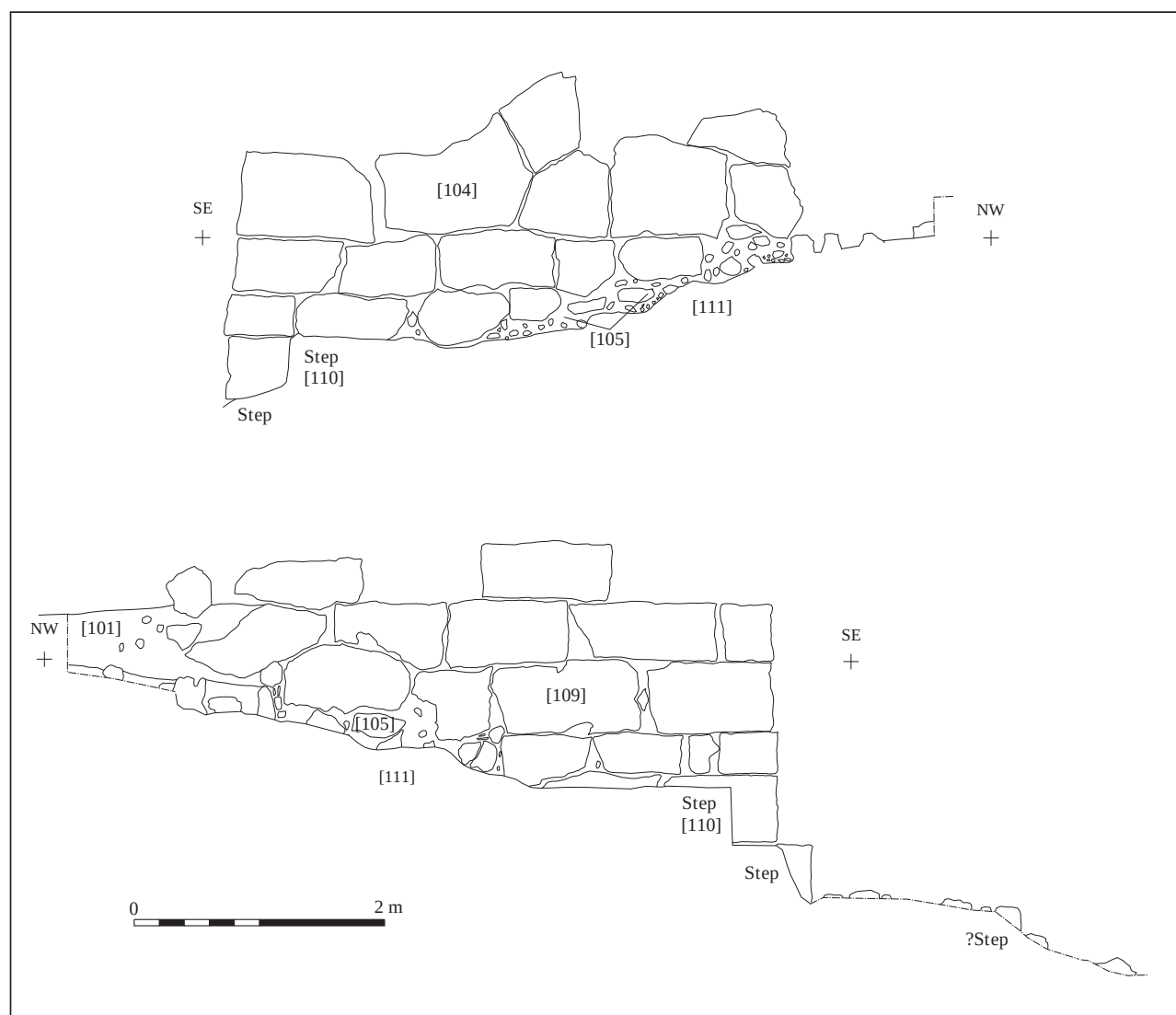


Figure 13.8. The southern gate at Kalivo; east-facing and west-facing wall elevations (Drawn by Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

The Interior Western Wall of the Gate

On the western interior side of the gate, the rubble core of the wall/gate and the internal edge of the wall were exposed beneath a thin deposit of typical crumbly, brown colluvium [100]. The wall core comprised a mixed mass of irregular shaped blocks and fragments of limestone used as fill between the wall faces (see Fig. 13.3). Larger pieces appear to have been used to reinforce the outer edges with smaller pieces used as the internal packing. This impression is similar to that observed in gaps within the wall during the 2001 wall survey.

In the trench along the interior edge of the wall, which to a large extent covered the return of the thickened gate itself, some extremely large wall-fallen boulders were removed from the colluvial deposit. Not far below the surface, a deposit [103] of (mostly smaller) stones spread

out from the wall line for c. 0.50 m. Beyond this, and overlying it, was a comparatively stone-free colluvial soil [102] c. 0.70 m wide. The stony layers represent the fall of components from the wall and the superjacent deposit of downslope eroded material trapped behind (Fig. 13.9). The stone-free colluvial soil [102] was removed to reveal the continuation of the deposit of smaller stones [103] below, extending progressively further out from the wall. In turn, the smaller stones deposit [103] was excavated down to a deposit entirely similar to, and the stratigraphic equivalent of, the thick dark brown layer [105].

At this point, the number of stones present thinned out substantially, indicating a period before the wall began to fall apart, and providing further support for the thick dark brown layer [105] being a pre-wall deposit. Beneath the thick dark brown layer [105], the red clay [108] appeared

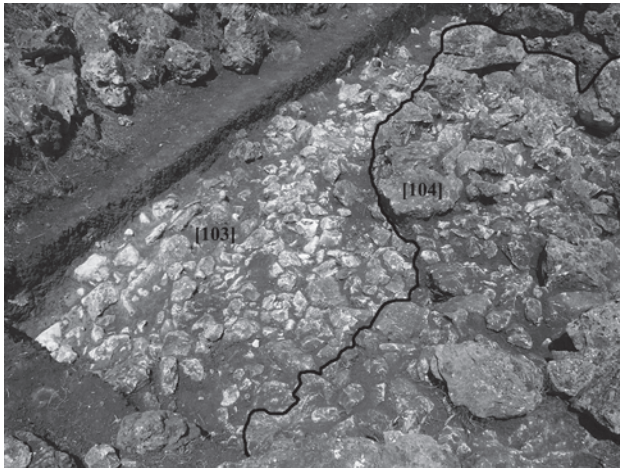


Figure 13.9. The west wall bastion of the southern gate with wall collapse and eroded elements behind it (BF archive)

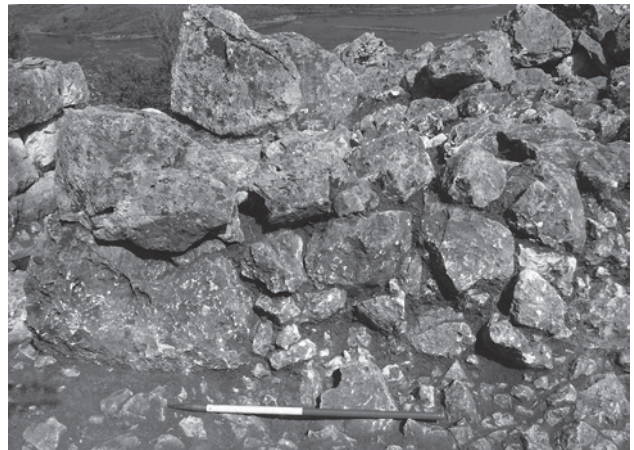


Figure 13.10. Internal wall face of the southern gate (BF archive)

overlying fractured limestone bedrock [111]. Again, the impression was that the deposit was most likely derived from natural processes.

The excavation on the west side of the gate bastion showed unequivocally that the face of the internal wall was constructed from unfinished or unfaced blocks (Fig. 13.10). In places, the outer stones have fallen off, and the core is exposed. Elsewhere, more substantial, rough blocks remain in position. Clearly, presenting an imposing wall face inside the enceinte was not a concern. It is noticeable that many smaller stones are used in the internal face of the wall, and, unlike the smaller components visible on the outside of the wall, these are all unfinished. At the corner of the entrance two large stones survive. Beyond these to the west any attempt at coursing is abandoned in a jumble of small components.

At its western end, rather than returning in a right-angle to the wall, the gate bastion appears to take a diagonal line. However, it should be noted that this impression is gained (falsely) due to the collapse of the facing of the bastion and that an original right-angled return remains the more likely form of its original construction. At the point where the bastion re-joins the wall there appears to be a line of medium-sized stones running both north–south through the otherwise small-grade rubble core and preserved at the base of the collapsed material [103]. This supports the notion of a right-angled bastion corner and may represent the western line of additional fortification of the gateway bastion. The larger-than-average amount of rubble on the slope in front of the gate may suggest that the walls here had once been more substantial to reinforce the gateway. Alternatively, a timber fortification could possibly have been constructed over the gate to help safeguard the entrance.

The Approach to the Gate

In the front of the gate, an uneven step c. 0.60 m high was exposed, comprised of two courses of blocks (Fig. 13.11).



Figure 13.11. Step at the entrance to the southern gate (BF archive)

These can also be seen in Ugolini's photograph (see Fig. 3.9) much as they appear today. On the west side, the stones fit fairly closely together, but to the east, smaller packing stones are used to fill gaps. The stones are poorly faced and not laid with the precision seen elsewhere in the wall circuit. The central stone at the top of the step is quite smooth (as though with wear), but its position 0.15–0.20 m lower than those on either side suggests that a stone to level the step may have been lost. It is notable that probable steps are included in both of the gates on the east side of the wall circuit (P1 and P2). The step is built inside the mouth of the gate, recessed 0.30–0.35 m in from the southern face of the defensive wall. After it was inserted, soil fill was incorporated behind it to form the base of the gateway ramp (this material was not excavated to avoid undermining the step). It is clear that the step was an integral feature of the original gateway. Its height suggests that it performed a defensive function

and quite possibly that it worked in conjunction with a door (see below).

Limited clearance in front (south) of the gate established the remains of a second step below the inserted step described above (see Figs 13.2 and 13.3). The second step is in line with the bedrock, which forms the foundation for the eastern side of the gate but is slightly forward of the bedrock on the western side. The base of the second step also appears to be bedrock, cut to shape. The (south-facing) face presented is fairly roughly cut. The front of the second step is c. 0.70 m south from the face of the upper step. The second step was overlaid by a fairly loose deposit of limestone chips in a reddish-brown clay matrix, different from the typical hillwash. This material appeared to continue beneath the upper step. Almost identical material was found in front of the bedrock-cut step. While the deposit could be some sort of packing to build up the steps, the most plausible interpretation is as a re-deposited 'natural' soil: weathered bedrock washed out from the infilling behind the upper step.

Neither the front (preferable in terms of defence) nor the rear of the gate shows any conclusive evidence for having been equipped with a door. There are no cuts, sockets, holes or marks on the interior of the gateway masonry. The bedrock foundation on the eastern exterior has a squarish hole (cut?) in it, but it seems unlikely that it could have supported a door. In this case the door would have fitted flush against the exterior of the wall, possibly resting on the top of the second step. However, it would be prevented from opening by upstanding bedrock on the west side of the gate. A possible solution might be a gate that could be raised vertically: this could feasibly back on to the face of the first step, rest on top of the second step, and fit snugly within the width of the defensive wall itself.

The slope leading to the southern gate was assessed for additional steps outside the wall to establish whether access here was the same as the approach to the larger of the two eastern gates. A line of stones that could represent a step was recorded at 1.60 m distance from the one cut in the bedrock. This line could, however, simply be formed by soil trapped behind fallen rocks. A more convincing line was observed at 2.70 m from the lower gate step. This included several stones (possibly faced) and numbered c. 11 contiguous elements in its line. They appeared to form a gentle arc in front of the gate, possibly focused toward an approach from the southeast rather than the southwest. A gully runs down to the base of the hill to the southeast that is in part still used as a path up towards the gate today. Avoiding a direct and steep climb, it seems a logical approach, but the original route could conceivably have wound around the lower slopes from almost any point at the base before making its final ascent. The gates on the east side of the circuit were approached from the modern coastline, broadly from the direction of Diaporit. The distance between the two eastern gates (P1 and P2) is c. 325 m, and that between

the large eastern gate (P2) and the southern gate (P3) is c. 275 m. Given that the distance from the south gate to the southwest corner (VI) is c. 230 m, one might anticipate another entrance at some point within the first 100 m or so of the western arm of the defences, despite the wall circuit surviving in too poor and intermittent condition to establish this with certainty.

Dating of the ceramics from the excavation is still uncertain. The assemblage may comprise Bronze Age material or forms that possibly continued into the Albanian Iron Age. The result is clearly of import for the interpretation of the wall and how it functioned. Not the least to explain the undefended northern aspect of the hill where the enceinte never formed a complete enclosure, and to establish how contemporary communities accessed and used the hill. However, the closest parallels for the walls themselves are the Type 8 (and possibly also Type 7) walls identified, for example, by Klavs Randsborg on Kephallonia and Ithaca and now known from the fortified sites in the Thesprotian survey of the Kokytos Valley.⁴ These are characterised by a mixture of shaped and sized polygonal blocks with the inclusion of 'longish' components, and are dated to the 4th century BC, which may place Kalivo's enceinte in the Hellenistic period.

The Acropolis Trench

Condition and Appearance Prior to Excavation

The second area targeted for excavation was within the largest of the extant structures visible at the north end of the acropolis enclosure. It was hoped that ceramic finds in association with *in situ* soils might provide comparative and structural evidence to support the results from the south gate. The entire hilltop is covered with thick thorny bushes and thistles that make observation of the less substantial structures virtually impossible. Mature scrub and vegetation were removed from the area of the building and for c. 5 m around it, and loose stones were removed from the interior of the structure.

The structure comprises a rectangular building with internal measurements of c. 8 × 5 m (Fig. 13.12). It is constructed from cut stones and boulders, and contains at least two unbonded courses, though it is largely destroyed down to a single course. A number of blocks appear to be faced, on both internal and external walls, and may conceivably have been were robbed from the outer defensive wall. Wall width is difficult to estimate due to the generally poor, collapsed condition of the walls. On the western side, where it survives apparently complete, it consists of a single block 0.35 m wide. In places, however, the southern wall can be seen to be two stones wide (probably with rubble core filling in between) and is c. 0.60 m thick. Bedrock exposures are incorporated into the build on the south side and protrude into the interior of the building.

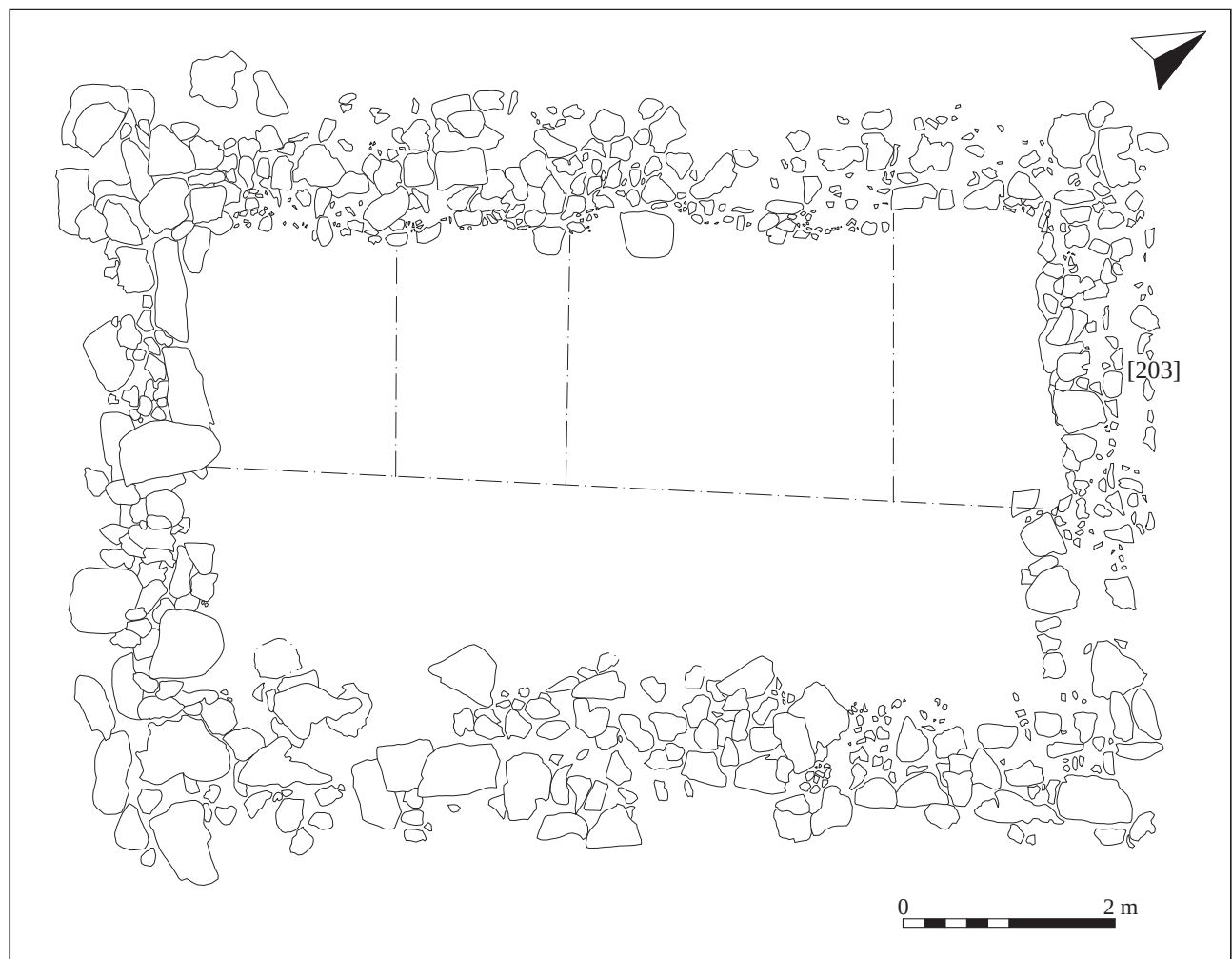


Figure 13.12. Plan of a large structure within the acropolis enclosure (Drawn by Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

The Excavation

The building was sub-divided along its longest, east-west axis and excavation was begun on the northern half. Thin topsoil [201] covered the entire trench. It covered the north edge of the building to a depth of up to 0.30 m, becoming shallower towards the centre (depth of 0.10–0.20 m) and the western wall. This overburden consisted of reddish-brown compacted clay with a few small stones. A small number of soft, thin-walled pottery sherds in yellow and red fabrics – possibly Hellenistic in date – were found. Numerous roof and floor tile fragments in a pale yellowish fabric, including one large, almost complete, tegula, were also collected. These came primarily from the lowest part of the topsoil in the central third of the trench and were nearly all lying flat, some side-by-side, at approximate wall base level, indicating that they were re-used as part of a floor surface. The advanced state of disintegration made it difficult to establish the true original line of the northern wall; a line of apparently vertical stones was revealed in excavation, but these may have slipped from the wall rather than represent facing stones. Where the north wall was more positively exposed, it included many smaller

stones, which are probably packing stones from the core between two lines of facing stones.

Beneath the topsoil, a deposit of compact red clay [202] was exposed over all of the eastern and most of the western side of the excavation, with bedrock showing through in parts of the western third of the interior. Two sections aligned north–south were established to investigate the deposit further. Firstly, a section c. 1.30 m wide was dug against the east wall (Fig. 13.13). This was cut to expose the base of a small section of intact coursing surviving on the east side. The aim here was to establish its relationship to the compact red clay [202], and to gain a complete elevation. Here, the red clay [202] produced a small number of pottery sherds with a distinct greenish core of apparently prehistoric date (Fig. 13.5).

These finds suggest that the deposit may represent later Bronze or Iron Age soil development, or at least that it formed whilst humans were active in the area. Dispersal of the ceramics through the deposit indicates that it is unlikely to be intrusive. The red clay was cut by the eastern wall; the base of the lowest surviving course was exposed, and the red soil continued beneath it. At the southern end, bedrock

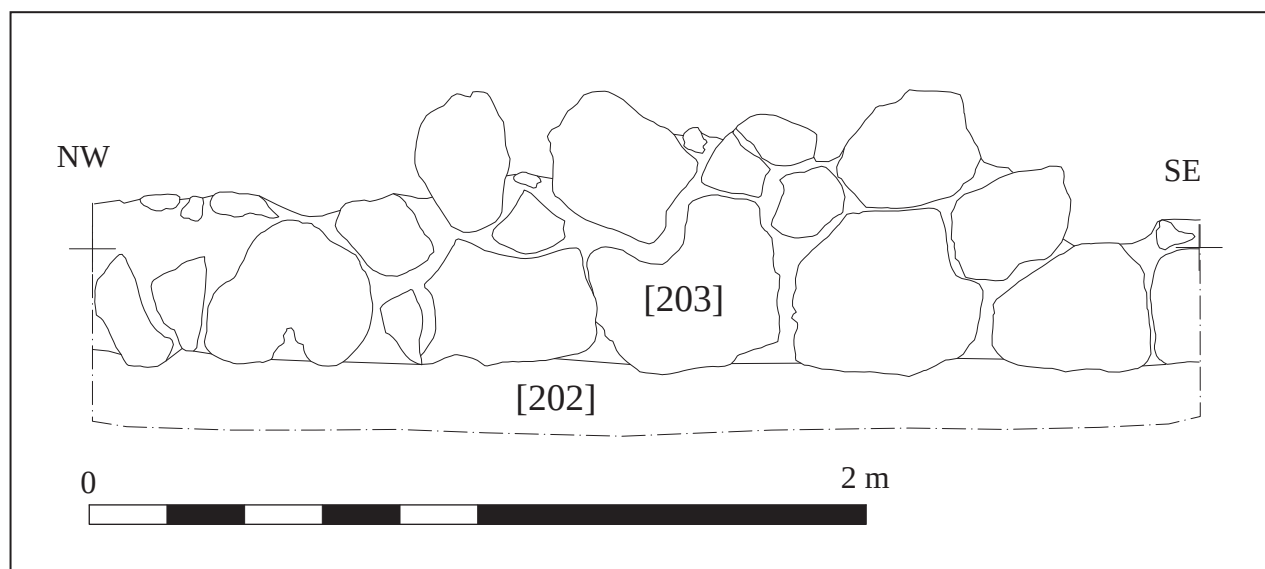


Figure 13.13. Detail of the coursing of wall 203 in the structure on the acropolis (Andrew Crowson/BF archive)

was exposed comprising small fractured limestone pieces. Secondly, a trench was dug on the western central side of the structure and against the north wall. Here, the red clay deposit [202] was excavated to c. 0.20 m below the base of the wall demonstrating that it extended beneath it. Close to the south section edge, the red clay overlay a dark deposit situated in, between and over fragmented bedrock. The dark soil represented the weathering and degradation of the bedrock itself. The 'natural' on the acropolis was similar to that recorded in the southern gate trench: predominantly large upstanding bedrock elements, with fractured smaller pieces in soil developed from eroding limestone elsewhere.

Over the western third of the interior, substantial exposures of bedrock were recorded with brown silty material in-between. The top of the bedrock approximates to what appears to be the base of the wall in the area of the northwest corner, i.e. to the probable floor level. The appearance of bedrock close to the modern surface suggests considerable erosion of overlying deposits and may indicate that there has been previous excavation within (at least this part of) the building. This is scarcely surprising, since it is the most visible structure on the acropolis.

The discovery of prehistoric ceramics in the red clay [202] suggests that this deposit formed at some period from the Bronze Age onwards. It should be noted, however, that it is the product of natural accumulation rather than deliberate deposition. Its marked similarity to the red clay [108] recorded in the southern gate excavation may indicate a similar period of formation for that deposit. As the acropolis building was cut through/set into the red clay deposit [202], the ceramics provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. The later pottery from the topsoil may suggest that the structure was re-used over time, possibly in the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. Certainly, the structure and the walls to its south are rather more ancient and significant than the shepherd's enclosure proposed

by an earlier survey made by the Butrint Foundation in 1995–1996.⁵

The structure is the most important of the individual buildings thus far discovered on Kalivo. Its use of substantial materials is unparalleled elsewhere on the acropolis and its survival can be attributed to this as well as to possibly being better maintained or re-used. Its position at the northern head of the enclosure affords commanding views across the whole of Lake Butrint and along the Vivari Channel, past Butrint, towards the Straits of Corfu. Since it appears to lie outside (built against or into) the acropolis enclosure wall, its original function may have included observation and communication. Its comparatively strong build indicates that the structure was fortified and served as the principal defence on the north side, possibly even controlling an entrance or gate at this point. In addition, the internal space it provided – larger than any other building identified on the acropolis – could possibly have been used for accommodation, perhaps for the most influential or eminent member of the community.

The small assemblage of Attic and Hellenistic pottery may represent the first periods of concentrated settlement activity on the acropolis, with contemporary constructions possibly obliterating evidence of earlier prehistoric occupation (see Appendix). If the low remains visible today represent a defended Epirote Hellenistic period settlement, then they clearly influence the interpretation not just of the origin of the hilltop enclosure as a whole, the other structures within the enclosure and the building lines that cover the hillsides, but also the impression of the regional significance and status of Kalivo and the role it played in the contemporary landscape. Given its prominent position at the head of the Vrina (Kestrine) Plain and the point where the Vivari Channel opens into Lake Butrint, Kalivo must always have been a desirable location for settlement or garrison. This is to some extent borne out

by the incidence of post-Hellenistic ceramics, including Roman and Medieval wares. From these finds it can be suggested that occupation of Kalivo endured, and the hill remained as an important constituent of the settlement pattern of the post-ancient countryside of Butrint.

Addendum

Five small, 2 × 1 m soundings were excavated on the hilltop in 2007. No stratified deposits were discovered. However, 200 sherds of Bronze Age or Early Iron Age sherds were recovered.⁶

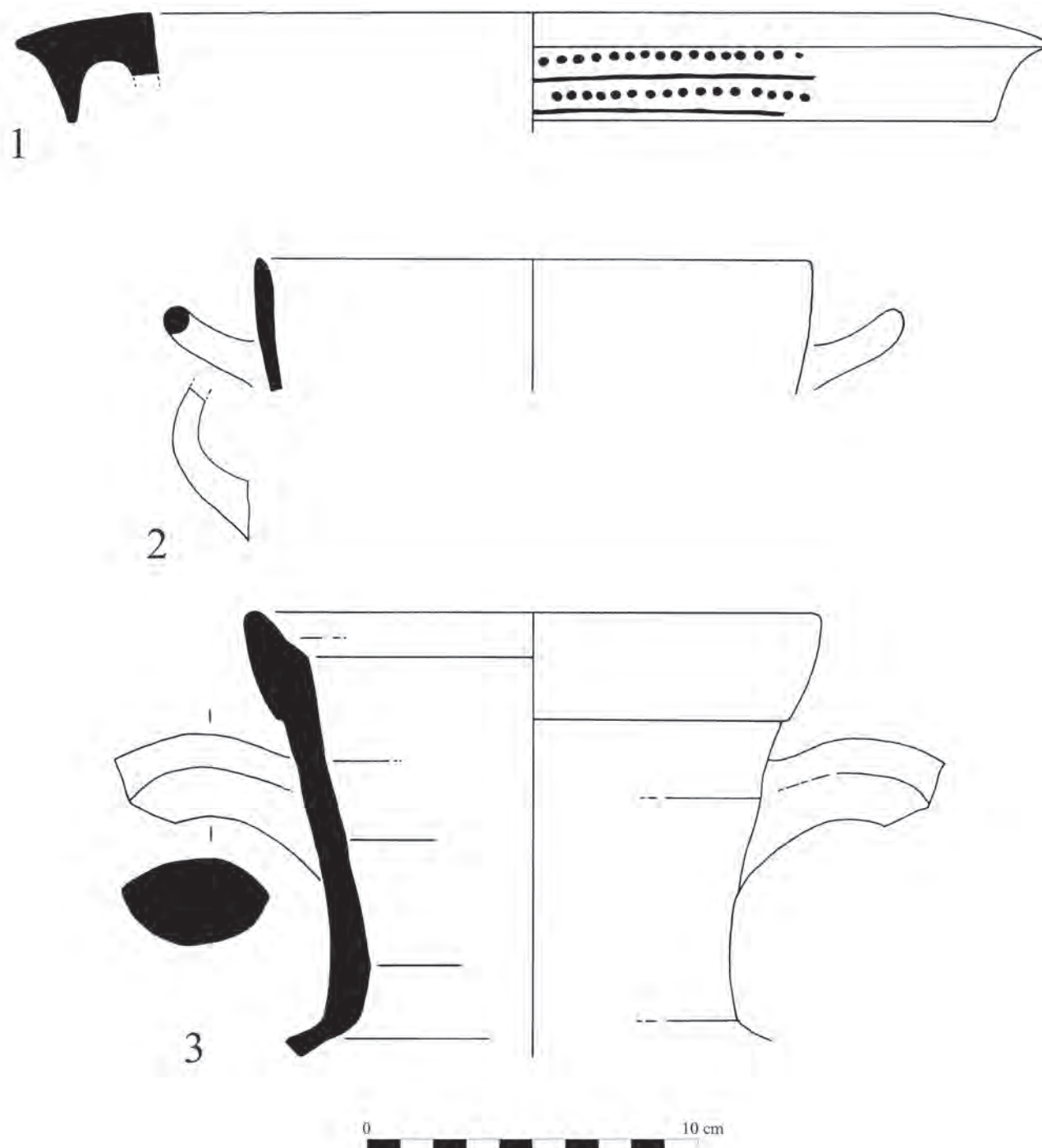


Figure 13.14. Profile illustration of column crater rim (1), skyphos rim (2), and amphora (3) (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

Appendix: Notes on Diagnostic Pottery from the 2004 Kalivo Excavations (Fig. 13.14)

By Paul Reynolds and Nadia Aleotti

1. Rim of column crater.
Date: c. mid-5th century BC
Description: Attic column crater with inner rim diameter 22 cm. Good quality silky, a little 'smoky', black glaze over a pale red 'miltos' coat (notably visible where the outer rim face is left unslipped but bears a decoration of horizontal lines and dots). Well fired with a dark orangy brown fabric.
2. Rim of skyphos with associated handle.
Date: c. 5th century BC
Description: Attic skyphos with rim diameter c. 16 cm. The handle does not join but may be associated with the same vessel. However, the handle could belong to a kylix or a cup. The rim has a thin coat of shiny, smooth black glaze. With the exception of one wall fragment where the coat is preserved on both sides, the handle fragment and two other rim fragments present a far more worn slip, in the latter case the slip is entirely worn off the outer surface. Fine fabric, dark yellow ochre to very pale orange. Mica dust.
3. Amphora.
Date: probably 4th century BC
Description: Greek amphora with rim diameter 18 cm. Tall convex rim with bevelled-angled lid seat.

The neck is markedly flared. A wide convex handle springs abruptly from the mid neck area. The vessel is lightweight, with a soft, porous pale greenish yellow fabric that leaves colour to the touch. Some fragments of perhaps tiles (or architectural fragments) bearing moulded decoration also excavated at Kalivo share this fabric. It is possible that it is a Kerkyraian Corinthian Type B amphora of the (second half/late) 4th century BC.⁷

Notes

- 1 For the excavations at Diaporit, see Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002, 209–218; Bowden and Pärzhita 2004a.
- 2 The many mussel shell fragments seen during vegetation clearance could suggest that the burnt clay originates from shepherds (or other visitors) cooking meals of mussels.
- 3 Examples of special ceramic deposition are known from northern Europe where the practice is believed to have been current throughout the later Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The demarcation of territorial and spiritual boundaries appears to represent a significant element in the selection of sites for such deposits. See Cleal 1984, 148–151; Healy 1995, 175; Brück 2001, 150.
- 4 Randsborg 2002, vol. 2, 216–221; Suha 2009; 2016; Tzortzatou and Fatsiou 2009.
- 5 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004, 51–52.
- 6 Lima 2013, 32–34.
- 7 For example, Grace 1979, fig. 42 (left); Agora P 6395, from Deposit D 15: 3, 350–325 BC.

14 A Roman and Venetian Site at Alinura Bay

José C. Carvajal López

Introduction¹

Two campaigns of archaeological fieldwork were undertaken at Alinura Bay, a rectangular inlet angled off of and immediately north of the Vivari Channel (Fig. 14.1). The western side of the bay is formed by the southern finger of the Ksamil Peninsula. The origins of the name of the inlet remain unknown and suggest some relationship to armour. The peninsula itself takes its name today from the Communist period and modern seaside village to the north. The Ksamil Peninsula is hilly with an abrupt and rocky coastline which offers no safe anchorage for ships. Alinura Bay, on the other hand, is a largely enclosed embayment accessed by way of a narrow and presently shallow channel off the mouth of the Vivari Channel

close to the Zog-period Customs House. Communication across the peninsula is easy nowadays thanks to the road that leads from Ksamil to Butrint that was built in 1959.² Before the road, the peninsula would have been crossed by a network of pathways leading around Mount Sotirës to Butrint's northern gates.³

There has only been limited archaeological study of the surroundings of Alinura Bay and the Ksamil Peninsula. Unlike the hinterland of Butrint, where extensive Roman necropoleis have been documented (see, for example, Chapter 8)⁴, the surroundings of Alinura Bay and the Ksamil Peninsula appear to be less connected to Roman Butrint, and there is little evidence to suggest that these were used much in the past or related to the ancient town. The only

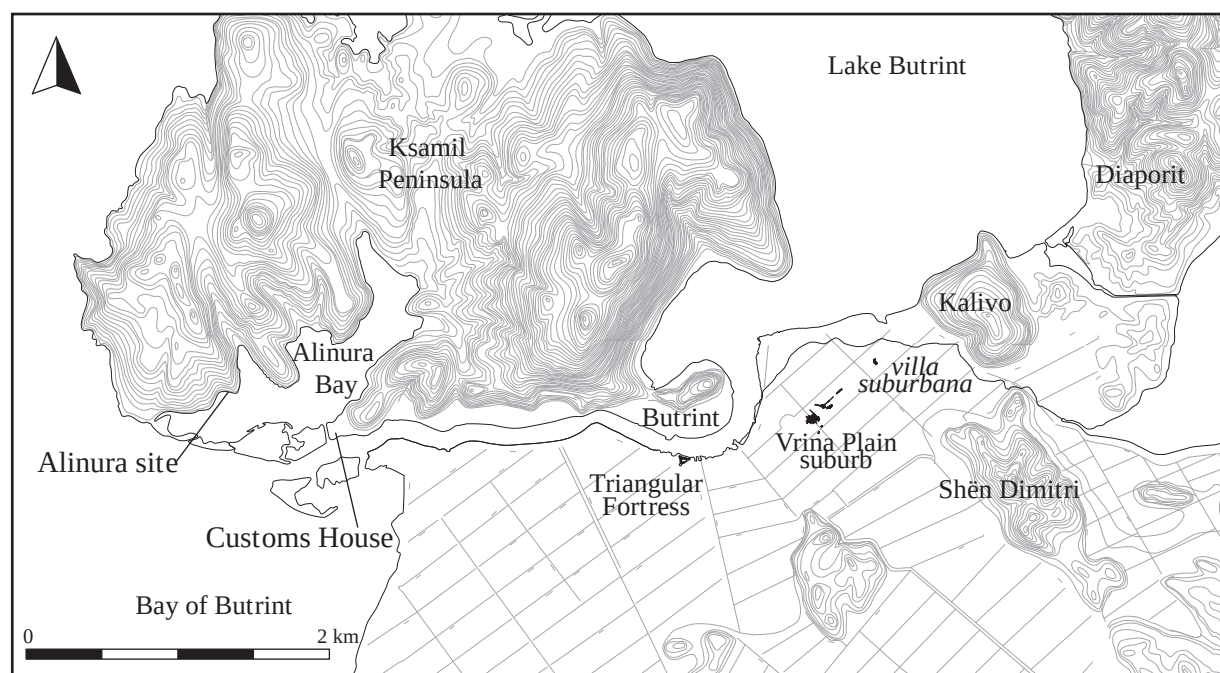


Figure 14.1. Location of the site of Alinura in the lower Vivari Channel (Drawn by Sarah Leppard/BF archive)



Figure 14.2. Detail of Venetian cadastral map made in the 1780s, based on a land survey of 1718, showing Porto d'Armura and the Villa Coperta with 'pozzo' and 'calcara' (MCR80: Museo della Civiltà Romana Archivio, Rome)

exceptions are the discovery of a 5th-century BC burial (cenotaph) at Ksamil and the remains of the possible Roman maritime villa beside the 1930s Customs House located at the mouth of the Vivari Channel (see Chapter 15).⁵ Besides this, the main source of archaeological information for this area of the Ksamil Peninsula was a survey conducted in 2010 to locate Venetian and Ottoman remains shown on a Venetian cadastral map of the 1780s, based on a land survey of 1718 (Fig. 14.2).⁶

The map describes the bay as *Porto d' Armura* and depicts two locations with a *pozzo* (well) as well as, close by, a *calcara* (a lime kiln?) on the shore. These are on the northeast shore and a second on the west shore of the bay. Roads connect the *pozzo* on the northeast shore to settlements to the north as well as to the mouth of the bay beside the later Customs House where the church of St. Erin is noted. Set back from the bay, the Villa Coperta occupies the highest point on the peninsula overlooking the Straits of Corfu. Survey in 2010 showed that the ensemble of remains comprised tower houses as well as fortifications.⁷ The settlement was connected by a road to the *pozzo* and *calcara* beside Alinura Bay and a tower described as Torre della Guarnizione on the high ground separating Alinura Bay from Ksamil Bay. Identified in the survey of 2010, the tower exists still as ruins with walls

in some places standing to a height of 3 m. None of these features appear on Guillemot's map of 1826 or the survey by the *HMS Firefly* of 1863.⁸

The 2010 archaeological survey discovered a site on the west side of Alinura Bay which may have been associated with the *pozzo* depicted on the cadastral map of the 1780s. The surface remains were initially thought to be part of a Roman settlement, possibly a small farm or *villa rustica*.⁹ The pottery found in the survey, however, embraces a broad timeframe, which includes the Hellenistic, Roman and later Medieval periods.

In 2012, a geophysical survey was undertaken under the joint supervision of Colin Merrony (University of Sheffield) and myself. The results of a resistivity survey showed two main anomalies in the area defined by a scatter of potsherds: one to the east was interpreted as undefinable noise, whereas the other, in the west, was tentatively interpreted as the remains of a building (Fig 14.3). Both anomalies were detected at shallow depths, at around 50 cm.¹⁰ This result, combined with the presence of outcrops of limestone bedrock in the northeast part of the site, suggested that any archaeological remains lay at a depth of no more than half a metre.

Archaeological excavation of the site was undertaken in July 2014 under the supervision of Dhimitër Çondi and myself, with the specific aim of determining if the anomalies identified in the geophysical survey were due to the presence of archaeological remains and, if so, to identify their date, function and condition. Two trenches (each initially 5 m × 5 m in area), designated as I and II, were excavated to examine respectively the east and west anomalies.

Trench I

After the removal of the first layer, Trench I was divided into two parts, and the excavation began on the eastern part (Fig.14.4). Under a succession of layers, the excavation exposed two walls. One of them in the southern part of the trench, roughly in east–west direction survives up to one course above trench-cut foundations [wall 1028 bis] (Fig. 14.5). A second wall [1036] emerged from the eastern edge of the trench; it lay on the same alignment as the first wall, and ended after 80 cm. Both walls were made with small stones and bonded with earth or clay, a technique employed in the later Middle Ages and earlier Venetian periods at Butrint.¹¹ These walls overlay an upper earthen surface [1009] and a lower earthen surface [1021] separated by a thick deposit containing Roman material [1020].

Arriving at surface 1021, as there was no sign of bedrock and the excavation was around 1 m deep, it was decided that the excavation should continue only in the northern quadrant of Trench I. Here, underneath the lower earthen surface [1021], deposits rich with potsherds and small finds were discovered [1022 and 1023] that led us to divide the area in to two parts.

Finally, the bedrock was reached at a depth of about

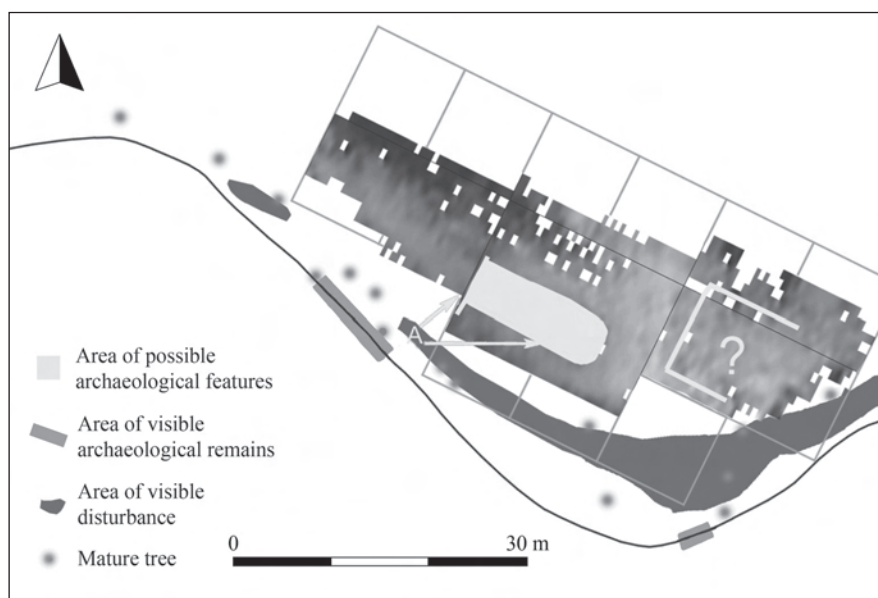


Figure 14.3. Greyscale plot showing the results of the resistivity survey, overlaid onto the site topography, with the two areas of possible archaeological features (high resistance) indicated (Drawn by Colin Merrony and José C. Carvajal López)

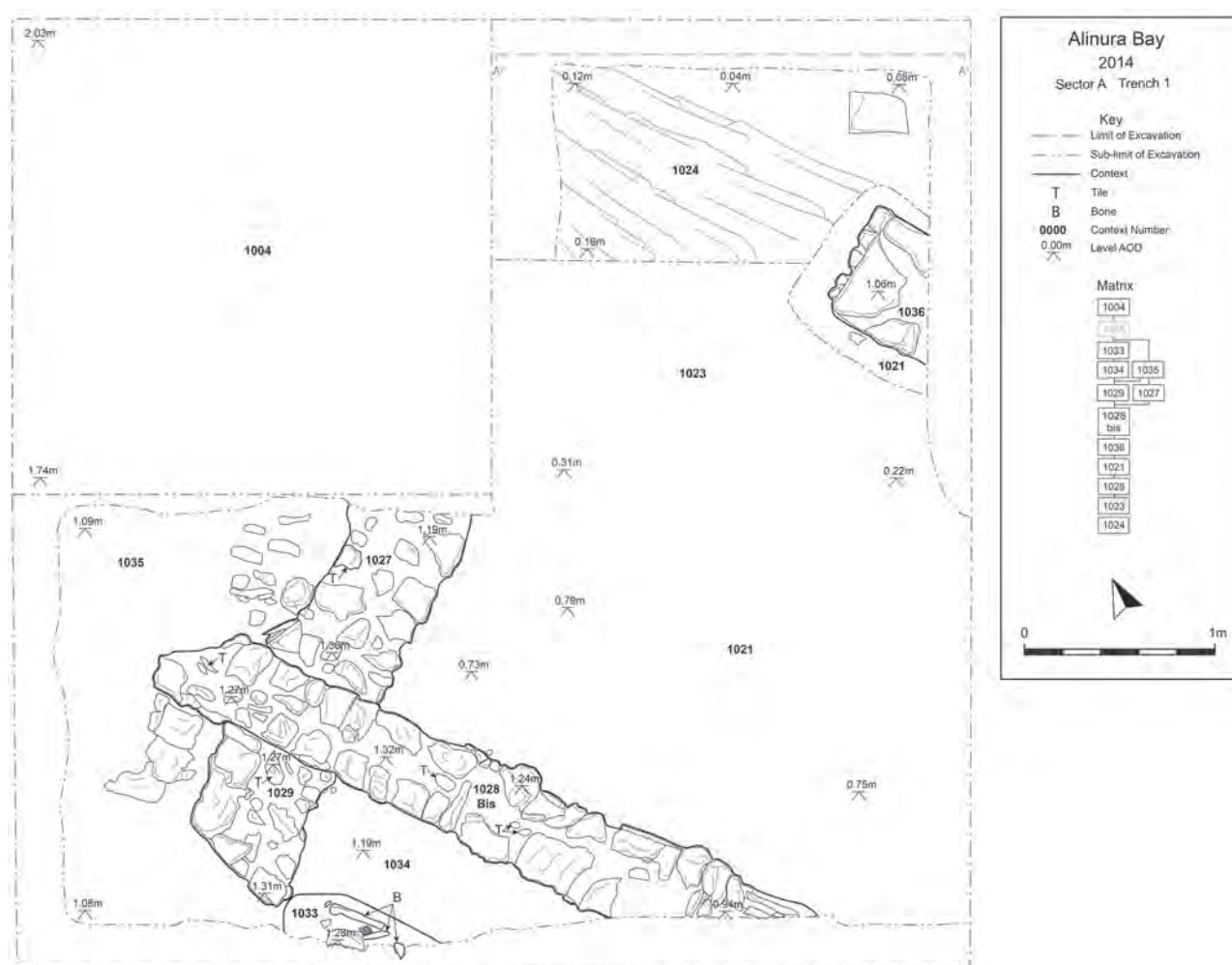


Figure 14.4. Plan of Trench I (Drawn by José C. Carvajal López)



Figure 14.5. Trench I showing wall 1028 (top), viewed to the southwest (Photo by José C. Carvajal López)

1.8 m from the surface, which is equivalent to the water level of the lake.

Once the bedrock was reached, we focused on the area close to the remains of wall 1028 *bis*. The southern part of the unexcavated western half of Trench I was opened with the aim of discovering the continuation of the abovementioned wall. Wall 1028 *bis* continued for about 1.5 m before ending for no apparent reason. No evidence was found to explain what occurred to the missing section of the wall. The rest of the trench brought to light walls 1027 and 1029, abutting wall 1028 *bis* at right-angles to the north and to the south, respectively. Both were in a poor state of preservation but appeared as part of a later structure(s) at a higher level than 1028 *bis*, but of which 1028 *bis* continued to be a part. Associated with these walls were hard-beaten earth surfaces [Contexts 1034 and 1035]. Cut into surface 1034, at the southern end of the trench, was a shallow grave containing the disturbed and fragmentary remains of a human skeleton [1033]. The skeleton was buried lying on her/his back and appeared to have its hands over the chest. The presence of sherds of Italian polychrome sgraffito in the fill of the grave suggests that it dates to the later 15th or 16th century AD.¹²

The archaeological remains of this trench contained at least eight phases including a modern abandonment phase. The earliest phase lacked any features; the layers contained later Hellenistic ceramics and is perhaps downwash from

a nearby household. This was overlain by a beaten-earth floor [1021], which judging from the finds in the layer overlying it, dates to the early Imperial period. The surface was associated with flakes and pieces of chipped stone. The layer sealing floor 1021 [1020] contained 21 small finds, mostly iron nails, but also a coin, a worn bronze *as* bearing the name of the Emperor Nerva, dating to AD 96-98 (though thought to have been minted until AD 115). This, in turn, was overlain by another earthen surface [1009] associated with later Roman pottery and a significant number of small finds, notably lead weights presumably for nets (Fig. 14.6). Much later, probably in the 15th or 16th centuries, judging from the associated polychrome potsherds, occupation was renewed here with a building or enclosures made of earth-bonded walls aligned east-west [1028 *bis*; 1036]. Walls 1027 and 1029 abutting 1028 *bis* at a higher level indicate that there was almost certainly more than one period of construction associated with at least two levels of earthen surfaces [1034; 1035]. The building(s) may have had a timber roof as the layers overlying these surfaces were notable for numerous iron nails. With the abandonment of the site, a shallow inhumation grave was cut into the uppermost surface [1033]. The exact date of this inhumation could not be determined but is likely to belong to the late Venetian period. No evidence was found of more modern activity at the site and it was probably abandoned.

In all the layers, a total of 72 small finds were retrieved,



Figure 14.6. Lead weights from Context 1009 (Photo by José C. Carvajal López)

comprising iron nails, several tubular lead weights (presumably for fishing nets: Fig. 14.6) and several fragments of bronze nails and fibulae. Lead weights of this kind have not been found in the excavations at Butrint, though fishing hooks and netting-shuttles, absent in these Alinura Bay excavations, did occur in the Triconch Palace excavations as well as lead pieces that might have served as net weights.¹³

Trench II

Trench II provided results in line with those expected before excavation (Fig. 14.7). Bedrock was discovered at a depth of 70–80 cm; the deposit immediately over the bedrock [1011] seemed to have been prepared as a surface of some kind, judging from the finds, in the Venetian period. A shallow pit [1015], some 50 cm deep, had been excavated in the northwest of the trench and was enclosed within shallow earth-bonded, retaining walls [1016, 1017 and 1018]. It is unclear if the pit was ever used, as it seems to have been backfilled with debris from its own excavation. Towards the south, what appears to be the remains of another earth-bonded wall [1019] were found.

To understand better the preparation of the area, the southern part was excavated down to bedrock. This shows that the preparation of the surface included the filling of sizeable natural cavities in the rock with fragments of ancient tiles (from Hellenistic or Roman periods).

As in Trench I, sherds of Hellenistic pottery were found, suggesting a habitation in the vicinity. The excavated features, including the prepared stone surface and the shallow pit retained by walling, probably belong to the

Venetian period, judging by the associated ceramics and are probably the result of some small-scale artisanal activity such as preparation of lime.

Conclusions

The excavations confirmed the approximate configurations of the site in relation to the shoreline of Alinura Bay. The archaeological potential of the western part of the site as defined is low, as the bedrock is close to the surface. However, in the eastern part of the site, the potential for archaeological remains is notably higher, since the bedrock is located at a greater depth (though close to the water table). It appears that the fraction of the site that is above the water level is larger than expected and can be excavated in the future.

The excavations suggest that a later Hellenistic habitation lay close to this shoreline of the bay that, as at Diaporit on Lake Butrint (see Chapter 19), was succeeded by an early Roman habitation of some kind. Unfortunately, only a floor surface and a likely abandonment level, probably dating to the early 2nd century AD, were found. The size and function of the Roman settlement could not be determined, and so its relationship to Butrint remains unclear. As at Diaporit, the same footprint of this settlement was reoccupied in Late Antiquity. Again, its size and function could not be determined.

The site was reoccupied much later in the Venetian period by structures made of earth-bonded walls, such as occur in Butrint, with beaten-earth floors. Close by, in Trench II, remains of some simple artisanal activity were found that were likely associated with the structures.

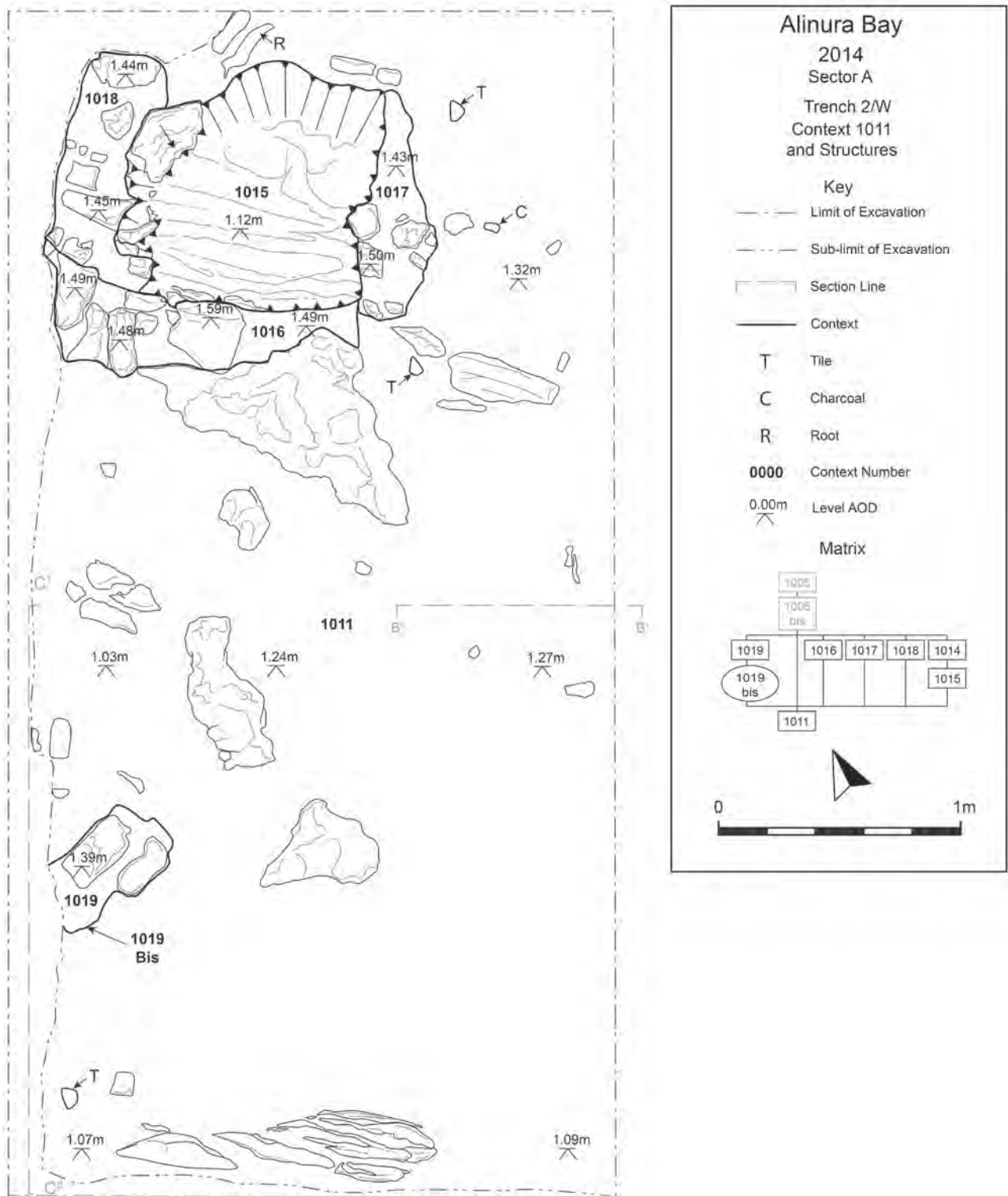


Figure 14.7. Plan of Trench II at the level of Context 1011 (Drawn by José C. Carvajal López)

Finally, almost certainly after the abandonment of the site, a shallow grave was cut into the latest floor level, similar to the solitary graves that occur in the latest (Medieval) phases of the so-called Triconch Palace.

The limited settlement evidence for the ancient site here resembles the sequence at Diaporit (Chapter 19). However,

there are no structural remains to indicate this was a *villa rustica* of any kind. Rather, this appears to be a small-holding, possibly associated with fishing. By contrast, the structural evidence for a later Medieval, Venetian-period property here, suggests that this was a farm-house of some kind, constructed with earth-bonded walls similar

to the three late Medieval houses excavated in the Roman forum area of Butrint.¹⁴ The building appears to have had at least two phases and, based on the cadastral map of the 1780s, had its own well – the *pozzo* – and possibly its own lime-making operations – the *calcara*. The relationship of this shore-side site to the Villa Coperta on the top of the Ksamil promontory needs to be established to determine if the property on the bay was a dependency of the villa. Curiously, no evidence was found of rubble from the abandonment and destruction of the building. The absence of any indication of the property in the 1780s suggests that it had long since been forgotten, possibly deserted after the Ottoman army camped at Butrint in 1537. Some memory of it almost certainly existed as is suggested by the solitary inhumation grave found cut in the latest phase of the building.

In sum, the survey and trial excavations show that Alinura Bay and its surroundings were marginal localities in the long history of Butrint, quite different to the intensive sequence of occupation along the Vivari Channel, on the Vrina Plain and in the Pavllas River Valley.¹⁵

Notes

1 My thanks to the Butrint Foundation and UCL Qatar and the enthusiastic support of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, the Butrint National Park, the Centre for Albanological Studies and the Butrint Heritage Centre for supporting these excavations. Many kind people made the project possible:

my thanks specially to Benen Hayden, Kostas Alexiou, Marcos García García, Erjona Qila, Paul Reynolds, Colin Merrony and Prof. Dhimitër Çondi. Samantha Garwood and Javier Gómez Marín were excellent archaeologists in the excavation, and I had the fortune to count upon the support of impressively helpful friends, students and workers from all over Albania. Of these, I would like to make special mention of Liri and Mirgen Shametaj, Smirald Kola and Gentiar Shori.

2 Hodges, Bowden, Gilkes and Lako 2004, 7.

3 Martin 2004, 81–82.

4 Hernandez and Mitchell 2013.

5 Hernandez 2017a, 254–256.

6 Carvajal *et al.* 2011.

7 Carvajal *et al.* 2011.

8 Lane 2004, fig. 3.7 and fig. 3.6, respectively.

9 Carvajal *et al.* 2011, 11.

10 Carvajal López and Merrony 2013.

11 Hernandez 2019, 378–389; Bowden and Përzhita 2004b, 199, fig. 10.31.

12 Vroom 2004, 288; fig. 15.30; 2005, 142–143.

13 Galili, Rosen and Sharvit 2002, 184, fig. 2; Galili, Zemer and Rosen 2013, 151, fig. 8. For the finds from the Triconch Palace excavations at Butrint: Mitchell 2020, 174–176, cat. 2–4, fig. 8.5.2 as well as 142, fig. 8.2–37.

14 Hernandez 2019, 378–389. Also note the 16th-century earth-bonded wall discovered near the Baptistery in Butrint which appears to have been some kind of property or enclosure wall: Bowden and Përzhita 2004b, 199, fig. 10.31.

15 For further excavations of this site, see: Çondi, Qilla, Shametaj and Kaçi 2016.

15 A Possible Roman Villa at the Customs House

Andrew Crowson

The Customs House is situated on the north bank close to the present entrance to the Vivari Channel. It lies almost opposite Ali Pasha's castle located on the south side of the channel (Fig. 14.1). The precise date of the Customs House is not known. It is likely to have been built in the later 1920s or 1930s when, during King Zog's reign, visitors started to come to Butrint by boat from Saranda or from Corfu to hunt in the marshes here. A building of this kind appears on a high-level 1943 RAF air photograph, which also appears to show fish weirs in front of it (Fig. 15.1).¹ Being a liminal place close to Albania's southwest border, the terraces rising behind the building were fortified in the Communist period with bunkers and concrete-lined trenches. The Customs House was abandoned in 1997.

A Venetian cadastral map of the 1780s, based on a land survey of 1718 shows the chapel or church of St. Erin to be located approximately at this point, one of several later Medieval or Venetian churches along the north side of the Vivari Channel (Fig. 14.2).²

Masonry remains of several Roman buildings can be seen in the faces of crumbling Communist-period agricultural terraces to the northeast of the Customs House on the north bank at the mouth of the Vivari Channel (Figs 15.2 and 15.3). The Communist field terraces are composed of either dry stone or rendered brick; the probable Roman walls are mortar-bonded limestone blocks. These remains were recorded on 15 June 2004 for the Butrint Foundation.

The Communist-era terrace walls have either incorporated the Roman-period structures into their line or have been built directly in front of them. The Roman buildings themselves must have been constructed on a series of similarly spaced terraces, overlooking the approach to the Vivari Channel. The modern and ancient terraces are aligned approximately east–west. In three separate places, the modern walls encountered earlier north–south walls and cut through them.

The remains of two rooms or structures can, in part, be seen on the second terrace up from the modern track by the

channel. The westernmost structure (aligned east–west) has a northward return bonded into its east end and the stub remains of a truncated southern wall protruding from its exposed face. The walls are in poor condition with much of the facing stone lost through collapse of the terracing or clipping by the modern terracing. In places the mortared limestone rubble core is frequently exposed. The eastern end stands highest to less than 1 m tall. The walls appear to have originally been well constructed with level courses of limestone blocks. They have suffered from weathering, but some of the lower stones preserve well-finished faces. They are bonded in a hard yellowish mortar with few inclusions.

It is suggested that, along with the structure to the east, these buildings comprised a range of rooms cut into the hill for enhanced perspective when viewed from the Vivari Channel and opposing channel bank. It is uncertain whether the apparent space between them is real or whether it simply represents the space within a room whose front or rear walls are either missing or not exposed.

The easternmost structure is aligned east–west. At each end there are north–south returning walls. Both of these protrude southwards and have been truncated by the Communist-era terrace walls. Again, the earlier walls survive in indifferent condition. The highest remains stand in the centre to 0.80 m high. Both north–south walls have been cut diagonally back. Most of the facing stones on the east side are lost. The resulting void has largely been filled by soil, but some mortared tile and limestone rubble core can be seen. The visible facing is neatly constructed with relatively even coursing using rectangular and square limestone blocks. A single course of flat limestone slabs, characteristic of Roman-period structures in Butrint, was employed here. The stones are set in a yellowish mortar similar to that used in the structure to the west. The east–west wall is bonded into the southern return at its west end but appears to abut the wall at its east end. Moreover, the north–south wall at the east end appears to be curving. It is almost as if it was cut by the Communist-era terrace line just

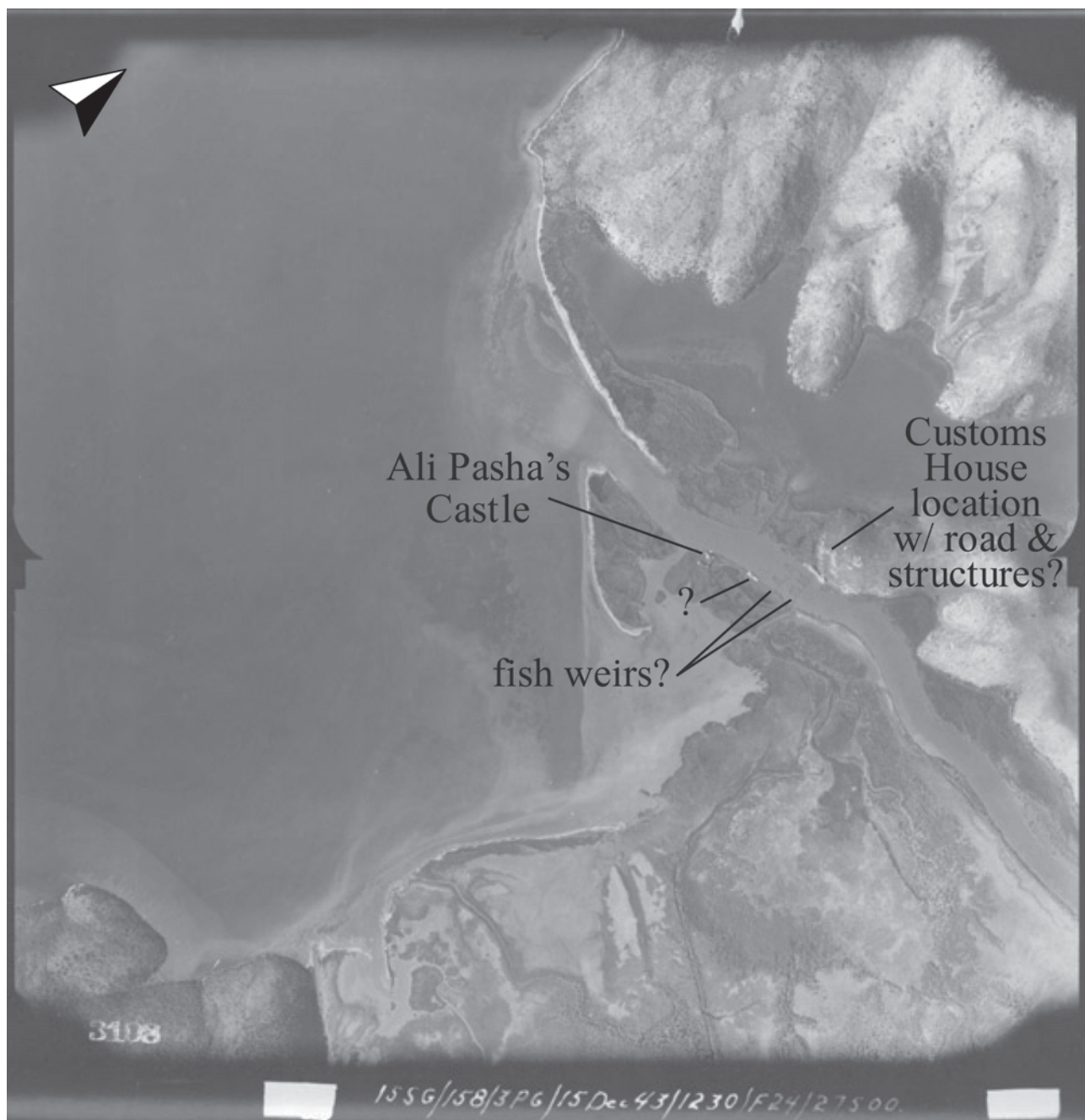


Figure 15.1. Royal Air Force photograph (GB 0172 APA PRJB 3108) taken of the mouth of the Vivari Channel in November 1943 (Crown copyright, 1943/MOD)

south of the apex of the curve. The wall is c. 0.70 m thick and, although little of the curve is exposed, it is sufficient to suggest that it once formed an apse. The wall to its west may therefore bisect the apse and is clearly later in date, perhaps sub-dividing redundant space or reutilising space in the same way small structural modification projects can be seen every generation in the Triconch Palace in Butrint and at the Roman villa at Diaporit (see Chapter 19).

On the third terrace up from the Vivari Channel, the remains of a single building of probable Roman date have been included in a Communist-era terrace wall. The visible

remains comprise the southern face of a small apse that returns and curves to the north at its east end. The apse is on approximately the same line as the apse on the lower terrace described above. At the west end of the wall is a small stub remaining from a north-south wall cut by the modern terracing. The surviving Roman wall is stepped forward c. 0.50 m from the later terrace. The remains stand to c. 1.10 m high. At the east end rubble footings can be seen.

The south facing wall is largely smeared with pale grey mortar, but its constituent materials show through in



Figure 15.2. View of the Customs House and terracing (BF archive)



Figure 15.3. Roman building exposed by Communist-era terracing behind the Customs House (BF archive)

several places. The base of the wall can be seen atop thin rubbly foundations; from the base upwards there are five tile courses. These are succeeded by maybe three somewhat jumbled courses of squarish limestone blocks. There is then another tile course, another of stones and finally two more of tiles to the level (the top of the Communist-era terrace) at which the wall is ruined. The south wall at the west end is bonded into the apse. Its west edge is abutted by the modern terrace wall. Only one or two key stones survived Communist-era truncation. Tiles can be seen in the cut wall which measures c. 0.70 m.

There are some peculiarities on the southern face of the structure. Two stones protrude from the line of the building and there are also two holes in its face. The westernmost stone appears to be secured with a thick application of mortar, placed on top of the original mortar, and the eastern stone appears to be wedged into a hole. Although the two stones and two holes are all at slightly different levels, the whole impression is one of later reuse, perhaps letting in holes to mount some other structure or timberwork.

The structures on the second and third terraces are of distinctly different construction. This may represent different building phases or the different functions of the buildings they represent. The apparent positioning of one

apsidal structure on a terrace directly above another is quite striking. Could these remains be those of the Late Medieval or Venetian chapel of St. Erin shown on the Venetian cadastral map of the 1780s, based on a land survey of 1718 (Fig. 14.2)?

Searching the upper terraces, which have incorporated Communist military trenches, gun emplacements and concrete bunkers, revealed no other evidence of Roman-period structures.

Fragments of Roman tablewares, cooking vessels and amphorae have been incorporated in the walls of the Customs House. Tesserae from mosaic pavements, however, were not found in this surface survey.

The survey evidence suggests a small maritime site, possibly a villa, on Butrint Bay, dating, on the evidence of the ceramics, from the early- to mid-Roman Imperial period, with some later reoccupation of this strategic location.

Notes

- 1 RAF air photograph, GB 0172 APA PRJB 3108.
- 2 Hernandez 2019, 395–403, fig. 38; *cf.* Hernandez and Mitchell 2013, 192.

16 Trial Excavations at the Triangular Fortress, 2014

Illir Parangoni, Oliver J. Gilkes and David Bescoby

Introduction

One of the most significant buildings at Butrint during the Venetian and Ottoman periods was the so-called Triangular Fortress situated on the south side of the present Vivari Channel, opposite the old town (Fig. 16.1). In this short report we will discuss the results of a small excavation programme carried out at this monument during 2014.

The Triangular Fortress was built on a small islet between the forked outlet of the Pavllas River, with one branch running around the western side and a second branch which similarly flowed around the eastern side (Fig. 16.2). The relatively dry land on which the fortress was created probably represents a gravel bank deposited at the point where the Pavllas River debouches into the Vivari Channel,



Figure 16.1. Aerial view of the Triangular Fortress (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)



Figure 16.2. Detail of Venetian cadastral map made in the 1780s, based on a land survey of 1718, showing Butrint, the Triangular Fortress, fish weirs and the mouth of the Pavllas River (MCR80: Museo della Civiltà Romana Archivio, Rome)

a phenomenon suspected and observed elsewhere through geoprospection of the paleoenvironment.¹

The Triangular Fortress comprises a roughly triangular enclosure (Fig. 16.3) within which were a great tower, with a first-floor apartment, on the south or southwest corner as well as two smaller towers built in a very different masonry style on the other corners. There were also internal buildings including a circular building, originally, a store. A main portal led through the southern wall, while a small postern gate, with a carved head of a lion of St. Mark on its keystone, led through the northern wall directly onto the Vivari Channel. An external *redan* on the south side completed the surviving ensemble. Contemporary Venetian plans and maps make it clear that a *ravelin* occupied the position directly outside the main southern gate. A narrow artificial channel was cut along the southeastern wall, effectively forming a second islet to the southeast, separating the defensive *ravelin* earthwork from the wall.

Previous studies of this monument have been mainly focused on describing architectural construction inside and outside the fortress, dividing them into phases dated approximately by their construction techniques.

The significance of Venetian investment at Butrint was first recognised by Luigi Maria Ugolini, the Director of the inter-war Italian Archaeological Mission at Butrint.² No

study, however, was made of the monument until the 1970s, when the Albanian Institute of Monuments undertook a restoration programme of fortifications along the Vivari Channel under the direction of Gjerak Karaiskaj. Karaiskaj identified several construction phases, beginning with a towerless triangular enclosure³ and placed the monument in the context of historical events.⁴ He proposed four main construction phases, the first dating to the 13th–14th centuries AD, the second to the 15th century, the third to the later 16th century, and a final phase belonging to the 17th–18th centuries. This sequence was challenged by a new survey made by the Butrint Foundation in the 1990s, in which it was argued that the southwest tower was part of the original scheme.⁵ In 2004, following the initial survey, the Butrint Foundation made a new record of the fortress using photogrammetry and a geophysical survey.⁶ This gave rise to the small excavations described here made a decade later in 2014, which, in turn, have been followed by a new digital survey accompanied by important, new archival research made by Bevilacqua and his colleagues.⁷

The Geophysical Survey

A geophysical survey using magnetic measurements was undertaken over accessible scrub-covered areas adjacent

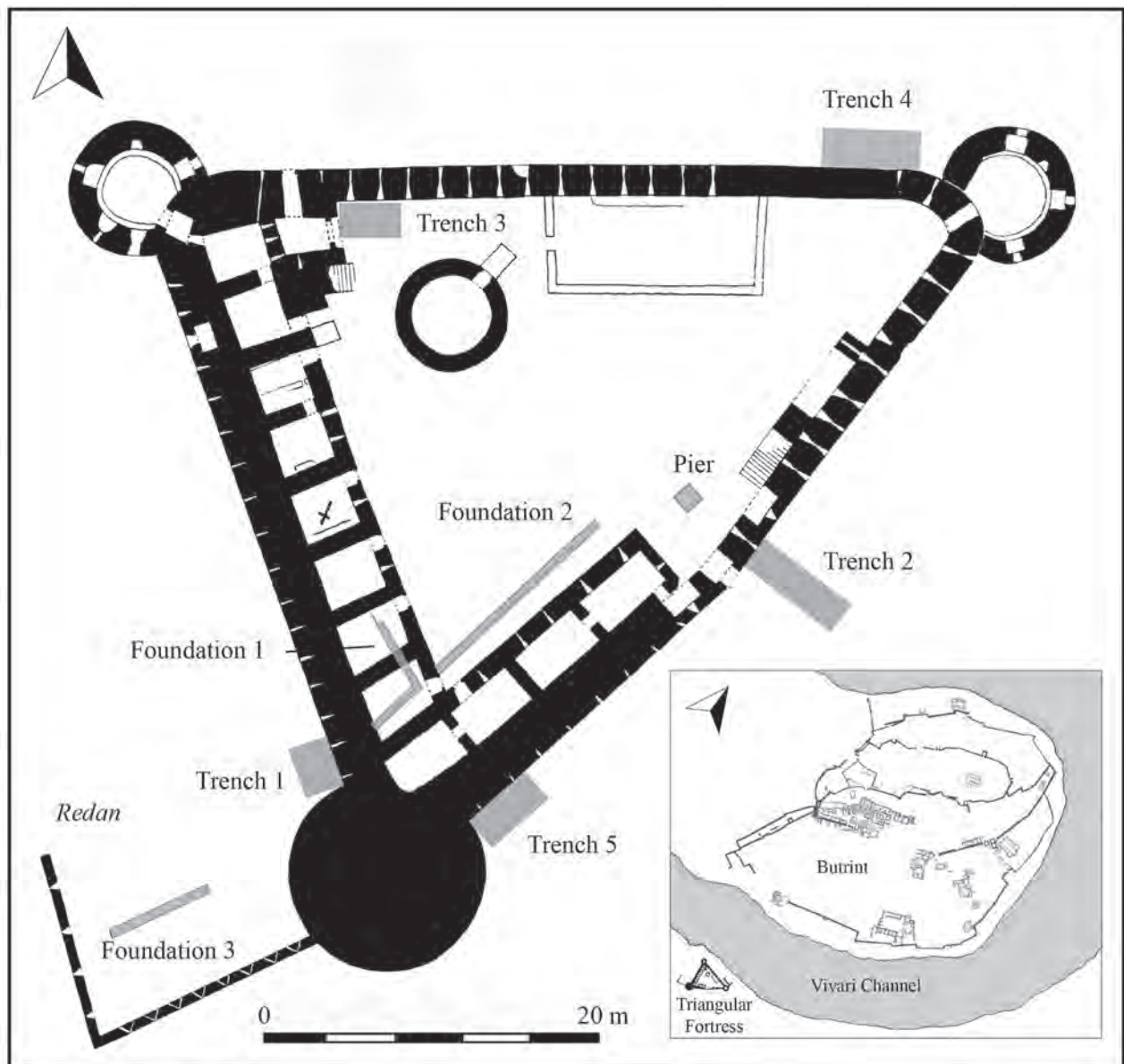


Figure 16.3. Plan of the Triangular Fortress showing trench locations and remains (Drawn by Ilir Parangoni)

to the western and southern fortification walls. The limits of the survey were defined by the location of extant trackways encircling the site and encroaching scrub. The survey aimed to assess the survival of sub-surface archaeological remains and to provide additional data on the former extent of extramural structures abutting the outer walls. As with all geophysical methods, the successful detection of features relies on the contrasting geophysical properties of buried remains and the surrounding burial environment. Magnetometer survey is sensitive to the minute distortions in the earth's magnetic field in the presence of buried objects, producing characteristic dipolar responses. Uniform measurements were made at 0.5 m intervals using a fluxgate magnetometer (gradiometer) and resulting readings plotted as a greyscale map. The results of the survey are shown in Figure 16.4.

The technique is sensitive to masonry building foundations or footings constructed from either 'magnetic' materials, such as fired brick, producing strong positive readings (displayed white in Fig. 16.4), or non-magnetic materials, such as limestone blocks, which produce negatively trending responses, being less magnetic than the surrounding sediment (displayed as black). Such responses are commonly observed at Butrint, where limestone forms the ubiquitous building material. Magnetometer surveys are also sensitive to archaeological features such as pits, ditches, areas of burning and structures relating to heating processes.

It is important to bear in mind that geophysical data represent a palimpsest of past activity, spanning the most recent of events to those of the distant past. This accumulated layering of geophysical responses is perhaps

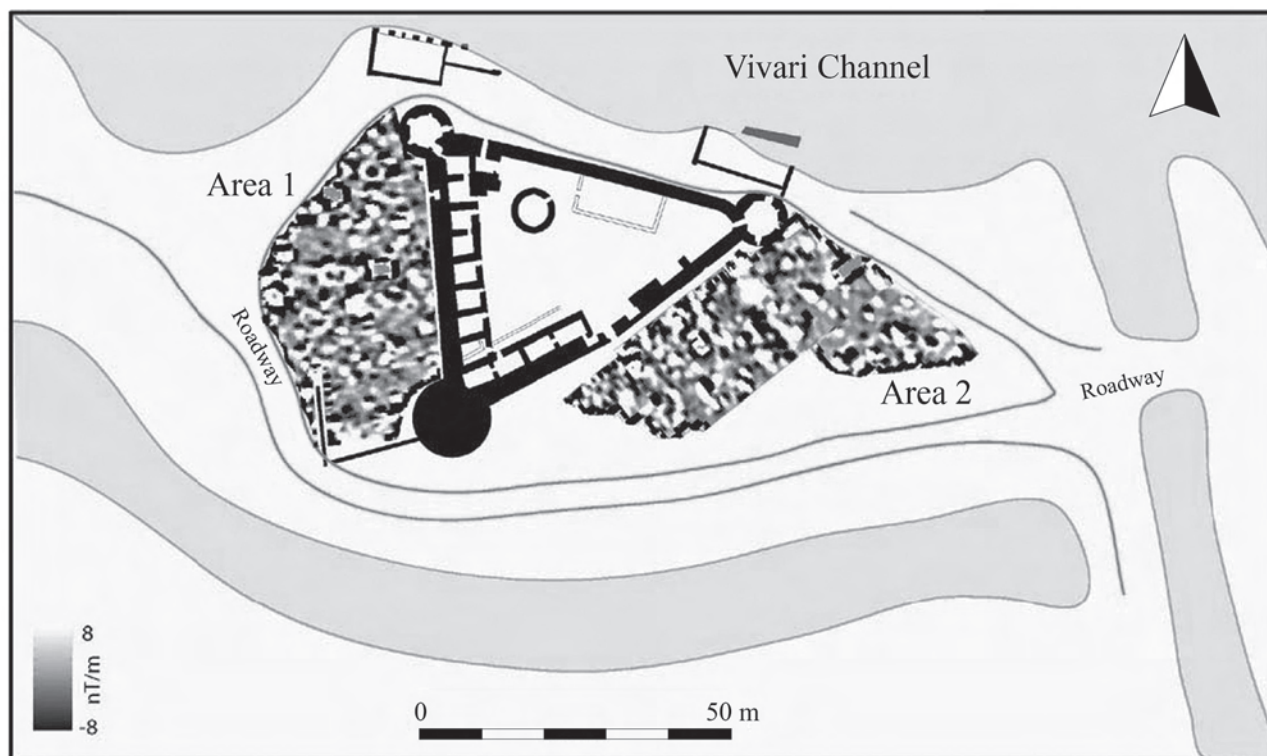


Figure 16.4. The geophysical survey results (Drawn by David Bescoby and Ilir Parangoni)

the greatest challenge to data interpretation. This effect can be seen strongly in the survey data from the Triangular Fortress, where a complex pattern of high amplitude magnetic responses makes it hard to identify weaker magnetic anomalies. These responses are likely to derive from scatters of magnetic material in the near surface, such as brick and tile fragments, burnt materials from small industrial processes, including slag deposits as well as numerous small ferrous objects. It is essentially a picture of intense activity that most probably relates to the 19th-century occupation of the site when it formed the focus of a thriving fishery at Butrint, depicted in contemporary images, such as in Henry Cook's 1853 lithograph.⁸ The immediate environment of the fortress was extensively modified during the 1950s agricultural transformation of the floodplain, resulting in the canalising of the Pavllas River and the cutting of a large collector channel around the southern boundary of the fortress. Such extensive engineering works are also likely to contribute significantly to the near surface magnetic noise evident within the survey results.

Notwithstanding the above, it is possible to detect a number of often faint linear magnetic responses in the data, likely to represent the sub-surface survival of wall footings and infilled gully type features. An annotated interpretation of the survey results is shown in Figure 16.5. Within Area 1, three relatively strong negatively trending magnetic responses can be seen running roughly perpendicular to the western wall of the fortress. The most southerly of these is intermittent, with a central space and runs broadly parallel

to the line of the surviving southern wall of the extensive armed outwork adjoining the south tower. This response also correlates with Foundation 3, described below and attributed to this later phases of construction.

To the north, a strong negative linear response suggests additional wall footings interrupted by a curious rectangular structure. This is suggestive of buildings extending along the line of the western wall and which may also include a further, short linear response to the north (Fig. 16.5). Together, these may form the remains of internal dividing walls within the large armed outwork, which represents the final construction phase of the fort, as identified by Bevilacqua and his colleagues.⁹ Interestingly, Cook's 1853 lithograph shows this space to be clear of buildings at this time, suggesting much of the outwork had been demolished. Alternatively, these wall footings and associated structures could reveal the remains of more ephemeral, short-lived structures erected against the western wall during the life of the fishing village of Livari. Two narrow and much fainter linear magnetic responses can also be seen heading out in southwesterly and northwesterly directions from a single point along the western wall. These are suggestive of ditch or gully-type features and may relate to drainage features of some kind.

In Area 2, a number of negatively trending linear responses was also recorded, notably around the eastern tower. The most northerly of these almost certainly relate to a line of buildings fronting the Vivari Channel, again depicted in the Cook lithograph. A strong but intermittent linear response some 20 m behind these

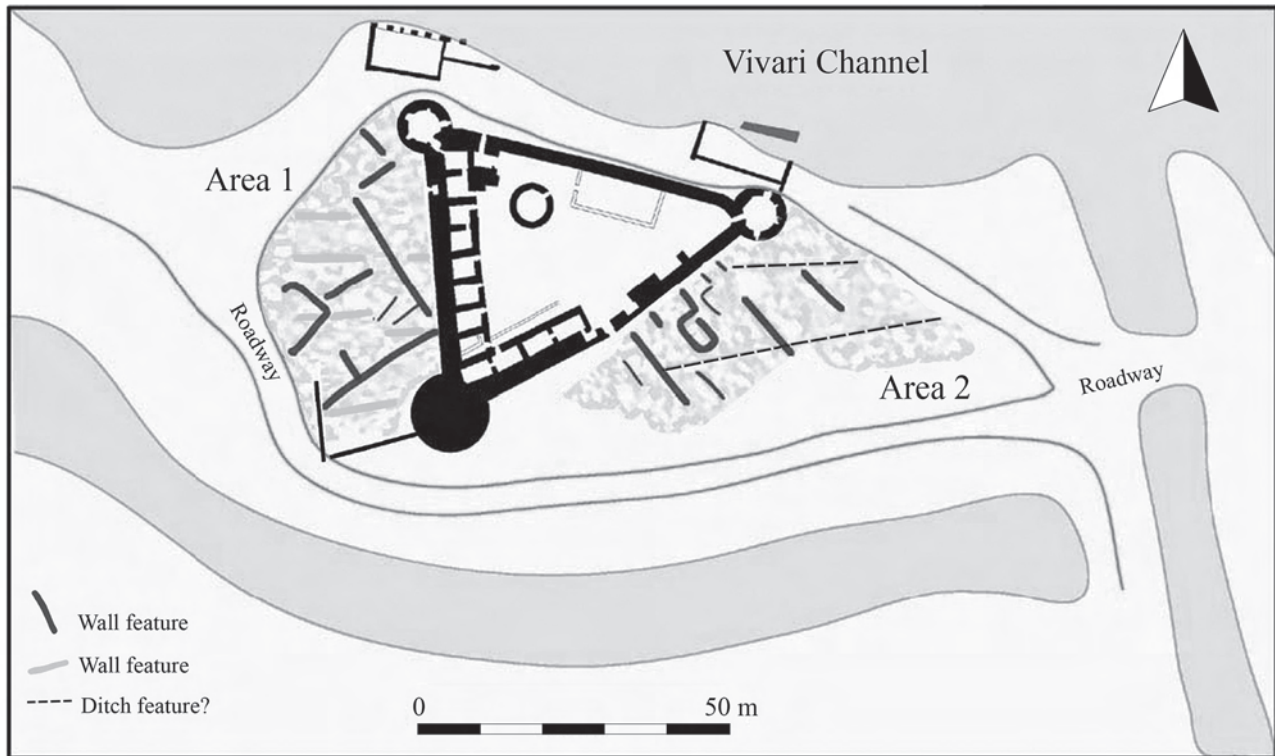


Figure 16.5. Interpretation of the geophysical survey (Drawn by David Bescoby and Ilir Parangoni)

running perpendicular to the southern fortification wall is likely to represent surviving footings associated with these fishery buildings.

Sometime between the late 17th century and 1718, the southern entrance of the fortification is thought to have been fortified with a *ravelin*, separated from the southern wall by a canal.¹⁰ Cartographic evidence for this topographical configuration can be gleaned from the 1780s Venetian cadastral map, based on a land survey of 1718, and a detailed Venetian plan of the Triangular Fortress from 1716 (Fig. 16.2; see also Fig. 14.2). Interestingly, the geophysical survey failed to provide any evidence of the existence of the southwesterly canal, which must have been a significant feature that would have bisected Area 2. The *ravelin* itself, being a raised earthwork feature, would be unlikely to leave detectable traces in the sub-surface. The lack of a magnetic signal from the infilled canal might be explained if it were relatively short-lived, becoming backfilled with alluvial material (perhaps that was used to construct the *ravelin*) within a generation or so, thus providing little in the way of a detectable magnetic contrast.

Two faint linear responses were also recorded in Area 2, the first following an almost east–west orientation through the building remains in the northern portion of the survey and likely to represent a small ditch or gully, possibly a drain. A second, similar response was recorded to the southwest, running perpendicular to the southern fortification wall for c. 15 m. Its close proximity to the southern entrance may be significant, perhaps representing a drainage gully or depression flanking the approach.

To the southwest of Trench 2, a short, somewhat stronger linear response was recorded, again running perpendicular to the southern wall and entranceway and may represent the footings of a wall or the emplacement of curb stones edging the southern approach. Both these features would post-date the infilling of the canal and therefore belong to the last phases of activity at the fort.

Excavations in 2014

Documentary sources show that the Triangular Fortress was the most important construction during the Venetian–Ottoman period in Butrint, often operating in tandem with a substantial stone Venetian Tower which guarded the north shore of the Vivari Channel.¹¹ New research shows that the fortress, *contra* Karaiskaj, was built in 1655 by the Ottomans, a date independently confirmed by the discovery of a detailed map that dates to that very decade.¹² The four small trenches excavated before the publication of these new archives that aimed to clarify the chronology and phasing of the monument now have new significance.

The trenches were opened at the junction between the curtain wall and Tower 1 (southwest), adjacent to the southern entrance, and at the interior junction between the northern wall and the northern postern gate graced by the lion head of St. Mark's carved over the entrance (Fig. 16.6).

Trenches 1 and 5 were excavated between the curtain wall and the tower to clarify the plan of the Triangular Fortress in relation to the southern tower. According to Karaiskaj, the first phase of the construction was a

triangular fort without towers, with the southern tower belonging to a later phase.¹³ Andrews *et al.* proposed a revision of Karaiskaj's phasing.¹⁴ According to him, the southern tower was keyed into the western wall suggesting that these two constructions belonged to the original build of the fortification. From the 2014 excavation results, we can state clearly that the tower and wall belong to two separate phases. Careful cleaning at the junction point between the two structures showed that the tower foundations abut the western curtain wall, suggesting a later date for the construction of the southern tower in relation to the western curtain wall (Figs 16.6 and 16.7).



Figure 16.6. Photograph of the excavations in Trench 1 showing the junction of the southern tower and the curtain wall (Photo by Ilir Parangoni)

Trench 1 also revealed a stone-lined well, or cess pit, dug into a seemingly natural level a metre out from the foundations of the tower. The stem of an 18th-century Ottoman clay pipe was the only diagnostic item recovered from the fill of this feature.

The construction technique of the foundations of this southern tower did not differ markedly from that of the tower itself or the western curtain wall suggesting they are contemporaneous. The foundation offsets were built with small- and medium-sized limestone blocks, which had been regularly laid. The stones were bonded with strong mortar and followed the rounded shape of the tower. In total, three offsets of the foundation in the southern tower were recorded. However, it is thought that the foundation of the southern tower continued lower, but due to the high water table the continuation of excavation was not possible. This further prevented reaching the base of the western curtain wall in this area.

Trenches 2 and 3 reached a depth of approximately 1.5–1.7 m. The foundation of the northern and southern walls was constructed with the same technique as the upper courses. Small-sized stones were placed in random courses. The mortar used in the construction was strong and often prevented accurate determination of the shapes of the stone. Of signal interest was the fact that the two sections of walls were built on a raft of wooden beams stacked horizontally (Figs 16.8 and 16.9). The use of timber here illustrates the marshy surface on which the fortress was built. The wood used is probably a type of scrub oak which is native to the Butrint area.

Trench 2 clarified the relationship between the southern

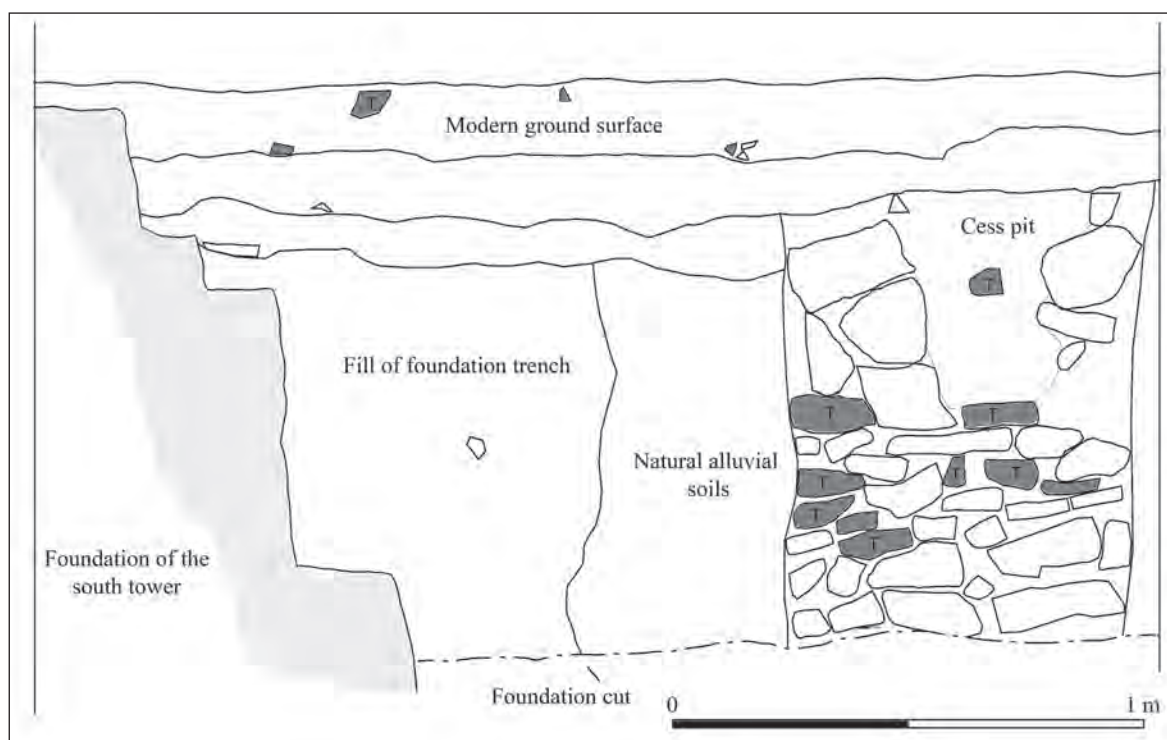


Figure 16.7. Interpretative section drawing of the southern side of Trench 1 (Drawn by Ilir Parangoni)

curtain wall and a possible construction of an advanced earthen bastion, *ravelin*, to the south of the main gateway which is observed on several plans of the fortress as noted above. In the event, no stratigraphic trace was found of the canal along the southern wall associated with the construction of the *ravelin*, suggesting it may have lay beyond the extent of Trench 2. Reclamation carried out on the Vrina Plain during 1960–1970s, it is presumed, may have destroyed any extant remains of defensive works to the south of the main entrance.

To complete the documentation of other surviving structures from early phases, some vegetation clearance was undertaken. After cleaning the inner courtyard of the fort, the foundations of two buildings mentioned by Karaiskaj were rediscovered (Foundation 1 and 2). Two further foundations along the southern and western walls of the fort, partly contained within later stone buildings, seemed to form two enclosed spaces. If we refer to the cadastral maps made when Venice regained Butrint as a result of the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, Foundation 1 may have been the base of a small wooden-built church, while Foundation 2 may have formed part of barracks for a garrison. Further foundations to the north, associated with the square base of a pier, might be connected with the plan of an entrance, perhaps incorporating some larger gatehouse.

On the western side outside the fort, a further foundation wall was cleared. The foundation had an extension oriented East-West. It was noted that Foundation 3 was of the same build as the wall of the armed outwork. This feature was certainly still functional in the final phases of the life of

the fortress. Initially an open space with two columns, Foundation 3 was used to create an enclosed area at a later date by blocking the space between the two columns. This could have been made at a time after the outwork became disused and was probably used for other activities, possibly even by fishermen, who were the principal occupiers of the fortress in the 19th century.

Pottery

The excavations yielded considerable fragments of early modern Italian maiolica ware. From an initial analysis of pottery finds, it was possible to gain information on dates, contacts and relations of Butrint during its latest period. The pottery was only found in the upper levels due to the high level of the water table and later disturbance. Some glazed plain wares from the fill of the foundation trench of the southern wall in Trench 3 (a grey-green alluvial material, probably redeposited) were attributable, as is almost the whole assemblage, to the latest periods of Butrint's history.

The pottery assemblage includes fragments of polychrome maiolica *spiral verdi* from Montelupo (Tuscany) of the 17th century.¹⁵

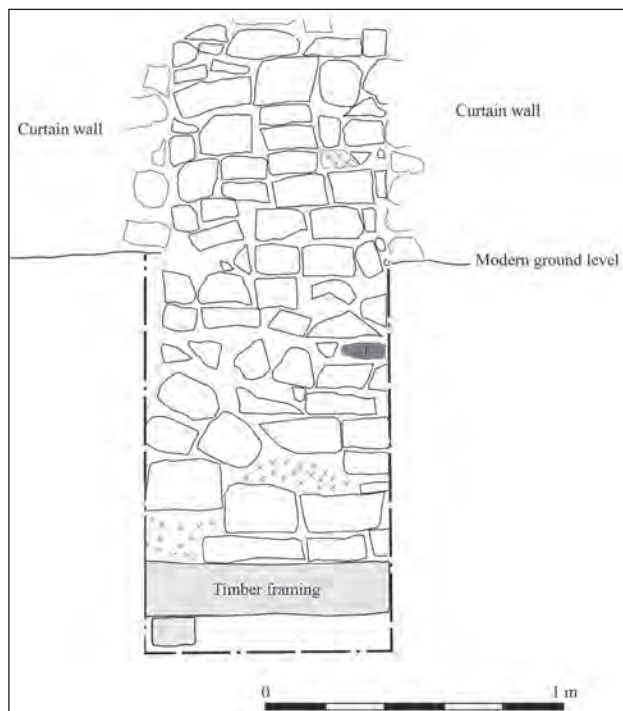


Figure 16.8. Section and elevation of the northern side of Trench 2 and the exterior of the curtain wall (Drawn by Ilir Parangoni)



Figure 16.9. Photograph of the network of wooden beams below the masonry curtain wall (Photo by Ilir Parangoni)

In addition, Trench 5 produced many pieces of monochrome white glazed wares (*monochrome bianche*) from northern Italy of the 18th century and various types of later and coarse maiolica (also known as *mezza maiolica*) from central Italy of the 17th–18th centuries. Finally, the pottery finds include *polychrome maiolica* and painted ware from Grottaglie or Corfu of the late 18th–19th century.

Of note here is the lack of any diagnostic material earlier than the 17th century, which supports the recent assertion by Bevilacqua and his colleagues that the fortress was constructed in 1655.

Other Finds

Other finds include metal and stone objects. Many of these were iron items used for construction such as nails, keys and latches. The iron objects also included several cannon balls. All the metal objects were found in a corroded condition, whilst other non-metal finds included a few pieces of glass (dating to 17th–18th century) and stone cannon balls, as well as two typical late Ottoman clay pipes. No coins were recovered.

Most of the glass is modern, including some 20th-century glass.¹⁶ Some post-Medieval glass was found in trench 4. The small assemblage of this earliest material dates from the 17th–18th century.

Conclusion

The four trenches, limited in scope though they were, provided no evidence proving that the Triangular Fortress was constructed on an earlier foundation. It was built in a marsh environment, the putative gravel bank, which determined the orientation of the curtain walls. Trenches 2 and 3 demonstrate that the walls of the triangular enclosure were erected on a raft of wooden beams providing a base that was both flexible and solid enough to support a substantial structure.

Consequently, based on these findings, it can be suggested that the Triangular Fortress is a new construction *ex novo* erected across the channel to the south of the ancient site. New evidence in the form of a perspective cadastral map from the Venetian archives dated to 1662–1664¹⁷ depicts the Triangular Fortress without towers as ‘Forte fatto da turchi nella gola di fiumi sol suo fosso largo passi 3’.¹⁸ A ruined watchtower on the opposite shore of the channel might be the existing Venetian Tower. The survey by Bevilacqua and his colleagues further suggests the towers were added in a fourth phase in c. 1684–1716. The *ravelin* was added later in their Phase 9, at some time in the 18th century after 1716.

The role of the fortress changed in the 19th century under Ottoman jurisdiction. To the west and northeast outer part of the curtain wall, architectural elements were made consistent with the creation of other buildings shown in an engraving in *Smith's Wanderings: A Cruise*



Figure 16.10. ‘Castle of Butrinto’, 1859 from *Smith's Wanderings: A Cruise in the Mediterranean* (Courtesy of the Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library)

in the *Mediterranean* published in 1859 (Fig. 16.10). This small village served mainly as a point of embarkation for goods (timber, olive and fish) being exported to Corfu. The erection of these would have substantially impeded the function of the Triangular Fortress as a garrisoned fortress. The fort, instead, may have served as the focus of a temporary market. Similar markets are known along the southeastern Adriatic where commerce carried out near ‘the river’ or ‘on the beach’ occurred as in the cases of Shufada (delta of Erzeni River), Spinarica (Vjosa River outlet) and Villa Bashtova (at the mouth of the Shkumbin River).¹⁹

Notes

- 1 Bescoby 2004; 2013, 22–23.
- 2 Ugolini 1937, 170–172, fig. 121.
- 3 Karaiskaj 1976, 147–158.
- 4 Karaiskaj, 1976, 147–155.
- 5 Andrews *et al.* 2004.
- 6 Molla *et al.* 2013, 260–280.
- 7 Bevilacqua *et al.* 2015.
- 8 Martin 2004, 101, fig. 6.23; Hernandez 2019, 410, fig. 41.
- 9 Bevilacqua *et al.* 2015.
- 10 Bevilacqua *et al.* 2015.
- 11 Crowson 2007; Davies 2013; Hernandez 2019, 371–372, 395.
- 12 Bevilacqua *et al.* 2015; Hernandez 2019, 395, 399, fig. 34.
- 13 Karaiskaj 1976, 148–149.
- 14 Andrews *et al.* 2004, 144.
- 15 Vroom 2005, 7. We are indebted to Dr. Joanita Vroom for spot dating the ceramics.
- 16 Thanks to Dr. Luka Bekic for commenting on the glass assemblage.
- 17 Xhufi 2016, 888–889; discussed in Hernandez 2019, 395, fig. 34.
- 18 See Hernandez 2019, 395, fig. 34.
- 19 Ducellier 1968, 2–3.

17 The Eastern *Villa Suburbana* and Its *Pars Rustica* on the Vrina Plain

Oliver J. Gilkes, Emily Glass, Valbona Hysa, Ilir Parangoni and Paul Reynolds (with appendices by Oliver J. Gilkes and Alessandra Pecci & Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros)

Introduction (OJG, VH, IP)

In a geophysical survey made in 2000–2001, a separate site was identified about 400 m to the east of the Roman bridgehead suburb on the Vrina Plain (Figs 17.1 and 17.2).¹ The survey revealed several anomalies which were interpreted as the remains of a Roman villa with an associated

peristyle. Immediately to the south of this anomaly, a second feature was identified. This suggested that the proposed villa possessed a possible bathhouse on the perimeter of a courtyard. Further to the south, two strong semi-circular anomalies were interpreted as possible ditches, perhaps delineating a main entrance to the complex.²

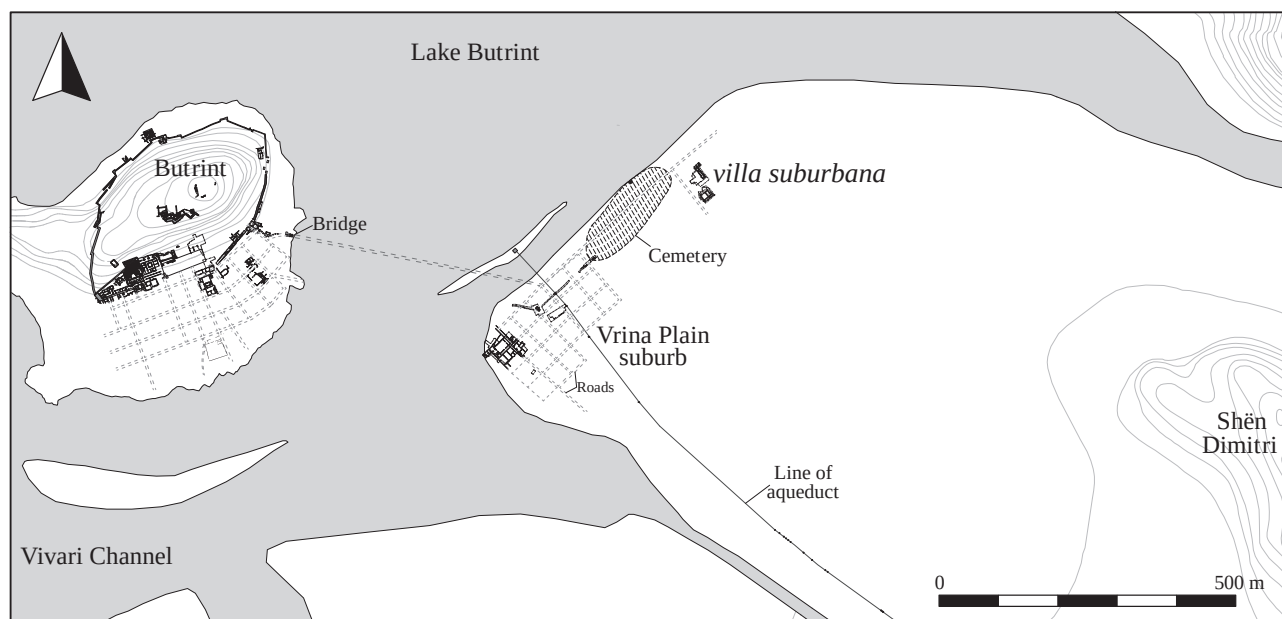


Figure 17.1. The topography of the Vrina Plain in the 2nd century AD, showing the location of the eastern villa suburbana in relation to the main Vrina suburb (Drawn by Simon Greenslade)

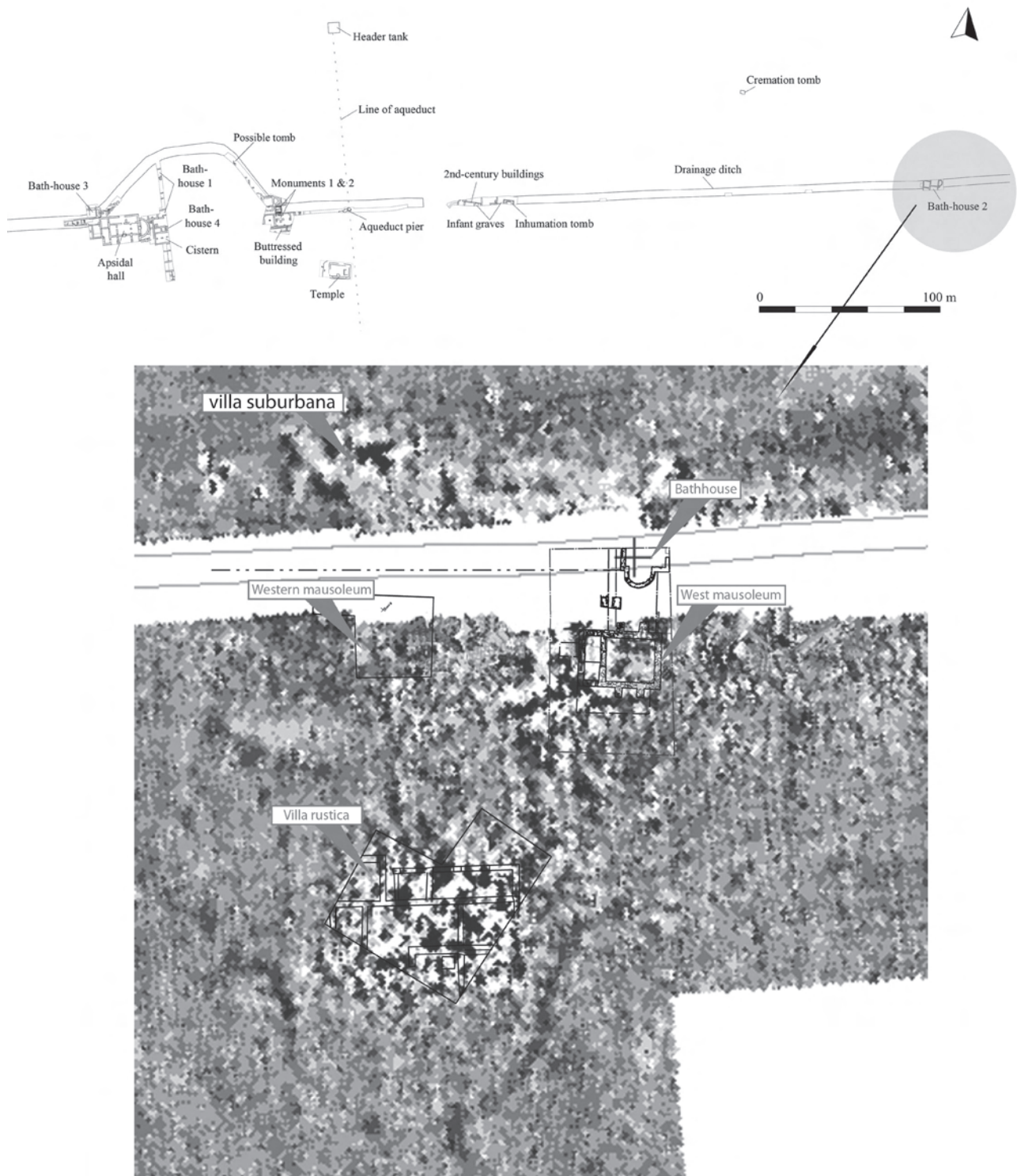


Figure 17.2. Plans showing the location of the villa suburbana; (above) Roman structures discovered in excavations of a drainage ditch on the Vrina Plain, and (below) structural elements revealed by a detailed geophysical survey on both sides of the drainage ditch (Based on a survey by David Bescoby/BF archive)

The geophysical survey was followed in 2002–2004 by excavations of visible remains in the Communist-era drainage ditch of the state collective farm (Figs 17.3 and 17.4). Excavation showed that the remains of a bathhouse in the drainage ditch were of a large building with a

hypocaust and hot plunge bath (known at the time as Vrina Plain Bathhouse 2). The excavations revealed occupation focussed on the 2nd century AD, with some later Roman and Medieval reoccupation.³

Further trial excavations were made in 2008 when a



Figure 17.3. Aerial view of part of the villa rustica (to the right), the mausoleum, the rectangular raised platform, and (far left) the apsidal end of a bathhouse (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive).



Figure 17.4. Vertical photograph of the mausoleum (bottom), and apsidal end of the bathhouse (above) (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)

substantial mausoleum was excavated immediately to the south of the bathhouse.⁴ Subsequently, in seasons spanning 2009–2012, a major building belonging to this settlement was investigated. This building took a series of different forms between the mid- to later 1st century AD and the Mid-Byzantine period.⁵ The rectangular building began as an open structure with a roof supported by central pillars that over several centuries came to have more than ten rooms. Initially, this appears to have been an agricultural building, the *pars rustica*, belonging to a *villa suburbana* similar to several now known from the Adriatic and Ionian Sea regions.⁶

In summary, excavations between 2002 and 2012 have uncovered an agricultural building, a bathhouse, a mausoleum and an unusual associated stone platform (Fig. 17.5). The archaeological sequence of these four structures can be summarised as follows:

Phase 1. Initial construction of the *villa suburbana*. The villa itself has not been investigated, but a large agricultural building that probably served as its *pars rustica* was excavated. The *villa suburbana* was probably built in the mid- to late 1st century AD when the bridgehead suburb properties were also created.

Phase 2. During the 2nd century AD new rooms and features were added to the agricultural building. In addition, a large bathhouse was constructed at this time. In its construction were *spolia* probably taken from nearby tombs. South of

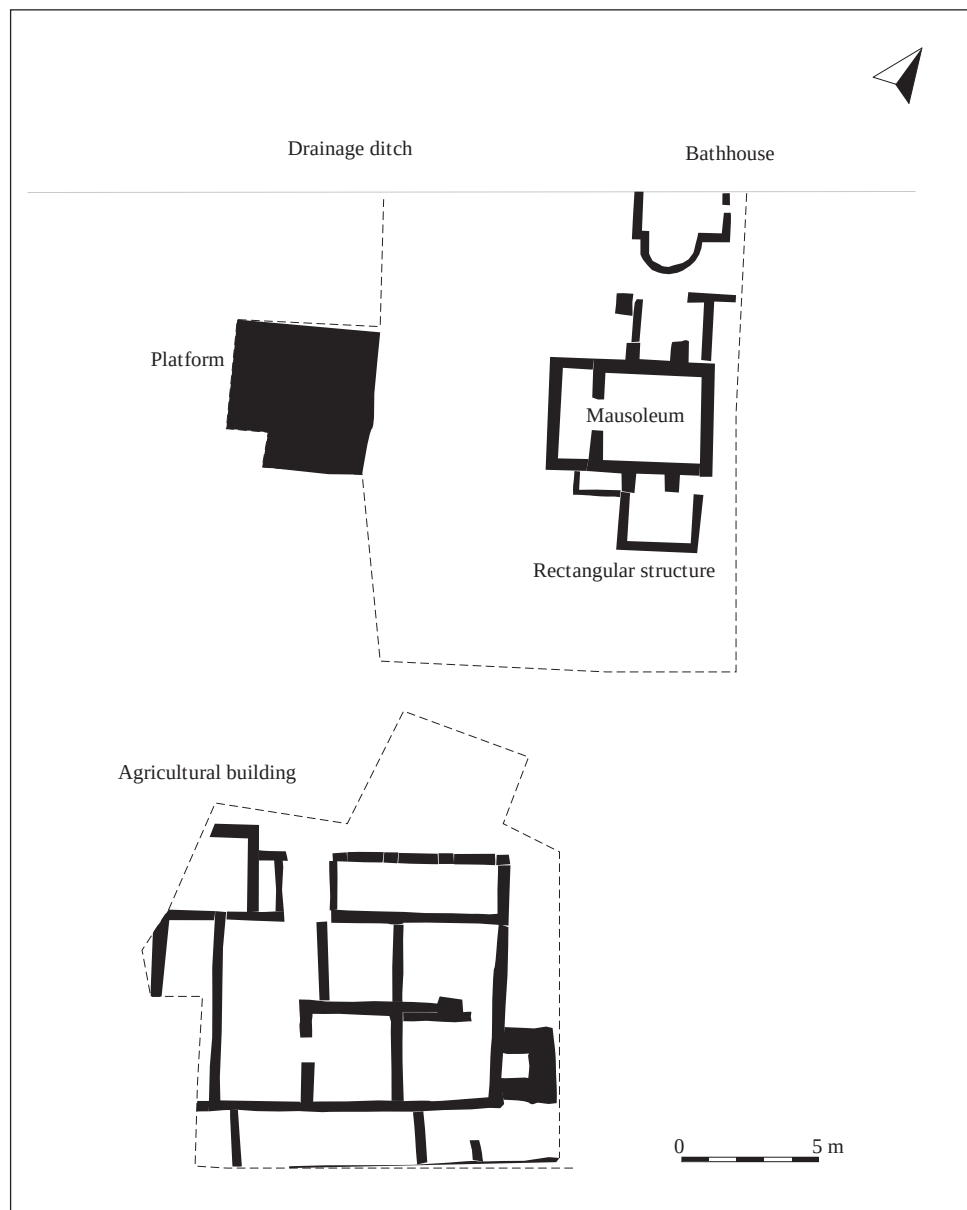


Figure 17.5. Plan of the excavated structures (Drawn by Oliver J. Gilkes)

this bathhouse, a small rectangular structure (for unknown purposes) was erected that was later extensively remodelled as a mausoleum.

Phase 3. At this time, a wine press was made in new rooms fitted into the agricultural building. Its associated bathhouse was either re-purposed or abandoned. In the area to its north, a substantial mausoleum was constructed in the early to mid-3rd century AD. West of this is a large masonry platform which is possibly all that remains of another mausoleum from this period. Its exact date and original form could not be determined.⁷

Phase 4. During the remainder of the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the agricultural building appears to have been minimally

used and may have fallen into disuse. The mausoleum, by contrast, was employed for burial throughout this period.

Phase 5. During the later 4th to 5th centuries AD, renewed structural alterations were made to the agricultural building. These consisted of the insertion of irregular Rooms F and G. Funerary inscriptions were employed as flooring material, suggesting the abandonment and robbing of the mausoleum.

Phase 6. During the late 5th and early 6th centuries AD, two amphorae graves and other inhumations were interred within the agricultural building. A thick layer of silt containing 6th-century amphorae sherds sealing the graves and covering all the interior of the villa marks its complete abandonment.

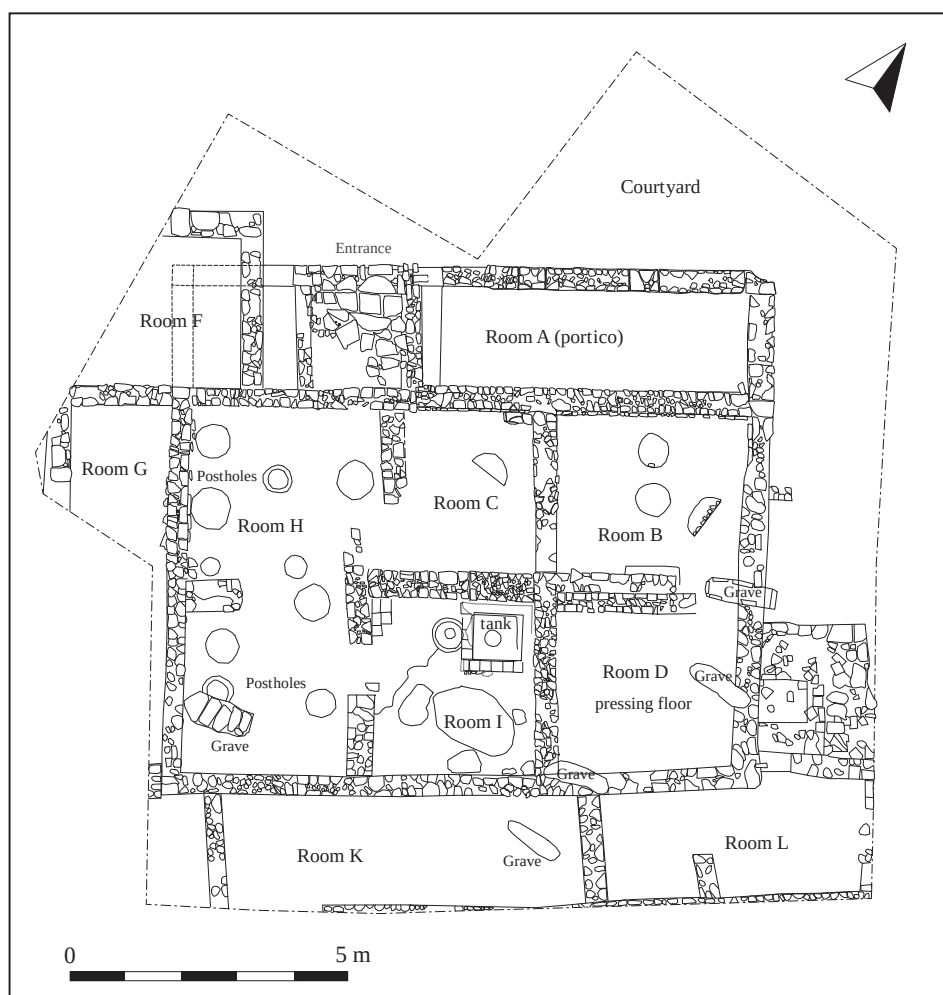


Figure 17.6. Plan of the villa rustica (Drawn by Oliver J. Gilkes and Ilir Parangoni)

Phase 7. During the 11th to 13th centuries, there is evidence, in the form of spreads of dark soils containing Byzantine polychrome potsherds and burials, of reoccupation of the villa area. The presence of a bronze reliquary cross amongst the finds suggests that there was a church or a chapel occupying the site.

The Agricultural Building

Prior to making the *villa suburbana*, there is some evidence to suggest that the land was levelled and prepared (Fig. 17.6). This levelling took the form of an expanse of a yellowish deposit found beneath the agricultural building, the bathhouse and mausoleum. The material follows the natural contours of the ground revealing a relatively level surface and it may be analogous with the levels observed below the bridgehead suburb.⁸ In this case, the levelling layer contained well-worn ceramics of the mid- and late 1st century AD and extending to the 2nd century AD.

The main building of the villa was constructed close to the south side of the Vivari Channel and immediately east of the road leading from the bridge to points south of Butrint. The form of the *villa suburbana* remains unknown,

but it appears to have possessed a large compound, within which a bathhouse was erected on the east side and a large agricultural building on its south side. The excavations focussed principally on the agricultural building on the south side of the villa complex.

The door into the agricultural hall looked northward towards Lake Butrint, as though the complex was approached by way of a route that led along the side of the Vivari Channel towards Kalivo and Diaporit (Fig. 17.7). The original agricultural building was a rectangular structure, 12.50 m wide and 14.20 m long. Besides a porch with a door, the building possessed an open portico with at least five masonry pilasters (Contexts 212, 208, 210, 269 and 319) on its north side.⁹ Most of the northern, western and eastern sides were uncovered and a small fragment of what seems to be the southern wall too. The agricultural building was built of generally undressed stone blocks, bonded by a grey mortar in its initial phases and a clay matrix mortar later. Even in its early periods there was reuse of building material. By Phase 3, reused ceramic column fragments, pieces of *dolia* and other material were commonly employed in the make-up of its walls.

An elaborate stone-paved porch provided the main



Figure 17.7. View across the excavated villa rustica, looking northwards (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.8. The stone paved porch and main doorway into the villa rustica (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)

ingress into the open hall (Fig. 17.8). The paved area (Context 268) extended across the portico leading to the door and was flanked by two small walls (Contexts 267, 281). The paving ended at a substantial low wall (Context 282) positioned between the two pilasters which framed the

door, and from this point the slabs were laid in a sloping fashion into the doorway. The whole gave the impression of facilitating the movement of heavy items or goods into the building.

The interior was intended to be largely open plan in

arrangement with at least four plinths for pillars or columns supporting the roof. Over the course of the 2nd century AD, this arrangement was altered. The eastern third of the previously open hall was separated by a north-south wall and divided into two rooms, B and D, whereas the western two-thirds were left as a large open space. It is unclear when Rooms K and L were added on the south side (Fig. 17.9).

In the later 2nd or early 3rd century AD, significant changes were made to the building, altering its function. The interstices between the pilasters of the portico were filled in with a type of rough herringbone tile and stone masonry known from elsewhere in Butrint (Contexts 106, 213). It is not clear if the north door was blocked at this time or a little later.

Rooms D and I were converted for the production of wine (Fig. 17.10). The walls of Room D were reinforced and a *cocciopesto* lining added to these which were then sealed by a finer pink waterproof plaster. This lining continued some 25 cm up the sides of the walls creating a room with a shallow waterproof floor. The higher end of the floor was heavily worn while the lower part retained its upper, finer, mortar surface intact. The floor was tilted at an angle of c. 15° east to west. A terracotta *tubulus* was inserted through the wall separating Rooms D and I. This appears to have fed a tank in the northwest corner of Room I (Fig. 17.11). This tank was 65 cm deep and thickly lined with mortar (Context 313). A small depression was found in the centre of the bottom.

The *tubulus* itself was removed in a subsequent phase, but the damage and repair to the wall where it had run was easy to see. It is suggested that for some time these two rooms were connected in a single agrarian activity. One interpretation is that grapes were pressed in Room D with the product flowing through into a settling tank in Room I. Room C, to the northwest of Room I (and connected by a narrow door), possessed a *dolium* set into the floor. It is possible that either grapes awaiting pressing were kept here, or perhaps the final product of the pressing was stored here.

Numerous fragments of *dolia* (some 11 individual vessels have been identified in an assemblage of 231 kg of sherds) found in the excavations again suggest the building was primarily employed for wine production in this period (see Appendix 1). Sample sherds of *dolia* were examined by Alessandra Pecci and Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros who reported that the residue analysis was consistent with its use for the production of wine (see Appendix 2).

In the later 3rd or earlier 4th century AD, a rubble layer sealed the rooms within which was an unworn early issue sestertius of Maximinus Thrax (235–238). Was this rubble the result of the mid- to later 4th-century earthquake which destroyed large parts of the villa in the bridgehead suburb?¹⁰

In the 5th century AD, two new rooms (F and G) were added to the western side of the original aisled building. How these were used is not clear. Both rooms had earth surfaces and a stone platform comprising an old millstone and other flat slabs were laid down in Room G. A number of walls in the northeastern part of the building were

knocked through to create a long thin space; wooden posts being embedded into the floors to sustain an upper floor. There was a certain amount of reuse of *spolia*, old funerary inscriptions, for example, being set into the floor to provide *ad hoc* paving (Fig. 17.12).

The walls of these new rooms had no foundations but were solidly built with *spolia*, including several large blocks with bevelled and rusticated faces. They were built directly onto a rubble layer and several floor levels were laid down or built up inside the new structures. The exact length of time that these new additions were in use is uncertain. Rooms F and G, however, seem ultimately to have been abandoned and partly backfilled. Similar activity seemingly occurred in the rest of the building, though the walls seem to have remained standing into the 6th century as burials were carefully aligned along them.

Beginning from the mid-5th century AD, parts of the former agricultural building fell into disuse. The collapse and demolition of walls occurred while at the same time burials were once interred here.

A thick level of silt covered most of the area of the agricultural building at this time, sealing earlier features and graves. There was a considerable assemblage of ceramics from this phase, in contrast to the preceding phase, including numerous small bronze *nummi* and a number of Cretan amphorae of 6th-century date. The pottery, though, was well-worn suggesting that it was discarded on the floors and other levels while a high degree of activity occurred in and around the building.

Two amphora graves (one in a Cretan amphora, the other in a Tunisian type) were found within Room G containing skeletons of infants (Fig. 17.13). The amphorae were buried within a packing of tiles. Another infant burial, ‘*cappuccino*’ grave, was identified inside Room C.

The silting and burials were covered as the building was systematically demolished and the rubble spread out across the site. While these deposits were extensive, it was clear that there were no complete roofs remaining, and there was an impression that the old agricultural building was dismantled to a certain height and the building materials were removed.

In the northern and western parts of the site, a layer of dark grey to black soil covered the remains of the buildings. As elsewhere in Butrint, this seems to denote activity in the Middle Ages.¹¹ This was confirmed by the presence of 11th–13th-century ceramics, including Byzantine polychrome glazed wares, and small finds. The ruined and abandoned villa was then used as an *ad hoc* burial ground.

Several infant graves and one adult triple burial were found containing the same dark soil matrix. In some cases these graves cut the walls of the building, either by deliberate choice or because the walls could not be seen when the burials were inserted.

The nature of Medieval activity remains a matter of speculation. The character of the finds suggests a relatively wealthy settlement similar to that found within the ruins of the former grand peristyle house to the west.¹² Given the

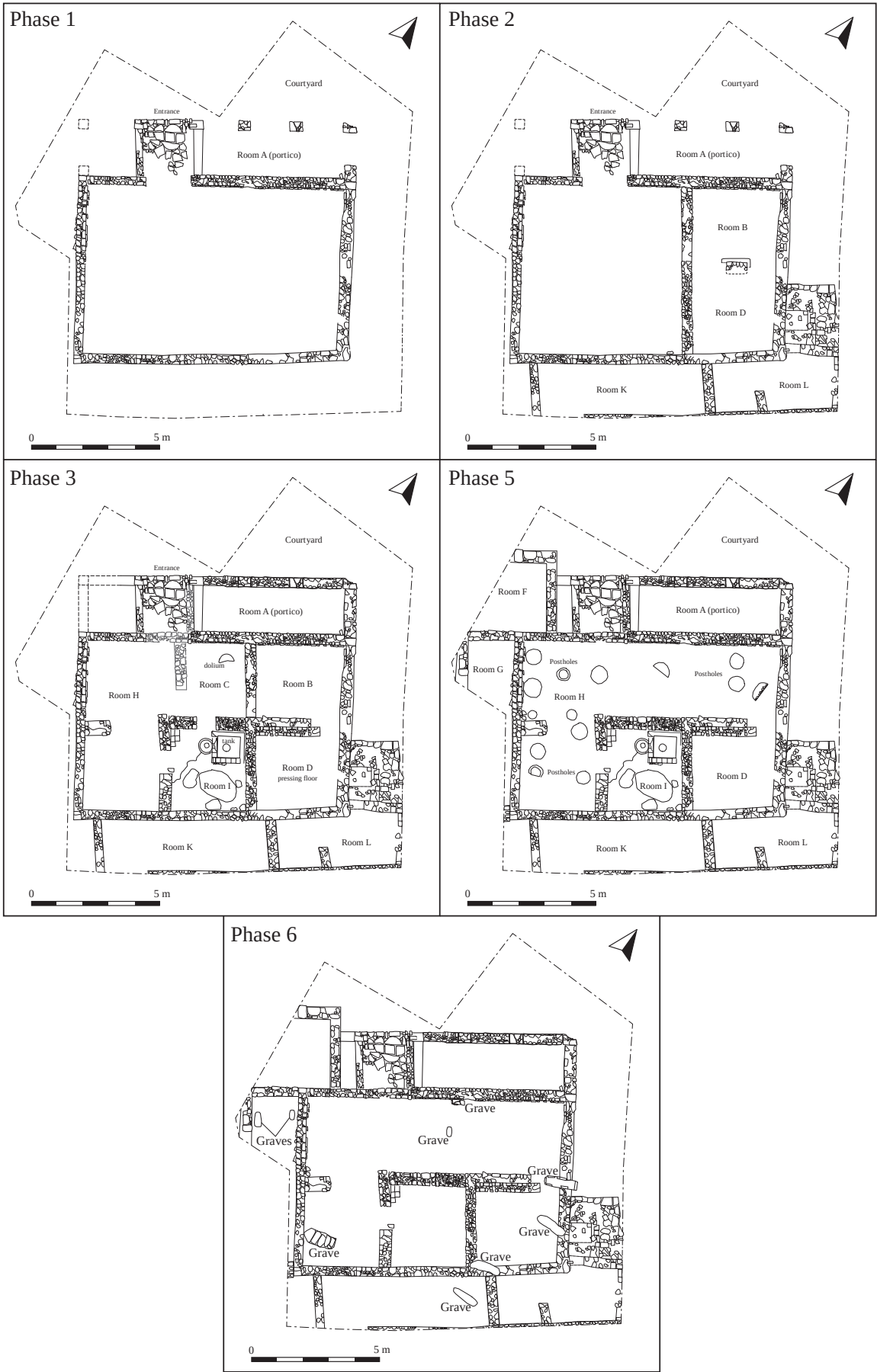


Figure 17.9. Phase plan of the alterations made to the villa rustica (Drawn by Sarah Leppard)

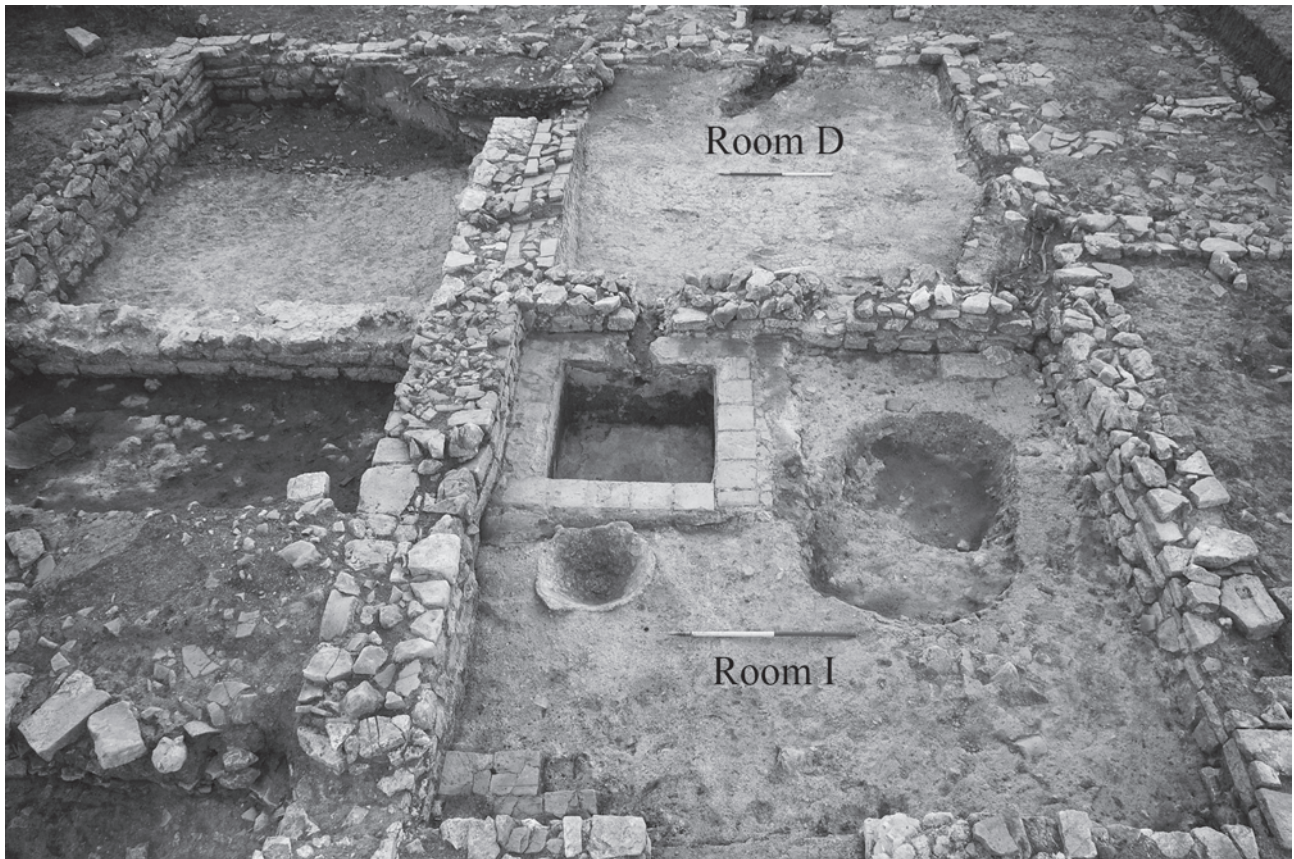


Figure 17.10. Rooms D and I showing the pressing floor in Room D and the lined tank in the corner of Room I (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.11. Tank (vat) in Room I (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.12. Greek inscription found in room F: Γαλλι[ος] ἀγλαός ἐτῶν Μ χαίρη ('Noble Galli[os] lived 40 years; Farewell'), c. 2nd century AD (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.13. Two amphora graves in Room G (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.14. Mid-Byzantine reliquary cross from the Medieval dark-soil horizons (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)

finds, including a pectoral cross, we can conjecture that a Mid-Byzantine church or chapel may well have formed part of the settlement here (Fig. 17.14).

The Bathhouse

The bathhouse lay to the north of the agricultural building, possibly on the east side of a compound. It was partly excavated in 2002 and 2003 and has been described elsewhere.¹³ This comprised rectangular rooms with a small

apse. It extended 10.50 m east–west and was exposed for 5.70 m north–south. The bathhouse foundations were dug into organic marsh silts. The whole or parts of six separate rooms were identified. The three cold spaces were surfaced with large limestone flagstones, almost certainly robbed from a structure nearby, and cut to fit. The plunge bath floor was set on a thick concrete base and was overlapped by a wall-lining of waterproof plaster. The two heated rooms on the west side of the building survived only at sub-floor level. These were surfaced with small square tiles. The bathhouse *prae-furnium* was not found. The building dates to the later 1st century or early 2nd century AD and included *spolia*, possibly from nearby tombs, in its construction. It was destroyed in the 2nd century and its demolition level sealed the building. One of the derelict rooms was reoccupied during the 4th century, and the material in adjacent rooms persisted throughout the later 4th and 5th centuries. After a period of abandonment, the presence of Mid-Byzantine ceramics shows there was renewed use made of this site.

The Mausoleum

The mausoleum, which has been described elsewhere, was excavated in 2008 and lay between the agricultural building and the bathhouse on the east side of the putative compound.¹⁴ The mausoleum was constructed through the middle of an earlier small rectangular building. The function of this earlier building could not be determined as it had been essentially replaced by the mausoleum. The mausoleum was built on a raft of *opus caementicium* mortared rubble. The plan of the building consists of a small rectangular chamber, 8.50 × 5.75 m fronted by a small portico comprising four brick-built columns that looked towards the main area of the compound in front of the aisled building. Buttresses supported the south side of the building. One interpretation is that this was a substantial building with a high central chamber. The entrance was 1.50 m wide and a substantial stone threshold block remained in place. The interior had a beaten earth floor. There were three placements for tombs. Two masonry platforms were interpreted as platforms to support sarcophagi. A dozen other graves were later added both inside and around the outer walls of the mausoleum.

An undisturbed level beneath the earthen surface in the portico produced a group of 3rd-century AD ceramics which provide the date when the earlier building was replaced by the mausoleum. The presence of 5th- to 6th-century material in the mausoleum suggests the building may have remained a focus for burial into Late Antiquity. Mid-Byzantine ceramics were found within the demolished *pronaos*.

The Enigmatic Platform

Some 6 m to the west of the mausoleum was a substantial mortared masonry platform, measuring 4.60 × 4 m and at least 1.60 m high, set into a substantial foundation,



Figure 17.15. The masonry platform, viewed looking to the west (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.16. Gold solidus of Constantine II (AD 337–340) (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)

and clearly boarded with edging stones (Fig. 17.15). The eastern half had a very irregular surface. Some 5 m from the eastern edge, a line of stones demarcated a change in the style of construction, and to the west of this is a relatively well-paved area with decent if irregular paving slabs and some mortar. This paved area seems to delineate a semi-circular space.

Erroneously interpreted as a road at first, a small trench was begun into the structure to obtain dating evidence, but soon abandoned when the nature of the structure became evident. On its western side, the upper surface was composed of well-laid smooth-surfaced limestone slabs. Brick and broken *dolia* fragments were set into the masonry matrix.

The dark Medieval soils were plentiful in this area and these may have confused the stratification here as over the upper surface of the platform there was a level of burning (Context 312) and carbonisation which contained several fine iron pins and a gold solidus of Constantine II (AD 337–340) (Fig. 17.16).¹⁵ This was clearly not a Medieval deposit and it bears every indication of being Late Antique in date.

The purpose of this platform remains unknown. The likeliest interpretation is that it was the base of another mausoleum that was either unfinished or destroyed by later agricultural activity.

Discussion

The eastern villa on the south side of the Vivari Channel can only be interpreted on the evidence of the excavated parts of the complex. The geophysical survey points to the main residence being close to the shoreline, as at neighbouring Diaporit (see Chapter 19). The size, form and history of this property cannot be determined, except through the lens of those excavated elements in the south and eastern parts of its compound.

On the basis of these excavations, it appears that the villa dates to the late 1st or early 2nd century AD and, if the changes within the agricultural building are an accurate guide, the complex may have been abandoned by the later 3rd or 4th century when, paradoxically, it became a focus for family burial (see below). With some caution, this evidence suggests it was a new later Flavian or Trajanic settlement, and like the properties in the bridgehead suburb at this time (and unlike the maritime villa at Diaporit), a reflection of Butrint's increasing wealth.

Why the function of the agricultural building radically changed in the later 2nd or early 3rd century is not clear. This was the moment when a large villa appears to have replaced the constellation of households in the bridgehead suburb. Otherwise, the history of the *villa suburbana* broadly resembles that of the shoreline *villa rustica* on Igoumenitsa Bay at Ladochori (Lazari and Palli 2018). Ladochori spans the early 2nd to later 3rd century and, interestingly, was associated with a mausoleum a few metres to its west, dating from broadly the same period.

The archaeological evidence appears to show that the agricultural building was never used as residence until possibly in Late Antiquity (Rooms F and G). Instead, it appears to be the agrarian component of a larger villa with its own bathhouse. Its function altered in the later 2nd or 3rd centuries when its north-facing portico was walled up and small partitioned rooms were made inside the hall, some of which were dedicated to producing (and storing) wine.

At the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, the bathhouse was abandoned. The rectangular base of the mausoleum belongs to this residential phase, and it is tempting to interpret it as the first phase of a family mausoleum, resembling the one excavated close to the bridgehead suburb as well as at Ladochori. The marble fragment of 2nd-century AD sculpture of Dionysus and a panther (Figs 17.17 and 17.18), as well as the remains of a marble, sigma-type dining table (found in later destruction levels of the agricultural building), might have belonged to this small family tomb. Plainly, this altered in the mid-3rd century when a larger and grander mausoleum was erected over the earlier one. Who it was intended for remains an enigma. Was it that branch of the family that had lived here and moved either to the major villa in front of the bridge or alternatively into the new channel-side houses within Butrint itself?

It is likely that the agricultural building and mausoleum were affected by the 4th-century AD earthquake which struck Butrint and the large residential villa at the bridgehead



Figure 17.17. Fragment of a marble sculpture of Dionysus, showing his feet with an associated panther (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)



Figure 17.18. Fragment of a marble sculpture of Dionysus, showing the rear of the panther (Photo by The Butrint Training School/BF archive)

suburb. Family connections, though, may explain continued burial here into the 5th and 6th centuries, before the complex was abandoned and eventually repurposed as a modestly affluent household in the later 11th to 13th centuries, probably with an associated chapel.

The Roman and Late Antique Pottery (PR)

The following offers a summary of the ancient pottery from contexts in the different parts of the *villa suburbana* that

were ‘spot-dated’ in 2008, 2009 and 2012. As I was not expecting to have to produce a report on this material, I only sketched the key pieces (at 1:1) to serve as an aide-mémoire for dating; some are reproduced here. I have included illustrations which are not all discussed in this chapter. At the end of the 2010 and 2012 seasons of excavation, I did make an attempt to draw the most significant pottery for dating and some of these VPT vessels were included in the typology presented in the recently published volume dedicated to the pottery of the Vrina Plain excavations.¹⁶ The latter, apart from providing a major assemblage of stratified contexts that were contemporary with the VPT villa located a mere 200 m to the northeast of the *domus*, also offers for the first time a petrological study of the major classes and wares present in the Anglo-Albanian excavations in Butrint.¹⁷

The Ceramic Phases

EARLY IMPERIAL PHASE, 1ST AND 2ND CENTURIES AD
Context 63 offers a few fragments of Hellenistic and 1st-century AD pottery, the latter comprising a dish/platter rim in poor quality, regional red slip/colour coated ware.

Context 181 should be dated to the early or mid-1st century AD on the basis of the Hellenistic-style casserole (Fig. 17.19.1), a form that is well represented in Augustan/early 1st century levels in the villa of Diaporit (Butrint). A casserole, or cooking pot, is also illustrated (Fig. 17.19.2). A *dolium* rim occurred in this context. A 1st century regional red slip dish was the only significant find in Context 115. Vessels from Contexts 198 (Figs 17.19.3–4) and 133 (a single Eastern Sigillata B rim) may also be 1st century.

Context 172 is a good assemblage dating to the 2nd century AD (cf. Context 177, see below). The fine wares suggest a date in the first half of the 2nd century; they include a complete example of ESB form 75 (stamped) (Fig. 17.19.5), ESB 80 (Fig. 17.19.6) and a dish close in form to ESB 63, but in a regional red slip ware, presumably of similar date (AD 70/75–120) (Fig. 17.19.7). A flanged bowl probably from the same source may be of the same date (Fig. 17.19.8). The presence of an early variant of the ‘Epirote’ grooved rim cooking pot, with a fairly elongated rim and marked lid seat (Fig. 17.19.15) is important, as it seems the series did not begin until the Hadrianic or possibly late Trajanic period.¹⁸ There are several fine Phocian one-handled *collarino* beakers (Figs 17.19.9–11). A local version with marked ribbing and a small lid seat recalls later (late 2nd- to 3rd-century) one-handled examples found in the 3rd century Forum Context 98 (Fig. 17.19.12).¹⁹ A thin-walled Tunisian cooking ware lid with marked ribbing on the inner wall should date to the 2nd century (Fig. 17.19.14). A Koan-style amphora could be a Phocian product (Fig. 17.19.13).

Context 177 primarily dates to the mid-2nd century AD

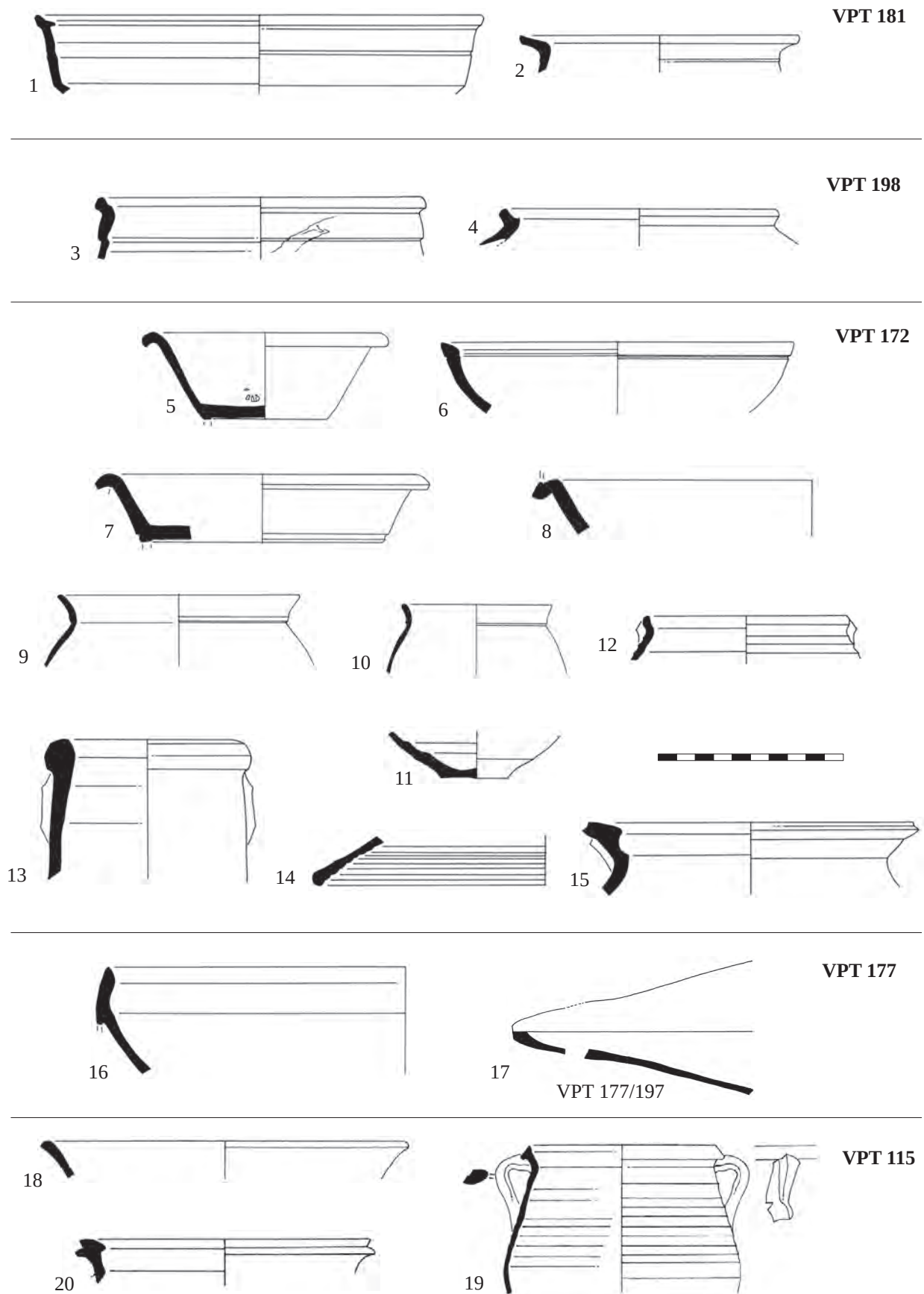


Figure 17.19. 1st- and 2nd-century ceramics from Contexts 181, 198, 172, 177 and 115 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

and is similar to that of Context 172. Fine wares include ARS Hayes 9A, ESB 60 (small and large rim examples: Fig. 17.19.16, for the latter), ESB 76B, ESB 80, a regional flanged bowl, and an unusual, thin-walled mould-made flask (Fig. 17.19.17: walls of the same vessel occur in 3rd-century Context 197). Though these fine wares could all date to the first half of the 2nd century, as we have seen (Context 172), the grooved rim cooking pot probably did not emerge until the early years of the mid-2nd century.

Context 184 comprises pottery of the first half of the 2nd century AD (including ARS 9A and its probable base; ESB 80; a Crétoise 1 amphora), but there was one grooved rim cooking pot that should date to the late 2nd century, rather than earlier.

Context 125 is notable for the buff ware drain rims recovered, samples from the drain noted in the agricultural building. Other finds comprise a 2nd- or 3rd-century AD buff ware table amphora-flagon base and a handle fragment from a Cilician amphora, possibly Agora M 54, given the large width of the handle (this rather than the type Agora G 198).²⁰ This may indicate a 2nd- rather than 3rd-century date.²¹

LATE 2ND OR 3RD CENTURY AD DEPOSITS

Context 28 may date to the later 2nd century AD, rather than to the 3rd century, but that is only a suggestion. Finds include a well-preserved Aegean thin-walled ware, 'a collarino' beaker, too fine to be Phocian (possibly Thracian, following Hayes), a thin-walled ARS lid with internal ribbing (cf. the example in 2nd-century Context 172: Fig. 17.19.14) and a local grooved rim cooking pot of late 2nd- to 3rd-century type.

Context 115 appears to be related to the construction of the first building of Phase 1, under the Mausoleum, and is therefore a key deposit. A small, well-preserved, thin-walled Aegean, probably Phocian, cooking pot that probably served for boiling water is a key piece, with parallels in Butrint contexts of the late 1st- or first half of 2nd-century AD, as well as 3rd century (Fig. 17.19.19). The VPT vessel was associated with a rim of a regional fine ware platter probably imitating Italian *sigillata* form Conspectus 3, so again of late 1st or first half of 2nd century date. A late 2nd- to mid-3rd century local grooved rim cooking pot is clearly a later piece (Fig. 17.19.20).

EARLY TO MID-3RD CENTURY AD LEVELS

Context 51 (Figs 17.20–22) is the most coherent, well-preserved deposit. Like many on the Vrina Plain²² and in the Theatre (unpublished Albanian excavations) and Forum (Context 98) of Butrint, the assemblage presents the characteristics of one deposited in the mid-3rd century AD and left undisturbed until reoccupation of the site in the 4th century or later. Indeed, elements of this deposit seem to have found their way into upper, Mid-Byzantine levels (e.g.

Context 4, with the well-preserved Campanian amphora rim and handles (Fig. 17.20.8); similar, redeposited, but worn 3rd century material occurs in Contexts 90 and 101).

The Campanian amphora (Fig. 17.20.9) is a larger version of this class. There are several smaller examples (closer to Figure 17.20.8) as well as bases, in the well-preserved mid-3rd-century AD deposit Context 98.²³ These represent the final, late phase of production of Campanian wine amphorae of Dressel 2–4 type.²⁴ Several similar vessels occur in the Sassanian sack context of AD 253 at Zeugma-on-the-Orontes.²⁵ The amphora (Figs 17.21.1–2), in a hard, buff fabric, is also common in Forum Context 98 (Fig. 17.21.4).²⁶ Here its good state of preservation demonstrates that it bore brushed red painted decoration on the rim, handles and shoulder, and that it had a domed base (also illustrated). Its source is still unclear but probably lies close to Butrint (either on Corfu or in northern Epirus), given that petrological and chemical analyses of many examples of the type (these two illustrated pieces and others from Forum Context 98) place it within a wide-ranged group of buff amphorae and plain ware products of late Hellenistic and 3rd-century date analysed from Butrint contexts. A Tunisian Keay 3 amphora rim (Fig. 17.21.3) and a single amphora handle were noted as African amphora imports.

The presence in Context 51 of ARS Hayes 14 and a slipped Tunisian cooking ware lid (Hayes 182) are typical for the early to mid-3rd-century AD. One needs a larger assemblage to encounter rarer mid-3rd-century ARS C, so a mid-3rd-century date is still possible (i.e. like Forum Contexts 26 and 98). A Phocian frying pan and local grooved rim cooking pot are also illustrated (Figs 17.22.4–5). A well-preserved imported cooking pot is particularly notable (Fig. 17.22.1: its base was missing). Excellent Aegean, probably Phocian, parallels occurred in Forum Contexts 98 and 26 (Figs 17.22.2–3). The two handles of the VPT vessel are, however, unusual for Aegean products, being horizontal tabs with three concave indents, rather than the 'strap' handles normal for Aegean cooking wares.

Context 162 dates possibly to the mid-3rd-century AD. An ARS Hayes 32 rim and a base of ARS Hayes 32 or 33 comprise the latest fine wares (early to mid-3rd-century). A Tunisian ARS cooking ware Hayes 196 lid with a particularly large rim (Fig. 17.20.3) and a grooved rim cooking pot with almost vertical wall and light internal concave moulding (Fig. 17.20.6) probably date to the mid-3rd-century, rather than earlier.²⁷ Another grooved rim cooking pot, with a tall lower rim face is more typical of the 2nd-century (Fig. 17.20.5). A small version with the rim visibly folded on the inside is unusual in this respect, but its general characteristics suggest an early to mid-3rd-century date (Fig. 17.20.5). A buff amphora with a small band rim is a typical find in 2nd- to mid-3rd-century deposits in Butrint (Fig. 17.20.2).²⁸ A large amphora in a pale green fabric is so far unparalleled (it did not seem to be North African, though the shape recalls that of Tripolitanian amphorae)

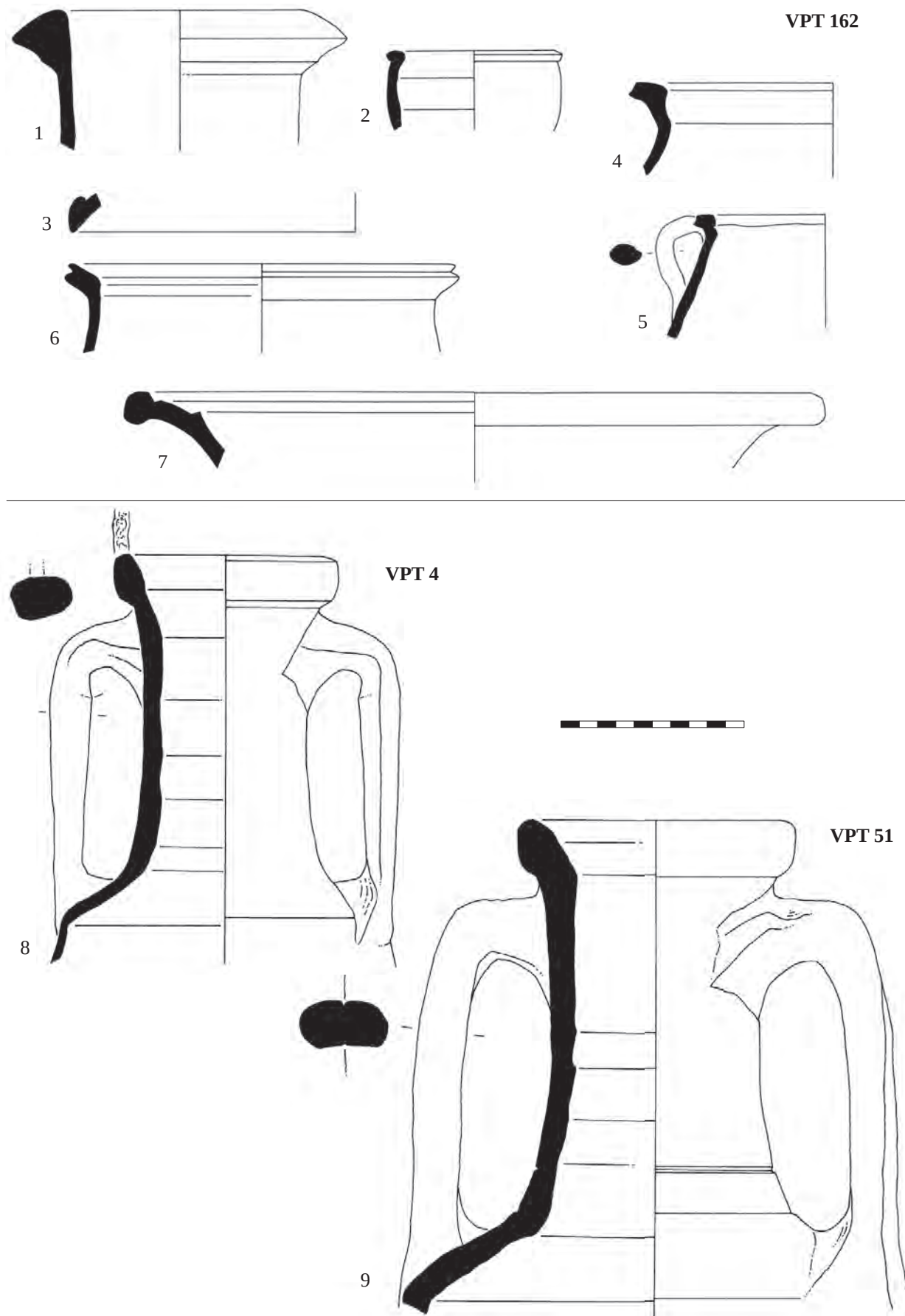


Figure 17.20. Early to mid-3rd-century ceramics from Contexts 4, 51 and 162 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

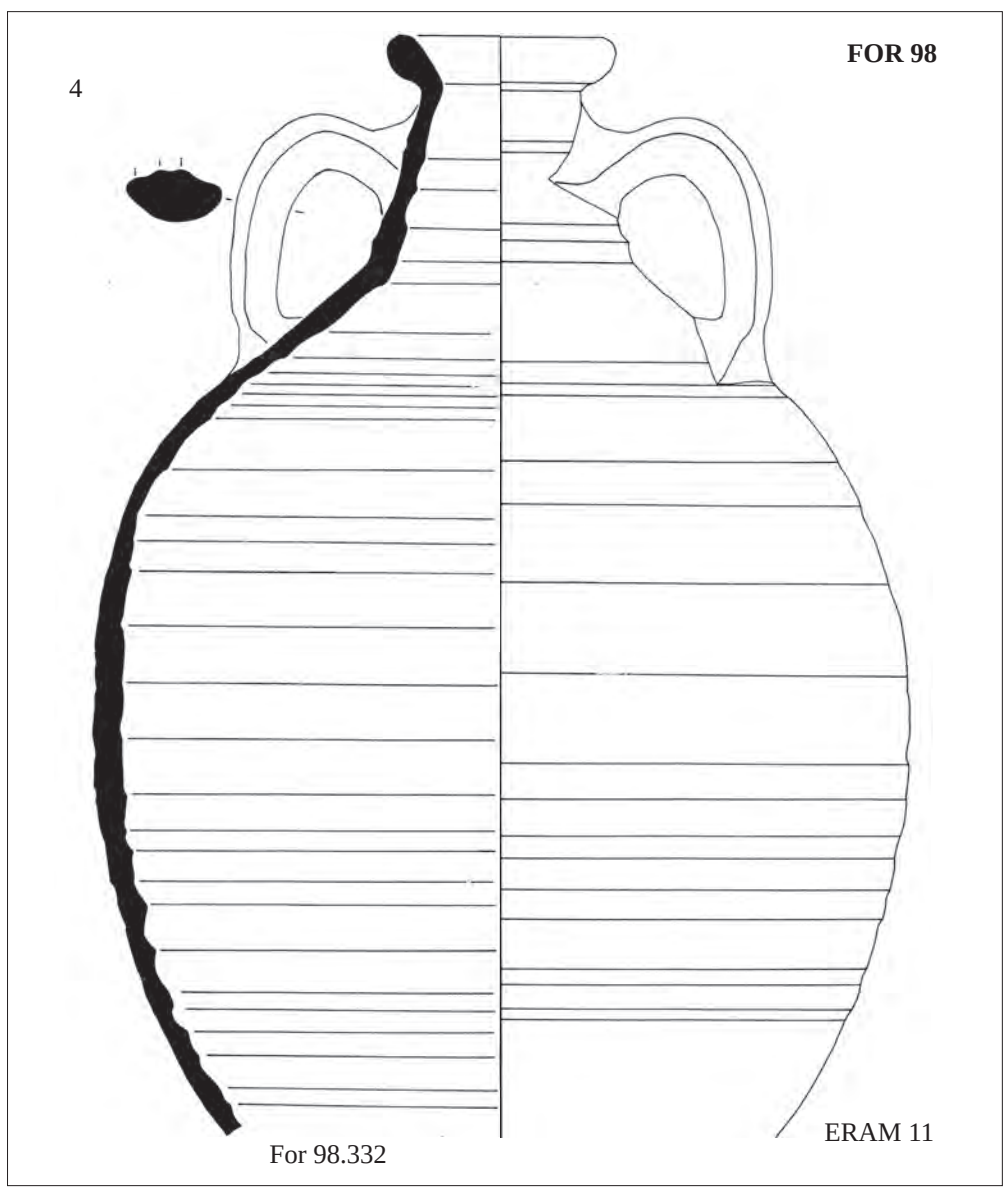
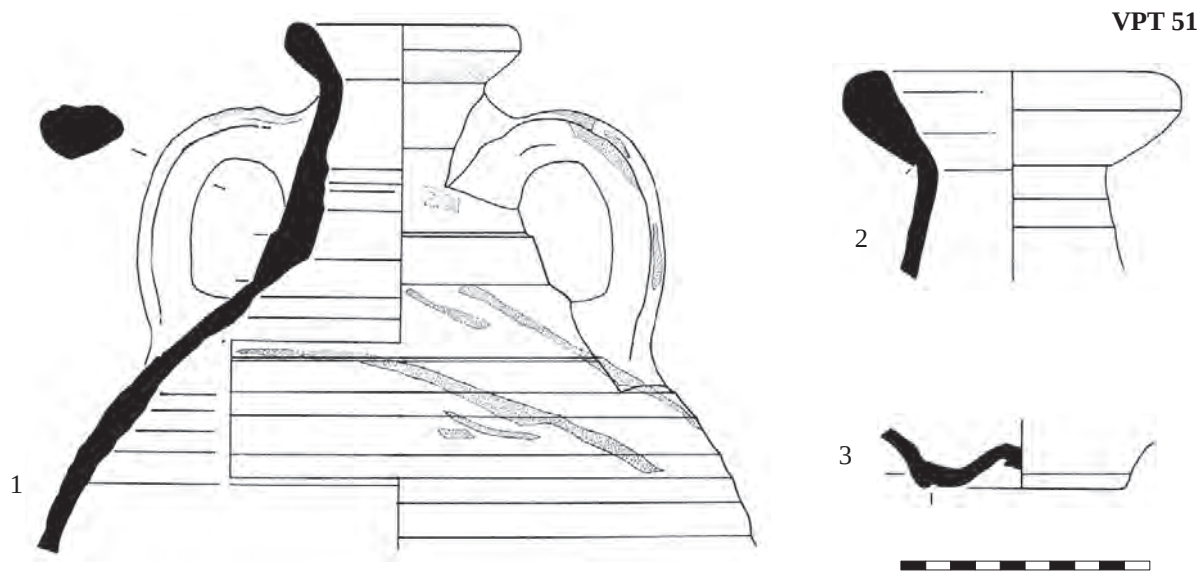


Figure 17.21. Early to mid-3rd-century ceramics from Context 51 and Forum Context 98 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

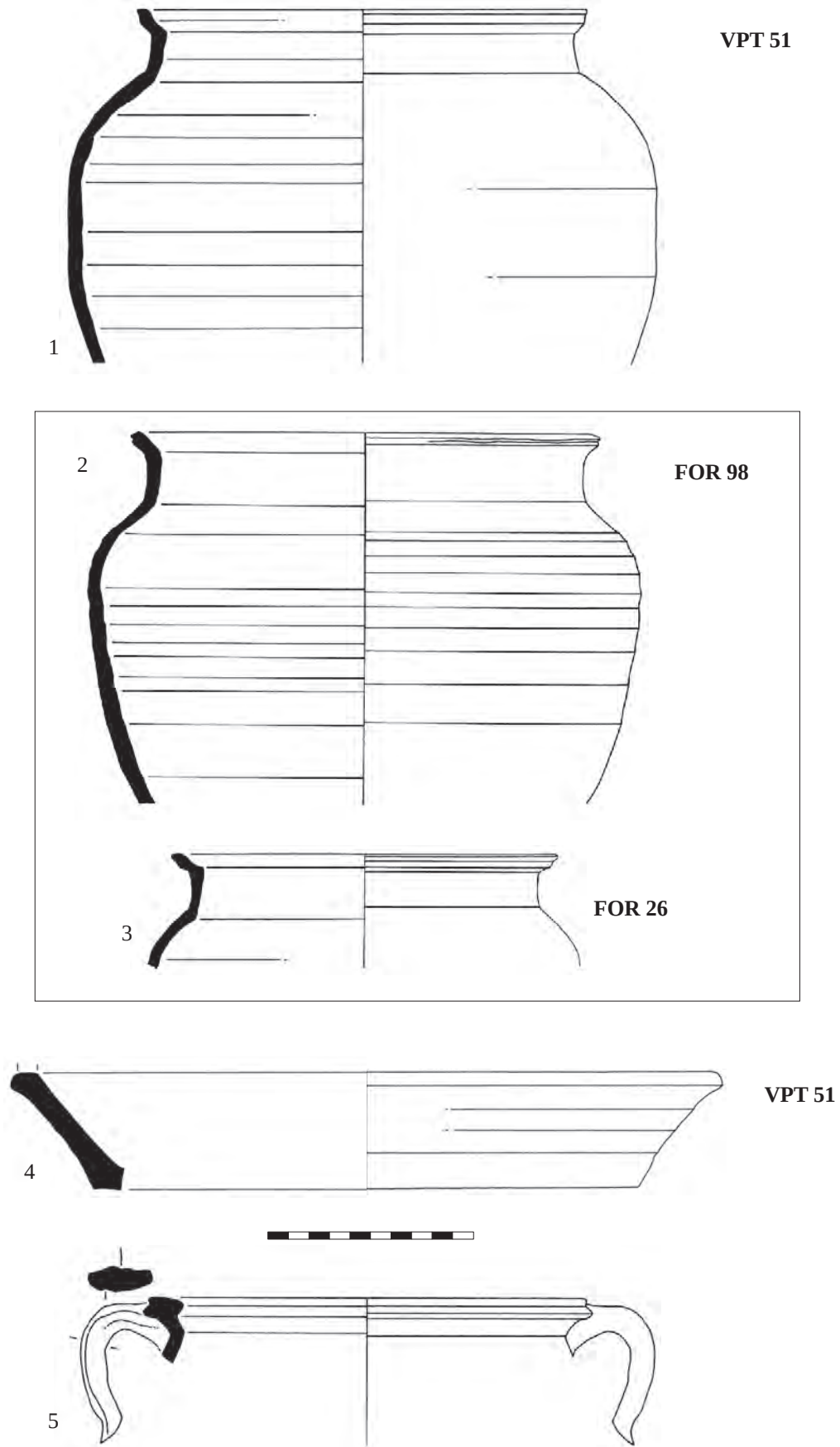


Figure 17.22. Early to mid-3rd-century ceramics from Context 51 and Forum Contexts 98 and 26 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

(Fig. 17.20.1). A Phocian frying pan was also present. A large bowl in a highly micaceous fabric may be Samian or Ephesian (Fig. 17.20.7).

Context 197 dates to the early or mid-3rd century AD, with ARS Hayes 31 (Fig. 17.23.1), a large fragment of an Aegean, probably Phocian, flanged baking dish (Fig. 17.23.2), and walls of the fine ware flask present in *Context 177* (Fig. 17.19.17).

Context 202 dates to the early or mid-3rd century AD, with several well-preserved pieces (*cf.* *Context 51*): ARS Hayes 31 (Fig. 17.23.3), a local lid with bevelled rim, typical in Forum *Context 98* (Fig. 17.23.4) and a Phocian frying pan.

OTHER LIKELY 3RD CENTURY AD CONTEXTS

Context 57 dates to the 2nd or early 3rd century AD.

Context 157 has several vessels, but with a possible late 3rd–4th-century AD cooking pot.

Context 167 could date to the late 2nd or 3rd century AD (thin Tunisian lid, ARS 197 base).

Context 168 has early to mid-3rd-century grooved rim cooking pots.

Context 173 has early or mid-3rd-century AD grooved rim cooking pot (joins *Context 199*).

Context 126 has an amphora sherd that joins to *Context 101*. This could also be a 3rd-century AD form, but a late Roman date is suggested for this.

Context 170. Finally, the *dolium* rim (Fig. 17.23.5) is part of an almost complete vessel that was found (perhaps deliberately broken *in situ*). It is in a local chert rich fabric. The rim bears pie-crust decoration. There were base fragments of this vessel and one other. It would seem reasonable to argue for an early Imperial (2nd to 3rd century AD) date for these *dolia* on the basis of the form and the decoration. Local late Roman *dolia*, common finds in the villa of Diaporit, are quite different, with undecorated, rather simple rim shapes (the combed wavy band on the rim top of the *dolium* of *Context 359* (Fig. 17.27.3) is unusual).²⁹

4TH TO 6TH CENTURY AD CONTEXTS

Context 81 should date to the 4th century AD on the basis of a likely ARS Hayes 58 dish rim and Tunisian Keay 25 amphora rim.

Context 154 may also be 4th century AD rather than later, with a single ARS stamped floor and Rectangular Rim cooking pot, such as those produced nearby on the Vrina Plain.³⁰

Context 176 may date to the late 3rd or 4th century AD (a

possible Tunisian Keay 25 base, late 3rd/4th century waster; Kapitän 2 base, perhaps of the 4th century in this case).

Context 132 is a group that dates to the 4th- to early 5th-century AD. A key piece is a fairly well-preserved, thin-walled local-regional cooking pot with a carinated base that is typical of the 5th-century levels in Butrint and Vrina, as well as Nikopolis³¹ and Corinth. This variant, with a small rim, may date to the early 5th century. A local cooking pot (Fig. 17.24.2), a rare variant of the grooved rim series, probably dates to the first half of the 4th century, on typological grounds; presence of internal ‘lid seat’ of 3rd-century forms and thin rectangular rim of 4th-century forms in the series. A buff flagon (probably one-handed) with a tall pointed rim is a form well-attested in Butrint in 4th- and 5th-century deposits (Fig. 17.24.5).

Context 191 includes a rim fragment of a large, thick-walled ARS Hayes 67, Bonifay Type B that dates to the late 4th to first half of 5th century AD (Fig. 17.24.8).³² A thin-walled cooking pot (Fig. 17.24.9) is in an imported ware well-attested as an import in both Carthage³³ and Alicante,³⁴ a ware which is usually found in Butrint in 5th- and 6th-century contexts.³⁵ This piece is presumably an early variant of Fulford Casserole 31/Reynolds Ware 6.6. A local or possibly imported (rather micaceous) casserole is a new type (Fig. 17.24.10).

Context 199 (previously mentioned) more clearly dates to the mid-5th century (perhaps the second quarter of the 5th century), indicated by a Gazan amphora rim (Fig. 17.24.12). An amphora lid should be contemporary. A large jar or cooking pot (Fig. 17.24.13), with another rim fragment being present in *Context 191*, is possibly a contemporary, unique piece in Butrint. A 2nd-century Tunisian lid joins the fragment from *Context 172* (Fig. 17.19.14).

Context 107, with a buff jug rim, may date to the 4th or, more likely, to the 5th century AD (Fig. 17.24.14). A good parallel is from an early 5th-century context in the Triconch Palace (But 5327.2) and a similar early 5th-century parallel is published from Nikopolis.³⁶

Context 163, with a thin-walled cooking pot with a thick triangular rim, belongs to the aforementioned (developed) 5th-century AD Epirote type, LRCP 1.9 or C (Fig. 17.24.15). The base (Fig. 17.24.16), with its unusually high indented *omphalos*, probably belongs to this vessel.

Several amphora rims of note are illustrated from various other Late Roman contexts, perhaps all dating to the 5th century (Figs 17.25.1–4).

Context 82. Of these, one (Fig. 17.25.1) may be Cretan. The amphora (Fig. 17.25.2) is an early variant of a type of long development from the 4th to 6th century, which is common in the Athenian Agora³⁷ and in Leptis Magna³⁸ and was regularly exported to the western Mediterranean in

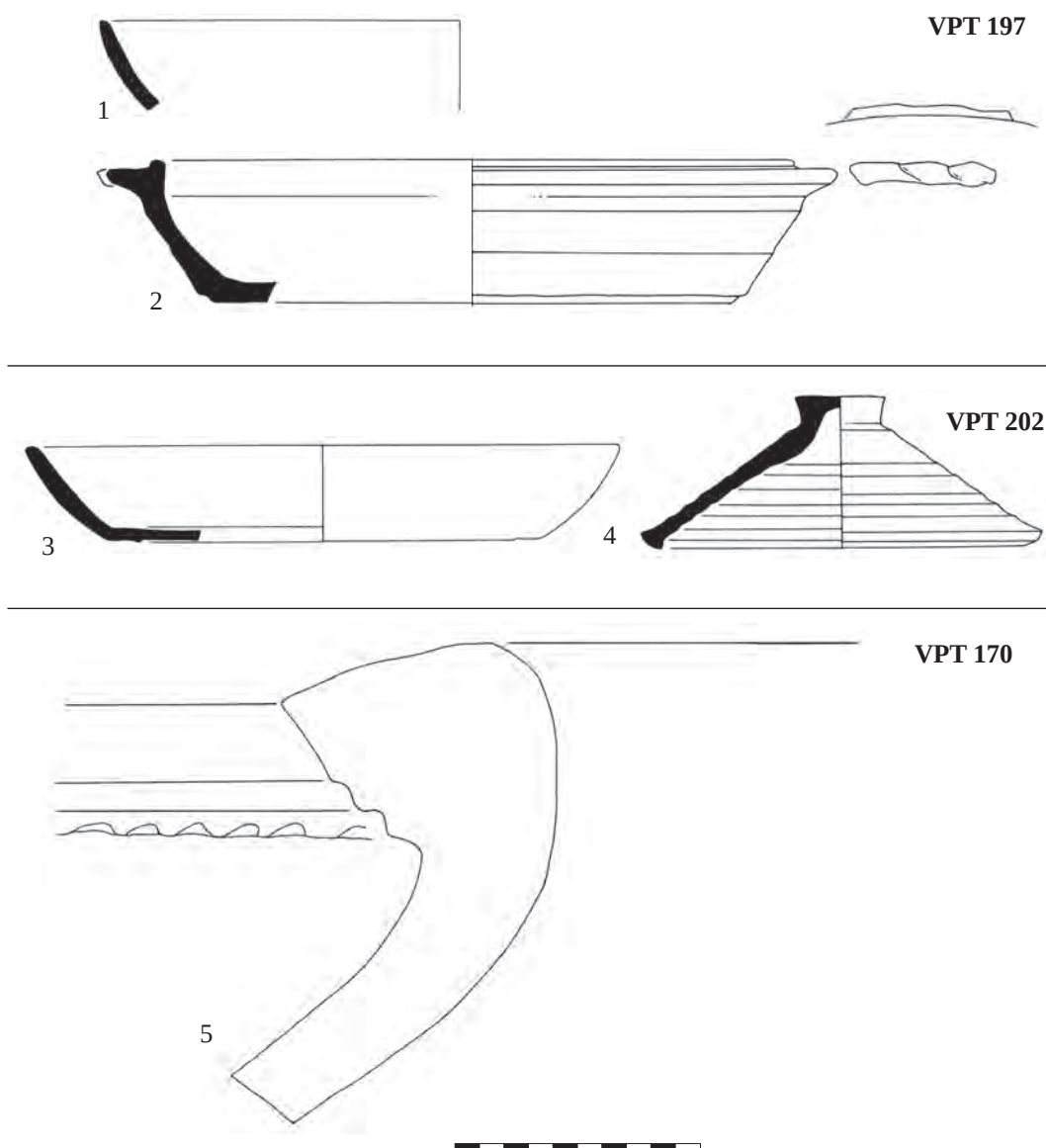


Figure 17.23. Early to mid-3rd-century ceramics from Contexts 197, 202 and 170 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

the mid-5th century (Tarragona, where it is more common than usual; also at Marseilles and Rome).³⁹ The type is common in Butrint (Triconch Palace, Vrina Plain *domus*), with the latest examples dating to the 6th century.⁴⁰ Though I had suggested a Cretan source for typological reasons, an origin in the southern Peloponnese, in the territory of Messene is more likely.⁴¹ The form may be typologically related to early versions of LRA 2 produced also in the Peloponnese, both forms probably for carrying olive oil. A large amphora related to both Agora M 235 and dating to the late 5th- to mid-6th-century LRA 2 was found in Context 128 (Fig. 17.25.4).

Context 95 is a well-preserved cooking pot and the principal find in Grave 8, located inside the Mausoleum (Fig. 17.25.5). The form, with a folded, then pinched everted rim serving as a lid seat, is well paralleled in Butrint, at

the Triconch Palace and at the villa of Diaporit, in deposits of the later 5th and first half of the 6th century AD and belongs to a complex range of forms and variants of this general type.⁴² The best parallel dates to the early 6th century (Type o, But 5014.81). Other material was residual. The grave Context 33 contained fragments of a thin-walled *clibanus* baking lid dating to the 5th or 6th century AD.

Context 161 comprises many fragments of a 'late Cretan' amphora (Fig. 17.25.6). The base may be that (with bitumen?) in Context 171 (see also bitumen coated sherds, in Context 161 and in Context 191, the latter in the base of the villa sequence, is evidence for later intrusive activity). This amphora type, with a rather globular body, is well-dated to the first half of the 6th century AD in the Triconch Palace (*e.g.* But 1829.15). A complete vessel, on display in the Butrint site museum, was reused for an

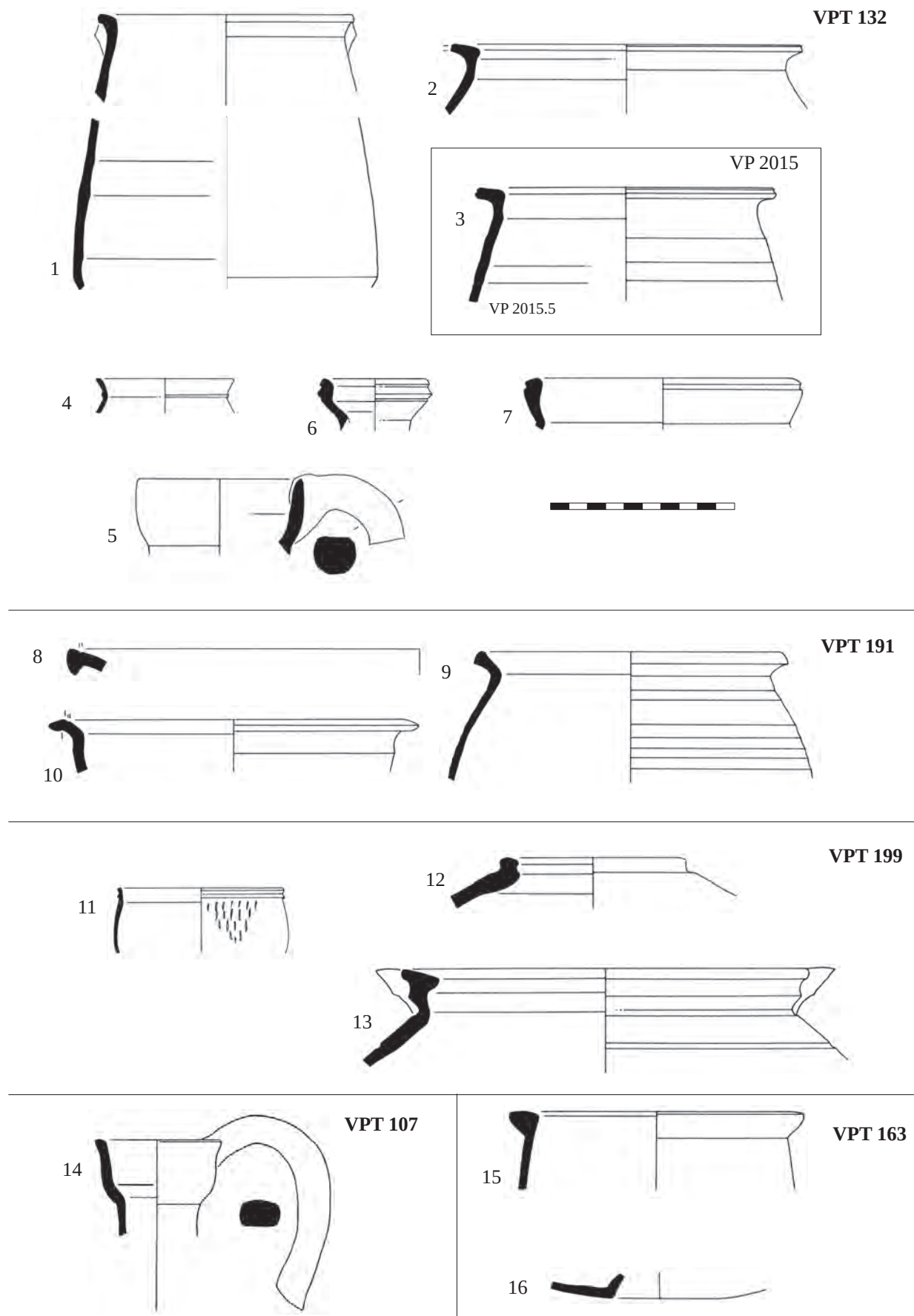


Figure 17.24. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 132, 191, 199, 107 and 163 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

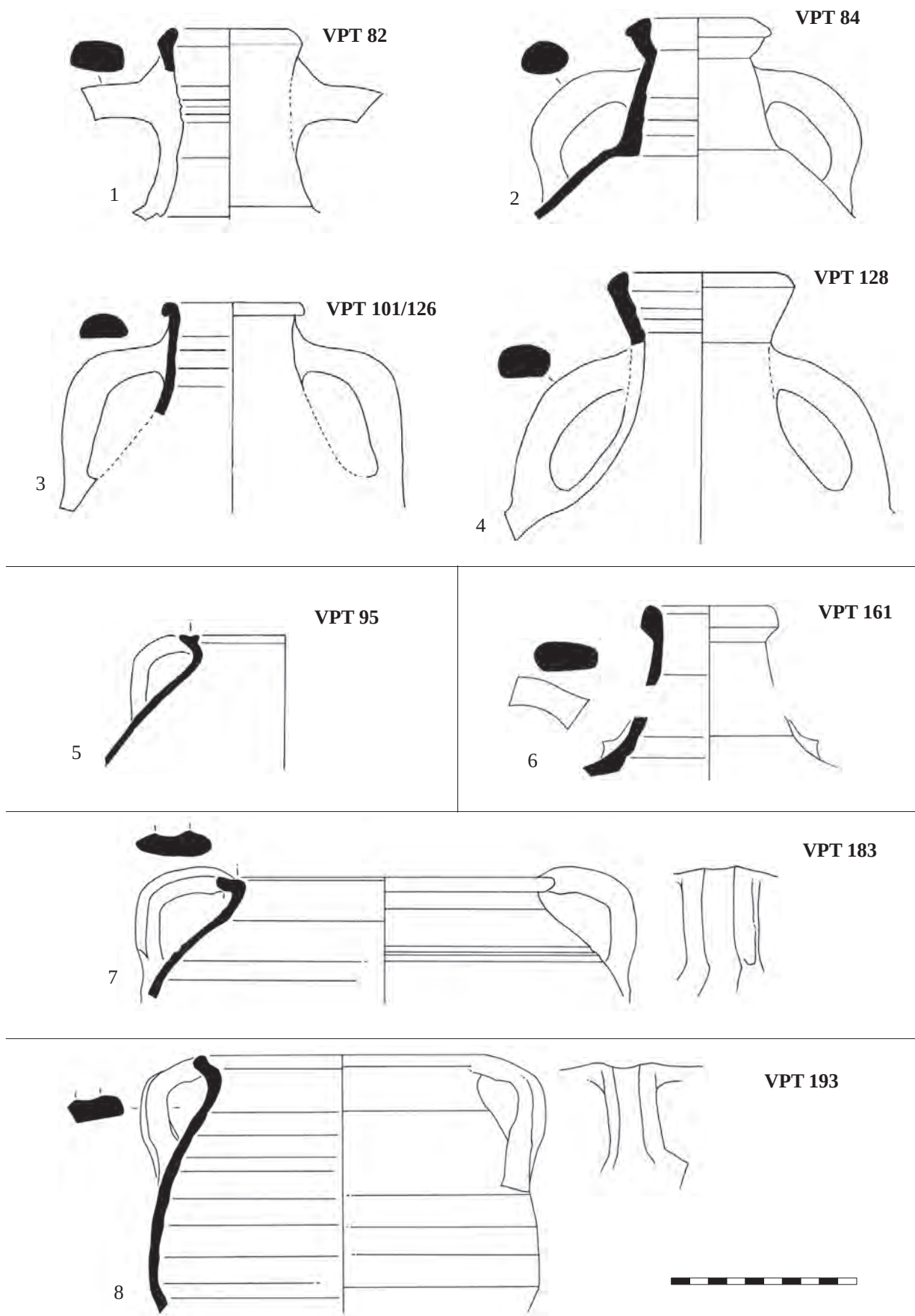


Figure 17.25. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 82, 84, 101/126, 128, 95, 161, 183 and 193 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

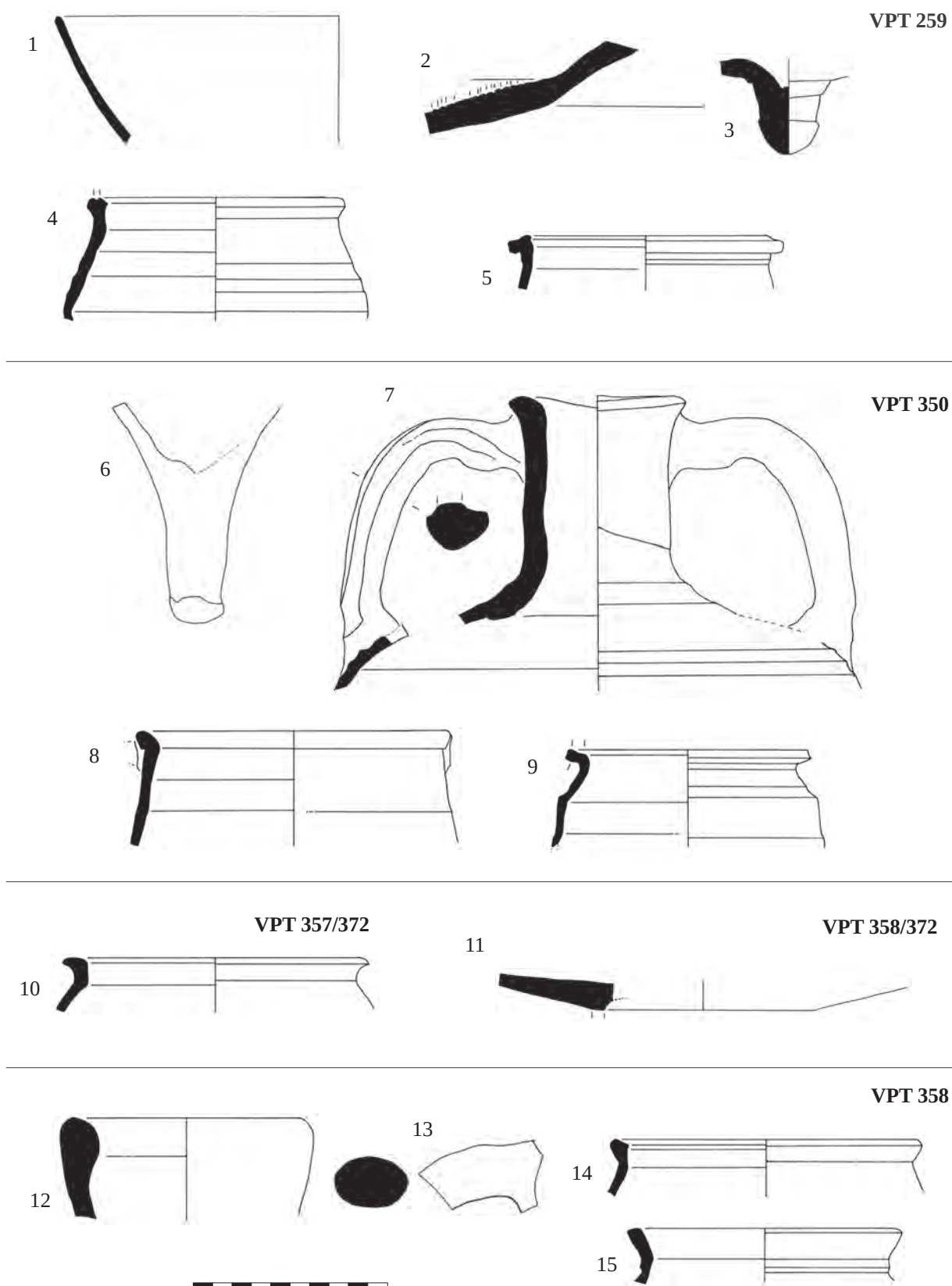


Figure 17.26. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 259, 350, 357/372 and 358 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

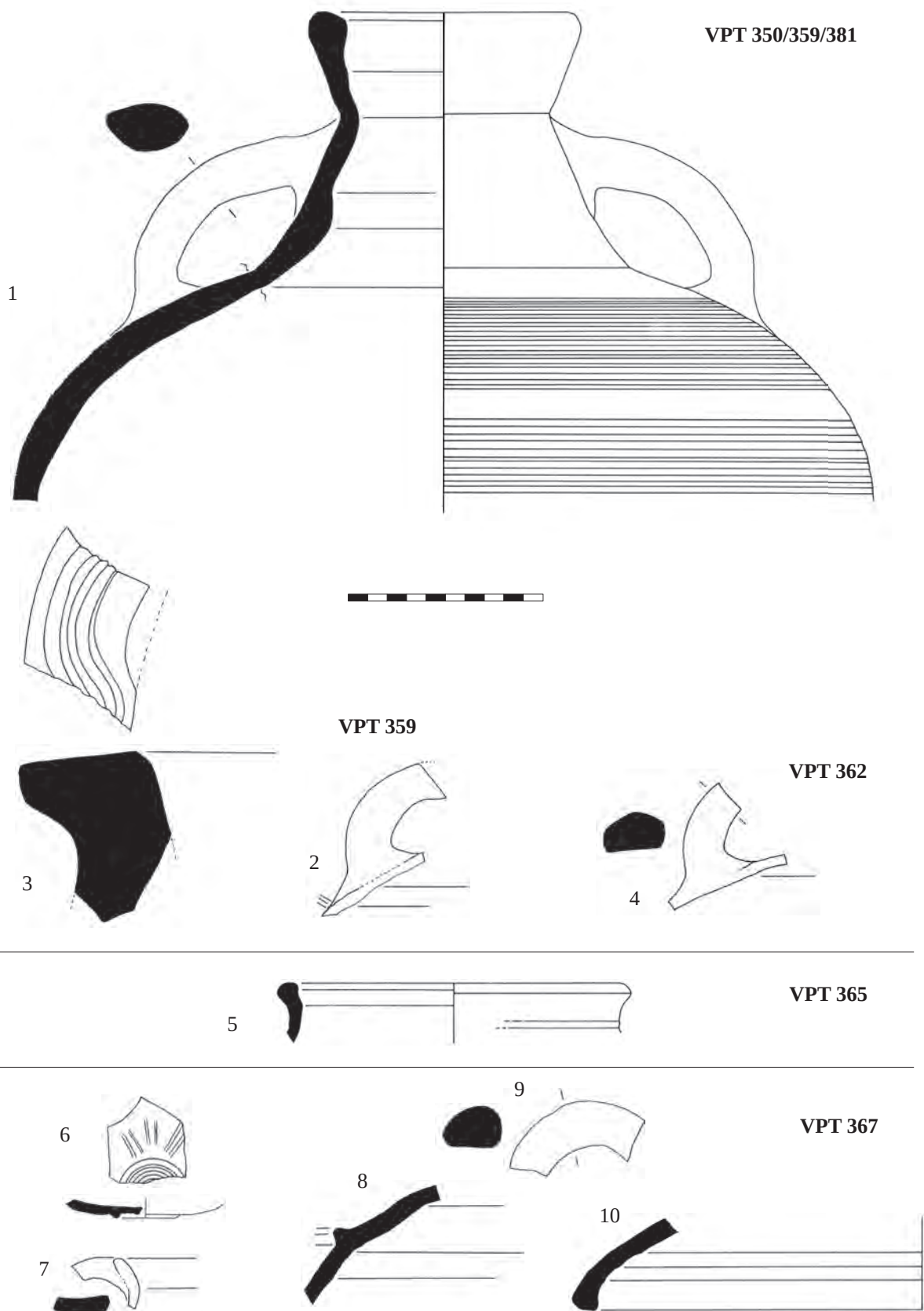


Figure 17.27. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 350/359/381, 362, 365 and 367 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

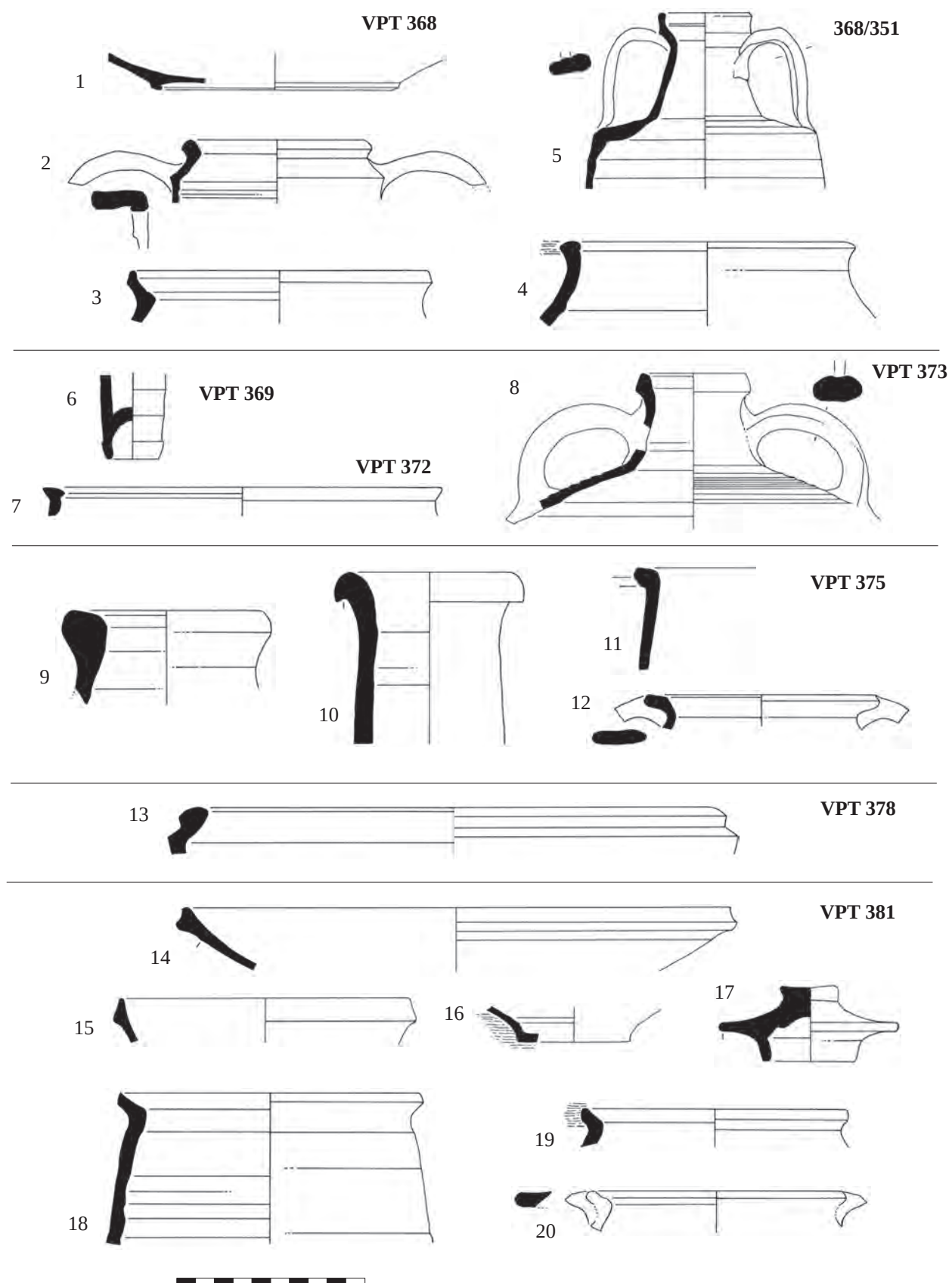


Figure 17.28. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 368, 369, 372, 373, 375, 378 and 381 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

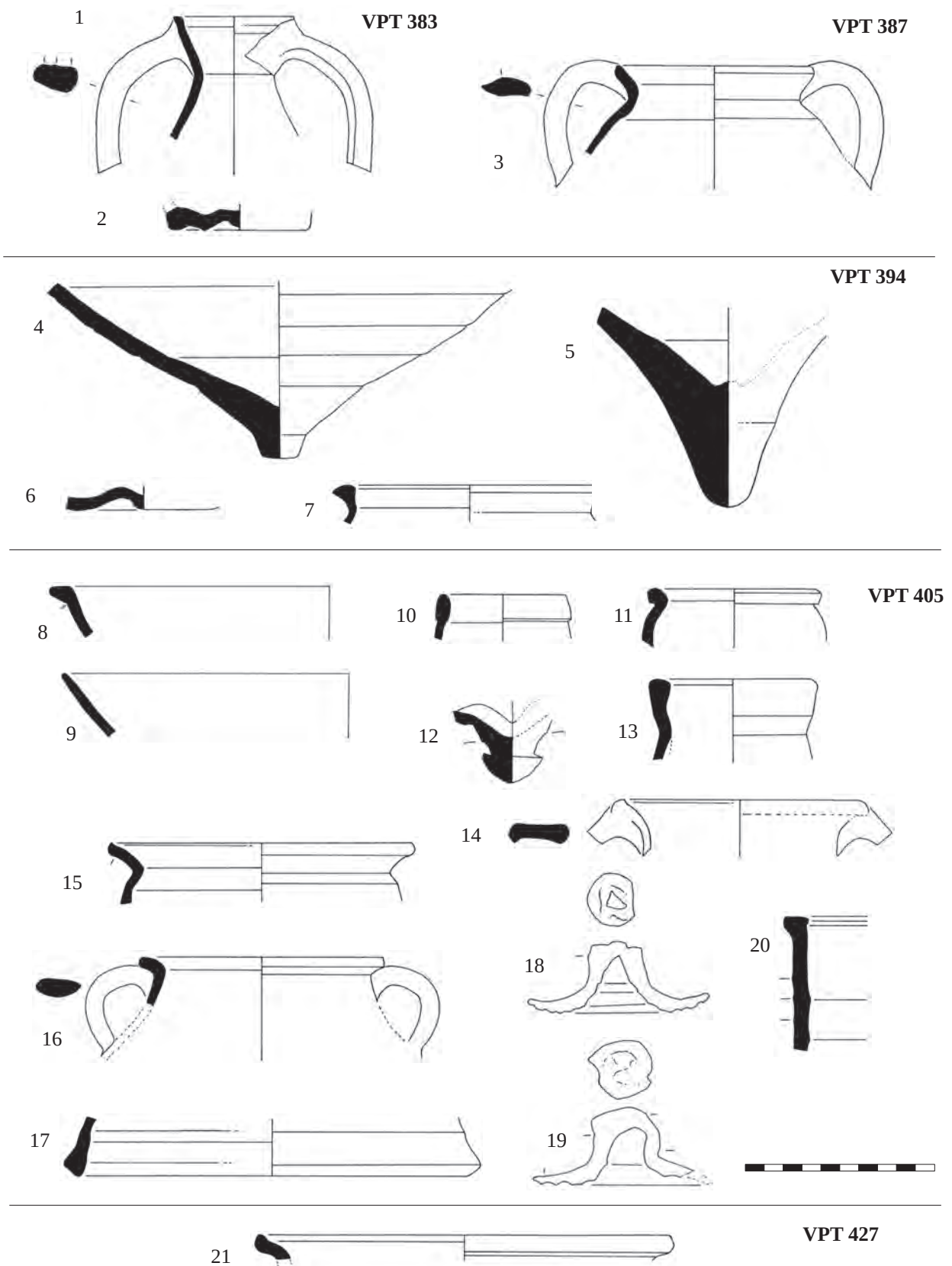


Figure 17.29. 4th- to 6th-century ceramics from Contexts 383, 387, 394 and 405 (Drawn by Paul Reynolds)

infant burial in the Triconch Palace.⁴³ Other examples, in different fabrics published from the latest phase at Diaporit (e.g. Dia 56.3/78.1) should date to the second half (third quarter?) of the 6th century AD.⁴⁴

There were several more Cretan amphora burials in the VPT villa site, the top of one of these being illustrated from burial Context 373 (Fig. 17.28.8). One (Context 362, Fig. 17.27.4), possibly two (Context 359, Fig. 17.27.2) handles of this type are also illustrated.

Context 359. A large, thick-walled LRA 2 amphora (late 5th or early 6th century AD) which appeared primarily in Context 359 (with fragments also in Contexts 350 and 387), may have been originally re-used for a burial (Fig. 17.27.1). The aforementioned *dolium* rim was also recovered from Context 359 (Fig. 17.27.3).

Context 350 included the top of a Cilician 5th century AD LRA 1 (Fig. 17.26.7) with a typical Epirote cooking pot of the first half of the 5th century (Fig. 17.26.8) and an unusual local thin-walled jar or cooking pot (Fig. 17.26.9).

Context 394 included a well-preserved base and walls of a likely Peloponnesian fabric Agora M 235 (Fig. 17.29.4) and many walls of a single Tunisian amphora, together with a Samian amphora base (Fig. 17.29.5).

Context 183 included a well-sooted cooking pot (or possibly casserole) (Fig. 17.25.7) that is paralleled by vessels of late 5th- to mid-6th-century AD date in Butrint.

Context 193 comprises a well-preserved cooking pot that dates from the early to mid-6th century AD, again bearing soot on the handle (Fig. 17.25.8). The best parallels are from the Triconch Palace and date to the mid-6th century. Finds also included another rim of similar type, and an Aegean Fulford Casserole 35 (Reynolds Ware 6). An Aegean cooking pot in Context 368 (Fig. 17.28.3) is a contemporary piece.

The majority of contexts spot-dated and drawn in the final season of the excavations were from late levels of the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Of these, the post-robbing level (Context 375) over the large platform, with the rim of a (mid-) 5th-century AD Tunisian amphora observed imbedded into the surviving stones and mortar, is of special stratigraphic interest, whereas others include a number of typical local variants of 'Collared Rim' cooking pots of the later 5th to first half of the 6th century (Contexts 357 (joins 372), 358, 365, 372 and 394) or more rarely simple short-rimmed cooking pots like the more complete likely 6th-century example from Context 163 (Context 381: Figs. 17.28.19–20), though in this case associated with 5th-century fine wares (the rare LRC form 4 and a possible Vandal period ARS Fulford 27: Figs. 17.28.14–15). Finds of notably thin-walled local-regional vessels (mostly closed

forms) in late (primarily 5th century) levels may be noted: Contexts 368 (Figs 17.28.2 and 17.28.5, the latter slipped), 383 (Fig. 17.29.1) and 405 (Fig. 17.29.14).

Appendix 1: The *Dolia*

Oliver J. Gilkes

The agricultural building seems to have been producing and storing wine from an early date. It would appear from the table below that storage vessels were produced locally, as well as being acquired regionally. Unfortunately, so much of this material either comes from deposits of rubble or occurs as reused building material that we cannot at the moment make any chronological conclusions. Fragments of *dolia* were found as *spolia* and building material in constructions of Phase 3 and later. It is possible that the small wine pressing facility replaced or supplemented another such resource elsewhere.

The *dolia* fragments found in the excavation were characterised by fabric and quantified simply (Table 17.1).

1. Medium hard-fired fabric, inclusions of iron rich clay, some limestone and grog. Most likely a regional product.
2. A hard-fired fabric with a bright brick red colouring throughout, with common inclusions of small fragments of chert, limestone and grog pellets. Perhaps a regional product.
3. Medium hard-fired with a light orange colour throughout, yellowish in the core, with common calcite inclusions.
4. A hard- to very hard-fired fabric with a dull red-maroon colour and some organic and grog inclusions. Most likely a regional fabric, perhaps a simple variant of Fabric 1.
5. Poorly soft-fired and badly made fabric with abundant fragments of calcite of all sizes, generally light orange throughout. The surface is rough and poorly finished. Similar to some coarse early fabrics from Diaporit and certainly a locally produced ware. It is notable that the recovered rims of vessels are all of a relatively simple form with only vestigial flanges.

Table 17.1. Fabric and quantitative data of *dolia* fragments from the agricultural building

Fabric	No. sherds	Weight (kg)	Min. no. individual vessels
1	20	35.29	1
2	5	26	1
3	38	54	2
4	17	20	2
5	78	160.20	6
6	1	12	1
7	1	3	1

6. A hard-fired fabric with a yellowish colour with a pinkish surface, containing common to large fragments of grog. From one small *dolium*.
7. A large vessel hard-fired with inclusions of large but sparse lumps of chert, yellow pink surface with a completely dark grey-black core.

Appendix 2: Organic Residue Analysis of Two Wine *Dolia* from the Vrina Plain

Alessandra Pecci and Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros⁴⁵

Two of several *dolia* found in the excavations of the agricultural building on the Vrina Plain were submitted for organic residue analysis: *Dolium* 170 and *Dolium* 172. *Dolium* 170 was found *in situ* by the supposed wine press and vat (Fig 17.10 and 17.11). The sampling was aimed at confirming the function of the structure as a wine production installation. *Dolium* 172 belongs to the 2nd century AD Phase 2, associated with a large pottery assemblage (Reynolds *supra*). One sample was taken from each *dolium*: samples 1 (*Dolium* 170) and 2 (*Dolium* 172).

The samples were cleaned mechanically before being sub-sampled and pulverised in the laboratory for analyses at the University of Barcelona, as part of the activities of the ERAAUB research group. The ceramic powders were extracted using three different methods:

1. The *total lipid extract* was obtained following the procedure described by Mottram *et al.*⁴⁶
2. For some samples, the solid fraction of each sample was extracted following Salvini *et al.*⁴⁷
3. For the identification of wine markers, the procedure described by Pecci *et al.*⁴⁸ was followed to look for wine and fermentation markers.

All the extracts were derivatised adding 25 µl of N,O-bis(trimethylsilyl)trifluoroacetamide (BSTFA, Sigma-Aldrich) and heating at 70°C for 1h. 75 µl of hexane and 5 µl of a standard (dotriacontano – 1 mg/mL). For the analysis 1 µl was injected.

The extracts were analysed by gas chromatography coupled with mass spectrometry using a chromatographer Thermo Scientific TS GC ultra, with a 30 m × 0.25 mm (i.d.) × 0.25 µm film thickness fused silica capillary column and a mass spectrometer Thermo Scientific ITQ 900 operated in electronic ionisation (70 eV). The mass range was scanned in the range of m/z 40–650. The oven temperature of the GC was kept at 50°C for 1 min, and then raised of 5°C/min until the 330°C and kept constant for 10 min.

A control sample was analysed using the same solvents employed for the analysis of the *dolia* samples.

Although no traces of lining are visible in the two *dolia*, in both samples dehydroabietic acid and 7-oxodehydroabietic acid were very abundant. These are considered to be the markers of Pinaceae resin or pitch. Methyldehydroabietate is also abundant in all the extracts.

The latter is considered to be the marker of the production of pitch directly from Pinaceae wood.⁴⁹ Pitch is therefore present in both samples suggesting that the *dolia* had an organic coating.

The analyses of extract (c) allowed identifying tartaric acid, in both samples. While also other fruits, such as tamarind, may contain tartaric acid,⁵⁰ this acid is particularly abundant in grape, and it is usually considered the marker of grape derivatives.⁵¹ In particular, for the investigated period and region, it is possible to hypothesise that these *dolia* contained grape juice.

Besides this acid, other compounds that are typical of wine – although these cannot be considered exclusive markers – were identified (malic, malonic, succinic and isocitric acids).⁵² This confirms the original function of the *dolia* as *dolia de fosa* of a wine production installation. In the chromatogram obtained with the analysis of *dolium* 172 syringic acid is also present. This acid tends to derive from contamination but is also typical of red wine.⁵³ Therefore, it is possible (but should be confirmed by further analyses) that the *dolium* was used to store red wine.

The identification of the markers of wine or its derivatives in these *dolia* confirms that they stored wine. Although no visible lining is present in the vessels, pitch was identified in these analyses. This was probably used to coat the *dolia*, and it is consistent with what was recommended by Columella (*De Re Rustica* 12.18.5) for wine containers: ‘The barrels and the jars and the other vessels should be treated with pitch forty days before the vintage, a different process being applied to those which are sunk into the earth and those which stand above ground’. Besides providing an efficient lining, protecting the ceramic matrix during the fermentation process, the function of the pitch could also have been that of flavouring the wine contained in the *dolia*.

Organic residue analyses have identified a pitch lining of *dolia* in many Roman and Late Roman *dolia*.⁵⁴

Notes

- 1 See Greenslade 2019b, 16–17, fig. 1.1 E.
- 2 Bescoby 2007.
- 3 Bescoby 2007; Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 138–140.
- 4 Gilkes, Hysa and Çondi 2013, 176–180; Greenslade, Leppard and Gilkes 2019.
- 5 This work was undertaken as part of the Butrint Foundation’s training school for Albanian university students: Crowson and Gilkes 2007; Gilkes and Hysa 2011, 34–35; Gilkes, Hysa and Çondi 2013.
- 6 For an overview of Adriatic Sea villas, see Bowden 2018; for the *villa rustica* at Igoumenitsa, see Lazari and Palli 2018.
- 7 Gilkes, Hysa and Çondi 2013, 176–180.
- 8 Greenslade and Hodges 2019a, 360–361.
- 9 A potential sixth pilaster may be located to the southwest of the entrance porch.
- 10 For the evidence of the earthquake on the Vrina Plain, see Greenslade and Hodges 2019b, 368.
- 11 Hodges 2015, 212.

- 12 Greenslade and Hodges 2019b, 386–387.
- 13 Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 137–140.
- 14 Gilkes, Hysa and Çondi 2013, 176–180.
- 15 The obverse reads CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C (Constantine Junior most noble Caesar), with laureate, draped and cuirassed bust looking right; the reverse reads PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS (to the Princeps of youth), with prince standing left, looking right, in military dress, holding sceptre on left arm and standard with eagle holding wreath in his right hand; to the right, another standard. SMK in exergue (minted in Cyzicus).
- 16 Reynolds 2020, 233–254 (appendix A).
- 17 Fantuzzi 2020.
- 18 For the complex sketchy evidence for the date of early versions, see Reynolds 2020, 154 (VP 1515), 191–193 (VP 2134) and appendix A, 235, 242, fig. A.4.
- 19 Reynolds 2020, 234, fig. A.1w–x.
- 20 Robinson 1959.
- 21 Reynolds 2005, 564–565.
- 22 Reynolds 2020, notably in deposits in the Temple Mausoleum on the Vrina Plain.
- 23 Reynolds, Hernandez and Çondi 2008, figs 15.54–56.
- 24 Arthur and Williams 1992.
- 25 Reynolds 2013.
- 26 Reynolds 2020, 247, fig. A.11, ERAM 11.
- 27 For the development of this series, see Reynolds 2020, 235, 242, fig. A.4–5.
- 28 Reynolds 2020, 245, fig. A.10o–q, ERAM 6.
- 29 See Appendix 2 for analyses of the organic content.
- 30 Cf. wasters excavated in Area G: Reynolds 2020, 198–200, 235, fig. A.5, LRCP 1.
- 31 Reynolds and Pavlidis 2017.
- 32 Bonifay 2004, 171, fig. 92.
- 33 Fulford and Peacock 1984, 24–25, Fabric 3.7.
- 34 Reynolds Ware 6, see Fantuzzi 2020, 273, nos 204, 205, 207.
- 35 For example, the 6th-century Triconch deposit; however, see 1152: Reynolds 2004, 234.
- 36 Reynolds and Pavlidis 2017; Reynolds 2020, 244, fig. A.9c.
- 37 Robinson 1958, M 235.
- 38 Bonifay and Capelli 2013, 116–117.
- 39 Remolà i Vallverdú 1993; 2000, 234, figs 87–88, ‘Tipo Tardío A’.
- 40 Reynolds 2020, 249, fig. A.13a–c.
- 41 Yangaki 2014; Reynolds 2020, 3.
- 42 Reynolds 2020, 240, fig. A.6l–q.
- 43 Reynolds 2020, fig. A.13e: But 5383.2.
- 44 Rather than to the 7th century, as suggested in Reynolds 2002.
- 45 Alessandra Pecci (ERAAUB, Departament de Història i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona) and Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros (ICREA, ERAAUB, Departament de Història i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona).
- 46 Mottram *et al.* 1999.
- 47 Salvini *et al.* 2008.
- 48 Pecci, Cau Ontiveros *et al.* 2013.
- 49 Colombini *et al.* 2005.
- 50 Barnard *et al.* 2011.
- 51 Barnard *et al.* 2011; Garnier 2007; Garnier and Valamoti 2016; Garnier *et al.* 2003; Guash-Jané *et al.* 2004; Drieu *et al.* 2020; McGovern 2004; Pecci 2018; Pecci, Cau Ontiveros *et al.* 2013, Pecci, Salvini *et al.* 2013, Pecci *et al.* 2017; Rageot *et al.* 2019.
- 52 Pecci, Cau Ontiveros *et al.* 2013.
- 53 Guash Jané *et al.* 2004.
- 54 See Allevato *et al.* 2012; Pecci 2016; Pecci *et al.* 2018.

18 The Shën Dimitri Survey, 2015: The Rediscovery of Zarópulo

Ilir Parangoni

Introduction

In July 2015, an archaeological survey was conducted to the south of ancient Butrint, beyond the Vrina Plain, on the hill known as Shën Dimitri and its surroundings (Fig. 18.1).¹ The aim was to examine a limited area in the hinterland of Butrint that had been omitted in previous surveys with a view to locating the ‘lost’ Venetian–Ottoman site of Zarópulo.²

During the later Venetian and later Ottoman periods, the Triangular Fortress on the south bank of the Vivari Channel was a gateway to Butrint’s hinterland. This hinterland could be reached either by boat or a network of roads that followed the higher points in this seasonally flooded area. A Venetian cadastral map of the 1780s and a French map by Lt. General Comte Guillemot of 1826 (Fig. 18.2), for example, show three roads leading out of Butrint, one



Fig 18.1. View of Butrint and the Straits of Corfu from Mount Mile, showing the location of the Shën Dimitri hill (Photo by Brian Donovan/BF archive)

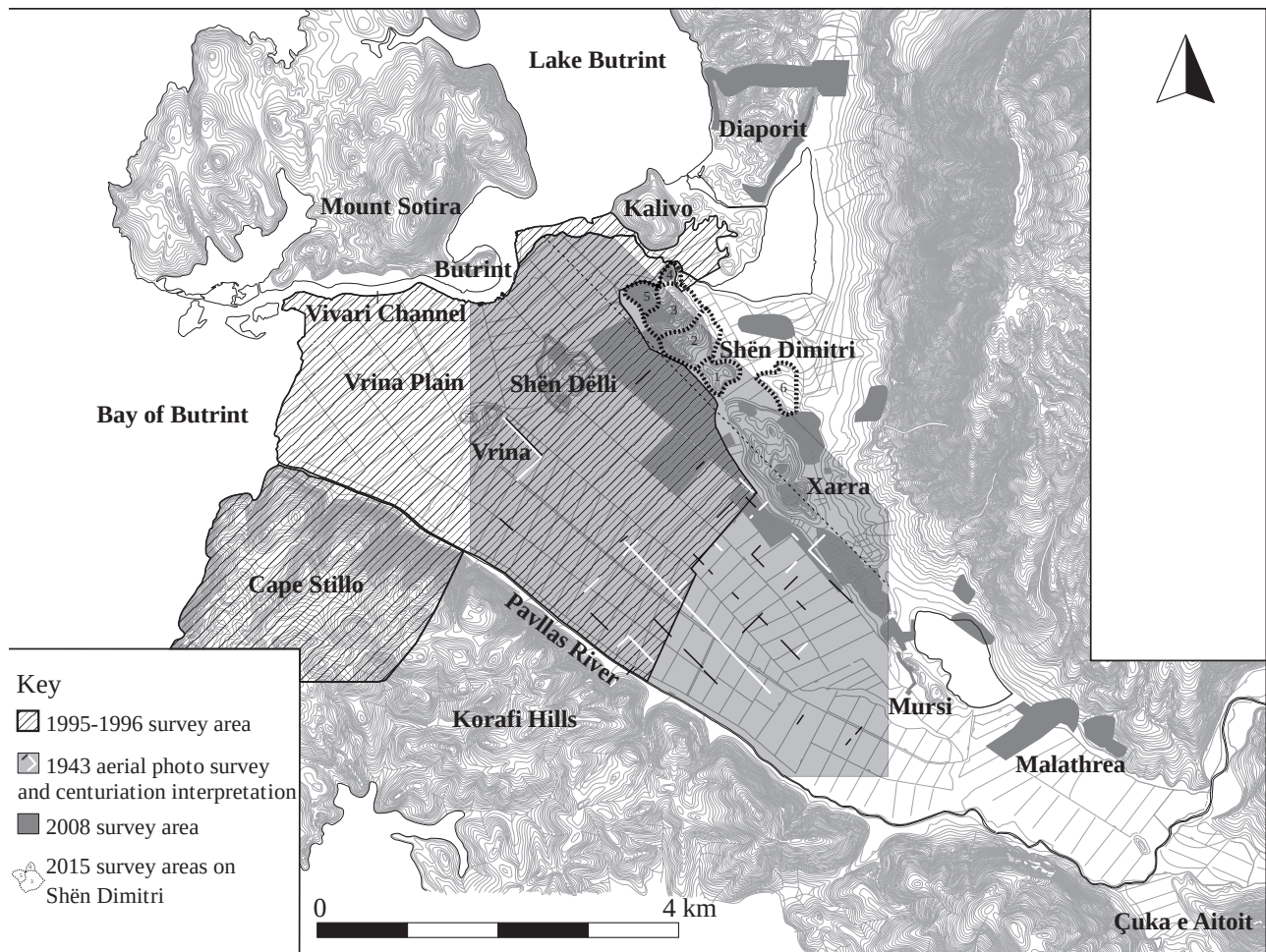


Figure 18.3. Map showing the location of the surveys of the Vrina Plain and the location of the survey areas on Shën Dimitri hill (Drawn by Sarah Leppard/BF archive)

Results

Area 1. Small Knoll to the South of Shën Dimitri – surface area 7 ha

Area 1 lies to the south of the hill crowned by Shën Dimitri and is known to local inhabitants as *paleozivar* (old houses). The geological composition of this area is of clay and small gravel. Parts of this low knoll today are planted with olives. The hill was terraced during the Communist period. The construction of a military trench to the west may have disturbed earlier structures on or close to this hill because fragments of stones and tiles were found westwards of the modern road passing close to Area 1 connecting Shën Dimitri with Xarra. During the survey in Area 1, scattered fragments of tiles and small stones mainly to the northwest of the knoll were found dating to the 18th–19th centuries. Other debris was found to the east but was not associated with any particular features or structure. No other finds were discovered in this area.

Area 2. South of the Hill of Shën Dimitri – surface of 18 ha

The geology is composed of clay, small gravel at the bottom and mudstone on top. At the turn of this millennium, a new road, possibly following an earlier one, was built from the foot of the hill to the church of Shën Dimitri. Remains of several periods were found in the debris thrown up by the road construction. These included a scatter of flint artefacts (Fig. 18.5), scattered building materials, as well as stone, bricks and tile spread over the southeastern slope. The building materials covered an area of approximately 0.47 ha. A further pile of rubble, unaffected by the new road construction was recorded on the eastern slope below the church of Shën Dimitri (see Area 3) (Fig. 18.6).

Several short alignments of walls were noticed, never more than 1.0 or 1.5 m long. Four piles of rubble were found on this hillside with an east-west extension. These related to circular huts built largely with small stones and tiles (Fig. 18.7). The floors were paved with tile and brick and stone slabs. Superficial cleaning showed that the bricks

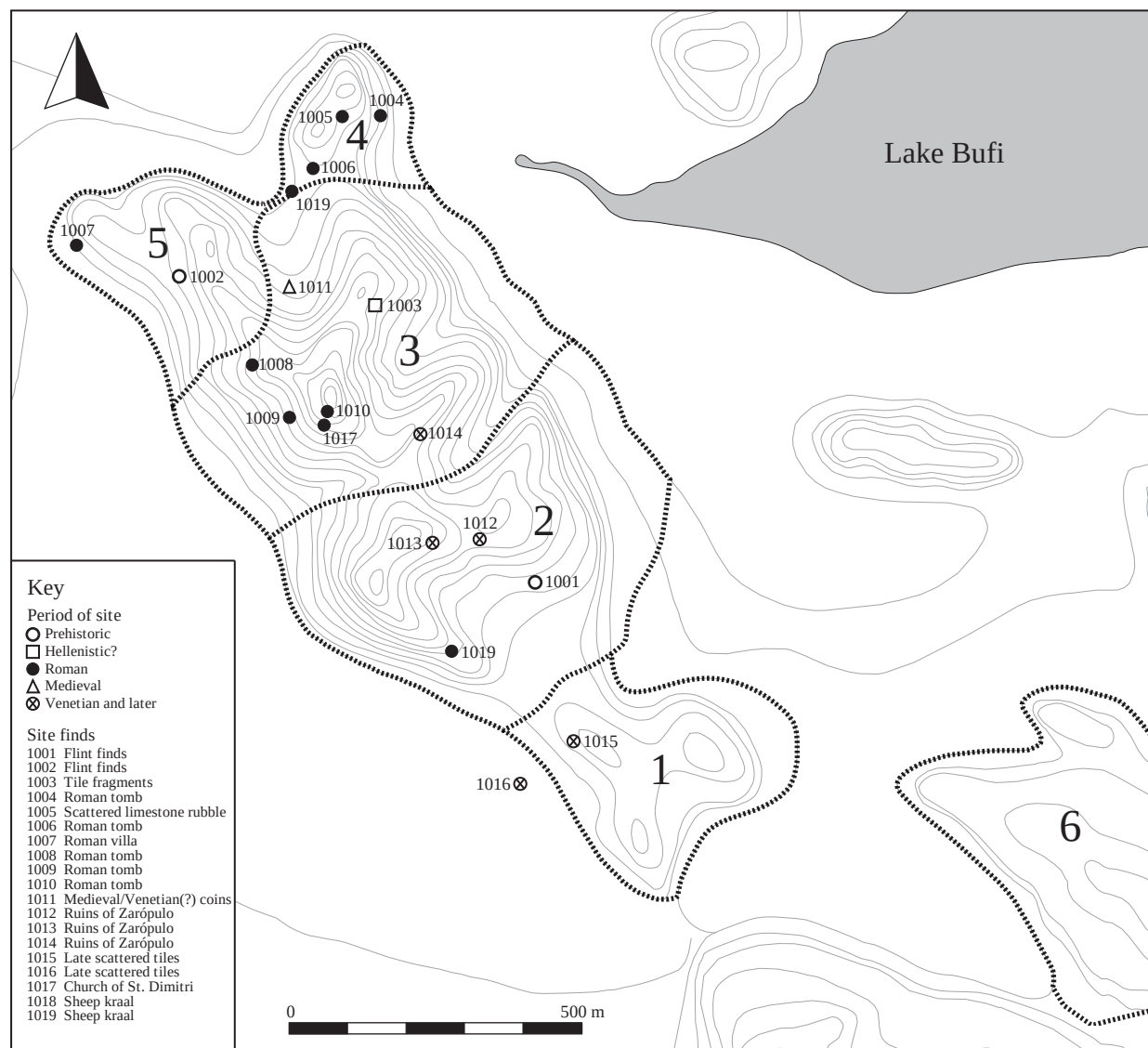


Figure 18.4. Map showing the survey areas and phased find-sites on Shën Dimitri hill (Drawn by Sarah Leppard and Ilir Parangoni)

still had mortar adhering to them. The bricks measured 3–4 cm thick and were distinctively scored with diagonal lines. Similar bricks were discovered in the early Imperial Roman aqueduct that crossed the Vrina Plain to Butrint. Presumably, these found in Area 2 were *spolia* from either the aqueduct or an unidentified Roman site, reused in this settlement. The layout of the remains suggests the creation of flat terraces or spaces on the slopes for buildings. The distance between each terrace is short and the alignment suggests the structures overlooked Lake Bufi to the east, as well as the road to Delvina depicted on the 18th- and 19th-century maps to the south.

Several fragments of pottery were found, consisting of two vessel bases and wall sherds. The material is white glazed with blue decoration, possibly imported Italian maiolicas of the 16th to 18th centuries. To the west of the new road, potsherds of an earlier date were found; these

are likely to be sub-types of Zeuxippus ware dating to the 13th to 14th centuries.⁸

These remains appear to belong to the ‘lost’ settlement of Zarópulo.

Area 3. Central Part of the Hill of Shën Dimitri – the surface covers about 23 ha

The area was mostly covered by thick shrub limiting the ground-visibility for field survey. On the northeast slope where the church of Shën Dimitri is located, a square-shaped stone structure was found. Initially thought to be a well, after cleaning, a well-built, mortared structure was discovered that is probably the hidden entrance of a Communist-era tunnel.

Besides military bunkers and trenches built over this hill, there are traces of underground tunnels linking different

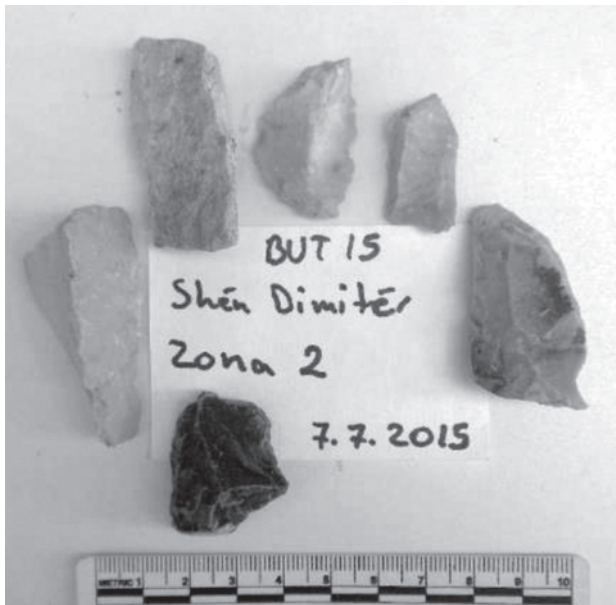


Figure 18.5. Lithic finds from Area 2 (Photo by Ilir Parangoni)

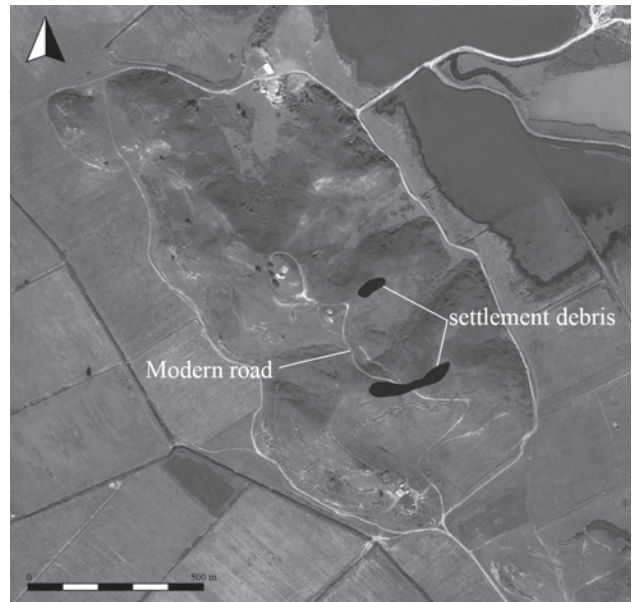


Figure 18.6. Aerial view of Shën Dimitri showing the debris spreads indicating the site of Zarópulo (Map data: Google, Maxar Technologies)

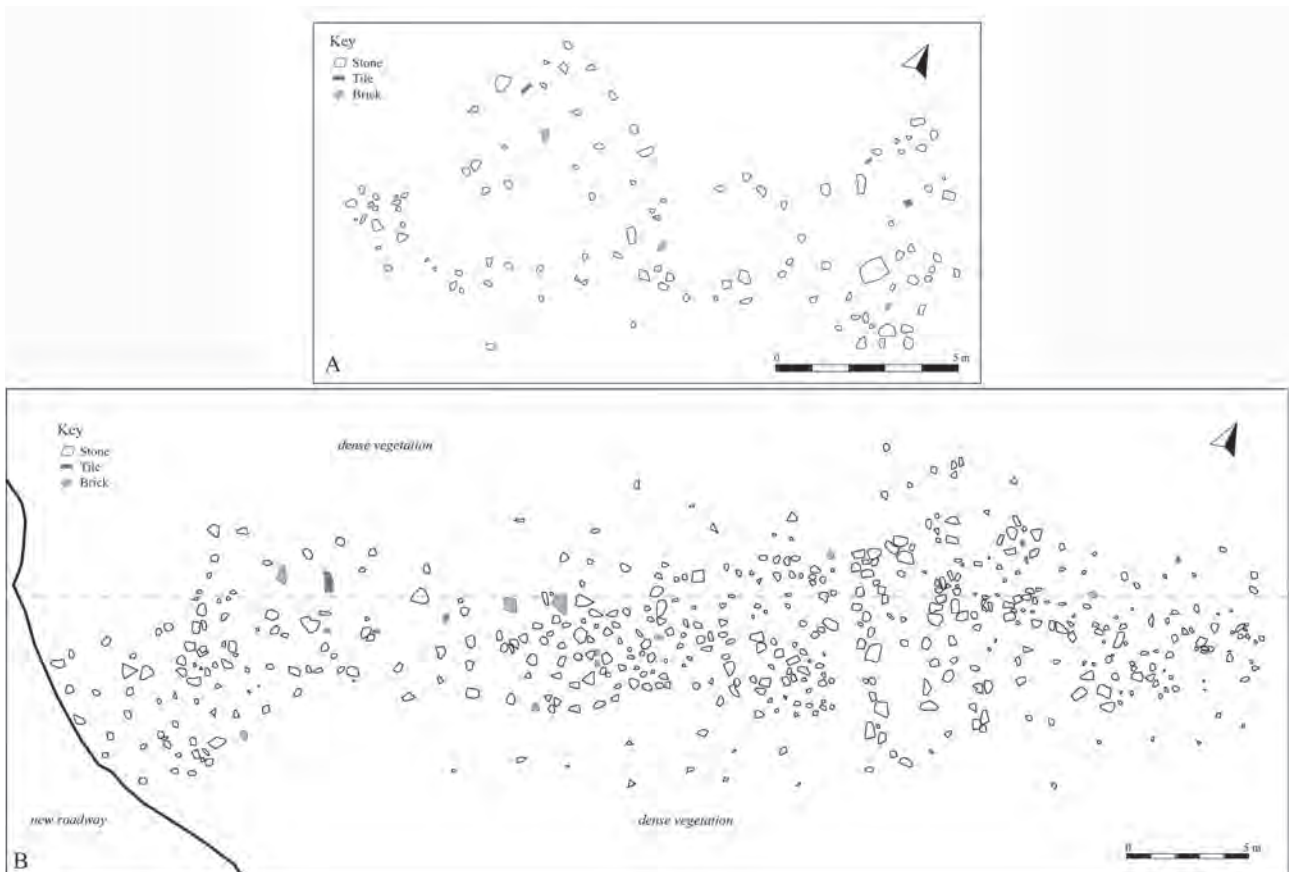


Figure 18.7. (A) Plan of debris from a possible rural type construction on the southeast of the Shën Dimitri hill; (B) Plan of debris from the settlement of Zarópulo (Drawn by Ilir Parangoni)

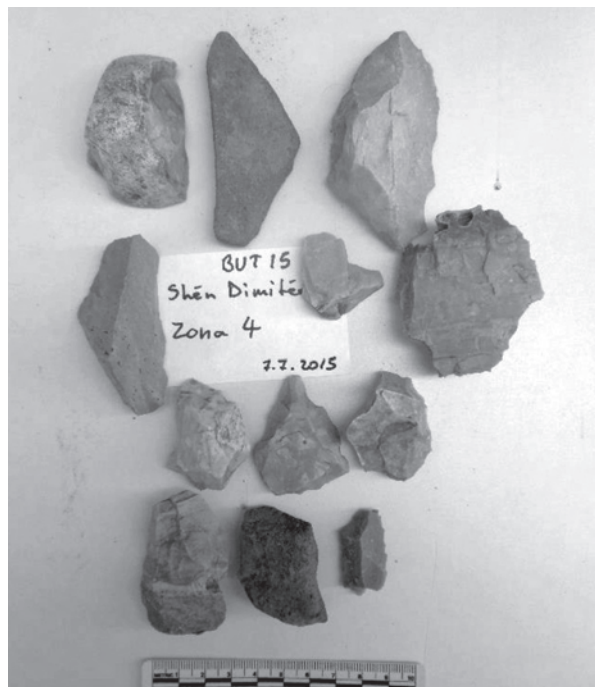


Figure 18.8. Lithic collection found to the northwest of Area 3 (Photo by Ilir Parangoni)

defensive features from the Communist period. To the east of the possible tunnel entrance on a flat slope, a scatter of sandstones was recorded. This scatter may be connected to another spread comprising fragments of yellow Hellenistic-period tiles to the south.⁹

The most substantial feature is the church of St. Dimitri. The church is located on a dominant spot overlooking the Vrina Plain to the west, Kalivo to the north, Lake Bufi to the east, and Xarra to the south. A modern road connects the hill with the village of Xarra. The surface on which the church was built is flat. It is hard to say when this area was created or, indeed, whether it was a natural feature.

Shën Dimitri is an axial basilica with a dedication stone over its entrance dating to 1910. Its walls incorporate blocks of a *cloisonnée*-style masonry, possibly suggesting the presence of an earlier church. No other archaeological remains were found.

From conversations with Dhimitër Çondi, we learned that he made an archaeological excavation on the surface where the cross now stands. The excavated area covered about 250 m² (10 × 25 m) and was divided into several trenches. The excavations located an empty tile tomb dating to the 2nd century AD that had been robbed.¹⁰ Çondi also reported following a military trench along the western slope. In his trenches, he discovered around 20 Roman burials. One of these is apparently preserved near a fig tree, but due to dense vegetation it could not be recorded.¹¹

On the northwest angle of the hill, close to the former agricultural cooperative, a scatter of flint artifacts was found (Fig. 18.8). These appear to range from the Upper Palaeolithic to Bronze Age in date.

Following the new road to the church of St Dimitri, a ridge runs to the east. Here the hill was flat and building debris comprising tiles and small stones, without pottery, occupied an area of about 0.025 ha or 250 m². The construction debris resembles that found in Area 2, thought to belong to the lost settlement of Zarópulo.

Area 4. North Zone of the Hill of Shën Dimitri – surface area about 3 ha

Area 4 is a promontory to the northeast of Shën Dimitri and is called *bullar* (a type of grass snake) by the locals. Only a Communist military trench for defensive purposes was found in the survey. However, Dhimitër Çondi excavated a Roman tomb with a tile cappuccino roof to the south of the hill. This appears to have been part of the linear cemetery found running southwards across these hills, noted above (Fig. 18.9).

A modern sheep pen (*kraal*) named after its former owner, a Vlach woman called Sofia, occupied part of this promontory. In 2003, she presented the Butrint Foundation and Institute of Archaeology with a 13th- to 14th-century hoard of Frankish coins apparently found hereabouts, now on display in Butrint's museum.¹²

Area 5. Northwest Part of Shën Dimitri Hill – surface 7 ha

Area 5 lies to the northwest of Shën Dimitri; it was used for agricultural and military purposes during the 1960s to 1980s. On its northwestern edge, Communist-era military trenches had disturbed a small Roman site. On cleaning a trench section, Roman potsherds and fragments of a *dolium* were found. The pottery fabrics seemed to be of local chert type, possibly of later Roman date.

Area 6. Two Low Hills Near Xarra – surface 13 ha

Area 6 consists of two low hills southeast of the church of St. Dimitri and northeast of Xarra. Major interventions during the Communist era occurred here when terracing and a drainage channel were made. No archaeological remains were found.

Conclusion

The 2015 survey on the line of hills associated with Shën Dimitri brought to light intermittent occupation over many millennia. A few Upper Palaeolithic flint tools appear to belong to the larger scatters of similar lithics first found at Xarra by Luigi Cardini in the 1930s.¹³ The scatter of Bronze Age lithics further illustrates a period when these hills close to Lake Butrint, including Butrint, Kalivo and Cape Stillo, were each occupied on a small scale.¹⁴ Evidence of a possible Hellenistic-period site was found as well as parts of a linear Roman cemetery of the 2nd to 3rd centuries



Figure 18.9. Probable Roman tombs located to the northeast of the Cape of Bullari (Photo by Ilir Parangoni)

AD. The cemetery was already partially documented in other surveys of this area.¹⁵ The cemetery appears to have been beside a road leading south from Butrint towards the main north-south Roman road depicted on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* passing close to Shkallë, beneath Çuka e Aitoit. A small amount of ceramic evidence for a possible later Roman farm was also located.

The 2015 survey indicates that the settlement of Zarópulo labelled on maps of the Venetian and early Ottoman eras lay to the south and east of Shën Dimitri Area 2. The name Zarópulo has been loosely used by locals to identify both hills (Areas 2 and 6). Intriguingly, the settlement to the southeast of the church of St. Dimitri actually no longer preserves the name Zarópulo but is called *paleospiti* (old houses). Local people also reported that the early modern road from Butrint to Delvina depicted upon the 18th- and 19th-century maps passed through Area 6. There is no record of any other later settlement around this area and only one unprepossessing early modern settlement has been found in other surveys of the zone between the Vrina Plain and Xarra at the foot of Kalivo.¹⁶ Remarkably the site evaded destruction when the hills were terraced as industrial agriculture was introduced to this area in the 1960s to 1980s, and when 25 Communist-era bunkers, 7 trenches and tunnels were constructed here to resist

any attacks from forces crossing the southern Albanian frontier.¹⁷

A few questions arise about this settlement: What was the character of Zarópulo? Was it a permanent settlement? What was its lifespan, and when was it abandoned?

A preliminary analysis of the survey shows that Zarópulo was not a large settlement. It appears to have covered about 7–8 ha and comprised two groups of buildings on the south and east sides of Shën Dimitri. The buildings appear to have been circular in form rather than rectangular and were arranged in an east–west line on constructed terraces. Roman bricks and tiles probably from the Vrina Plain were used for paving the floors. The character of the walls is not certain, but they were probably made from a mixture of materials, small stone, mud and wood.

The pottery associated with the settlement included late 17th- to 18th-century wares as well as fragments of possible 13th- to 14th-century Zeuxippus ware or a Balkan imitation produced as late as Ottoman times. However, the paucity of the ceramics is perhaps telling. Is this an indication that the settlement was occupied intermittently and not permanently?

The circular form of the structures bear a striking resemblance to those found on Kalivo, interpreted as seasonal shepherd huts, as well as those photographed

on the acropolis of Butrint by Luigi Maria Ugolini in the 1920s.¹⁸ These seasonal buildings are quite different from the large rectangular Epirote village house dwellings found, for example, in the nearby deserted late Medieval hilltop villages of Kamenice, near Delvina and Sagiada, south of Cape Stillo.¹⁹

In summary, the archaeology of Zarópulo, if indeed the survey has identified it, tends to indicate that it was not a permanent village, unlike neighbouring Xarra, but a settlement used seasonally, chiefly in the winter, by transhumant shepherds.

Why this settlement was abandoned is not clear. The creation of the new church of Shën Dimitri (with its dedication stone dated to 1910) would appear to coincide with its abandonment. Perhaps the community opted instead to live in Xarra or alternatively to occupy the neighbouring hilltops of Kalivo and Butrint instead.

Appendix: Register of Survey Sites and Finds

This list summarises the detailed register filed with the Institute of Archaeology and Butrint National Park.

SITE NO. 1001

Definition: Flint collection

Interpretation: Flint tools

Date: Upper Palaeolithic–Late Bronze Age

Description: Flint chips deriving from working of tools or proper tools

SITE NO. 1003

Definition: Tile fragments

Interpretation: Tile tomb

Date: Hellenistic–Roman

Description: Tile fragments that may belong to a Roman tomb, about 40 × 15 cm associated with sandstones rubble

SITE NO. 1004

Definition: Rubble

Interpretation: Roman tomb

Date: Early to Mid-Roman

Description: Numerous tile fragments thought to belong to the Roman period were found scattered around

SITE NO. 1005

Definition: Scattered limestone rubble

Description: The stones are large and are more visible in the vicinity of the hill near fig trees; no ceramics

SITE NO. 1006

Definition: Roman tomb

Interpretation: Roman tomb

Date: Roman 2nd–3rd century AD

Description: Excavated Roman tomb with tile roof construction

SITE NO. 1007

Definition: Potsherds

Interpretation: Roman dwelling?

Date: Roman to Late Antique

Description: Potsherds and fragments of a *dolium* found in a military trench

SITE NO. 1008

Definition: Roman tomb

Date: Roman 2nd–3rd century AD

SITE NO. 1009

Definition: Roman tomb

Date: Roman 2nd–3rd century AD

SITE NO. 1010

Definition:

Interpretation:

Date:

Description: Roman tile tomb dating to the 2nd–3rd century AD found during excavations in the 1980s

SITE NO. 1011

Definition: Coins

Interpretation: Hoard of 13th- to 14th-century coins minted by the Frankish states in Greece

Date: Medieval

Description: A hoard discovered by local shepherds to the south of the cape *Bullar* and purchased by the Butrint Foundation for the museum at Butrint

SITE NO. 1012

Definition: Building debris

Interpretation: Probable settlement of Zarópulo

Date: Venetian–Ottoman

Description: Round structures consisting of scattered fragments of building materials and pottery on both sides of the new road; reuse of the Roman bricks for paving floors

SITE NO. 1013

Definition: Building debris

Interpretation: Probable settlement of Zarópulo

Date: Venetian–Ottoman

Description: Construction debris arising from making flat terraces or spaces on the hill-slope for dwellings

SITE NO. 1014

Definition: Building debris

Interpretation: Probable settlement of Zarópulo

Date: Venetian–Ottoman

Description: Scattered tile fragments and small stones without pottery occupied an area of 250 m²

SITE NO. 1015

Definition: Tile fragments

Date: Modern

Description: Scattered fragments of tiles and small stones

Site No: 1016*Definition:* Tile fragments*Date:* Modern*Description:* Not associated with any particular features or structure**SITE NO. 1017***Definition:* Church of St Dimitri*Interpretation:* Orthodox church*Date:* Modern*Description:* The Orthodox church of St Dimitri is a building with a single nave erected in 1910, according to an inscription; the walls of the chapel incorporate *cloisonee*-style masonry**SITE NO. 1018***Definition:* Kraal*Interpretation:* Sheep pen*Date:* Modern*Description:* Sheep pen (*kraal*) of shepherdess called Sophia**SITE NO. 1019***Definition:* Kraal*Interpretation:* Sheep pen*Date:* Modern*Description:* Sheep pen (*kraal*)**Notes**

- 1 I would like to express my gratitude to the Butrint Foundation which funded the project in 2015. Thanks to Luan Përzhita (Director of the Institute of Archaeology) for his help and decisions taken during the fieldwork phase, Dhimitër Condi (Regional Archaeologist) for his assistance in field survey and Brian Ayers. My thanks to the staff of the Butrint National Park and local farmers of Xarra for their assistance. The field survey was carried out by Eriona Qilla and Mirgen Shahmetaj, to whom I am very grateful. Special thanks in preparing this report to Oliver Gilkes, Andy Crowson, Ilir Gjipali, Paul Reynolds, José Carvajal López, and Joanita Vroom.

- 2 Gilkes 2003a; Crowson 2007; Davies 2013, Hernandez 2019; Carvajal López *et al.* 2010.
- 3 Leake 1835, 95.
- 4 Çondi 1988.
- 5 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004, 51.
- 6 Hodges *et al.* 2016.
- 7 Carvajal López *et al.* 2010.
- 8 Vroom 2005, 108–111.
- 9 Dhimitër Çondi *pers. comm.*
- 10 Unpublished report written by Dhimitër Çondi in 1980.
- 11 Hodges *et al.* 2016.
- 12 Pagona Papadopoulou studied the hoard and reported as follows: This is a *denier tournois* hoard, found near the church of Shën Dhimitër, in the vicinity of the site of Butrint. The 119 coins cover the period from 1246 to 1321 and have been minted in Corinth, Clarentza, Thebes and Lepanto. It is worth mentioning that in such a small amount of coins all the rulers of the three Frankish states are represented, even the pretenders Ferdinand of Majorca and Louis of Burgundy, whose coins are scarce. The composition of the hoard confirms the preponderance of the Frankish currency over the Byzantine during this period, already known from Greek sites. There are unsubstantiated reports that two other hoards of *deniers tournois* come from the same area and are kept in the Numismatic Cabinet at Tirana (Butrint Foundation archives).
- 13 Francis and Vulpi 2005, 75, fig. 2.35.
- 14 Lima 2013, 32–35.
- 15 Hodges *et al.* 2016, 12–13.
- 16 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004, 51.
- 17 Contacting the Ministry of Defence in Albania resulted in determining that no evidence of what could have been destroyed at the time was recorded.
- 18 Butrint: Ugolini 1937, 38; figs. 3, 7, 55; Kalivo: Pluciennik *et al.* 2004, 51: ‘The hill was rented in 1996 by a Koutsovlach shepherd (the Koutsovlachs are a Romanian-speaking people traditionally associated with long-distance pastoralism). He possessed a nearby *stan* (semi-permanent settlement) on the side of Shën Dimitri and claimed that the top and east of the Kalivo were traditionally used by Vlachs, and the west side by local (Albanian) shepherds from nearby villages.’ See, however, pp.120–121 for another interpretation of the Kalivo structures.
- 19 For Kamenice, see Molla 2019; Hernandez 2019, 386–387.

19 The Diaporit Villa in Context

William Bowden and Luan Përzhita

Introduction

The site of Diaporit lies on the eastern shore of Lake Butrint around 3 km from the ancient city of Butrint itself. It was first investigated by the Italian excavators of Butrint in the 1920s. In a document held by the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome, the Italians noted Diaporit as the site of a villa and a Byzantine church (an assessment that proved broadly correct), and a photograph of workmen digging in the apse of the church suggested they carried out limited excavations at the site. Between 2000 and 2004, large-scale excavations were carried out by the authors, identifying a large villa with its origins in the Late Hellenistic period. The complex was the subject of progressive alteration and aggrandisement between the 1st century BC and the late 2nd century AD, before its apparent abandonment as a prestige residence during the 3rd century AD. The site was subsequently reoccupied in the 5th century AD and a Christian church was built in the late 5th century.

This chapter draws together some of the ongoing research in advance of final publication, in particular, focusing on the development of the villa from the 1st century BC until the 3rd century AD and placing it in the context of the landscape around Butrint and in the wider context of Roman villas in the Adriatic region. In addition, it will examine the Diaporit villa in the context of representation of elite identity as evidence for the influence of Italian architecture and decoration in Epirus in the early Empire.

Early History

The origins of Diaporit seem to lie in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC although residual Hellenistic pottery hints at slightly earlier occupation. The earliest structures in most parts of the site are poorly dated although a wall beneath the later bathhouse complex can be placed with reasonable

confidence in the late 2nd or 1st century BC. These early buildings were constructed in a characteristic technique using quite large poorly shaped limestone blocks bonded with earth. They indicate a long porticoed structure running close to the shoreline in a broadly north-south alignment (Figs 19.1 and 19.2). The portico was constructed using a series of cross-shaped pier bases, probably supporting

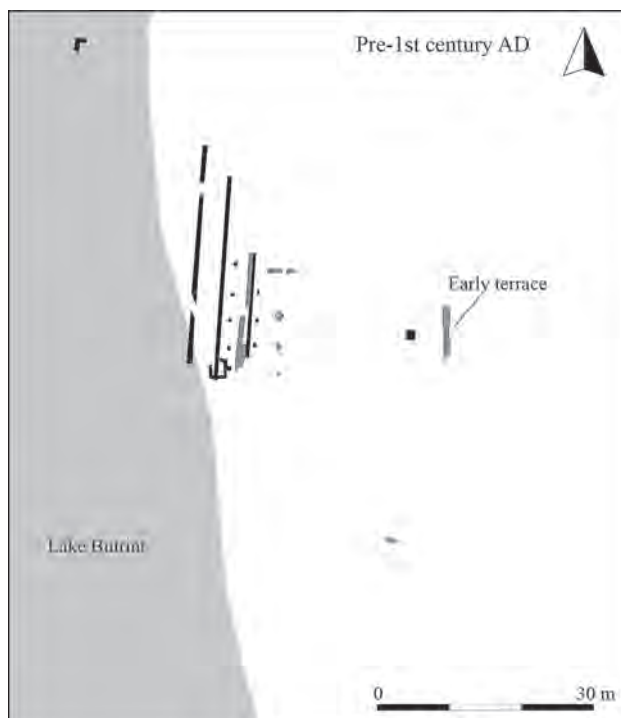


Figure 19.1. The early villa from the late 2nd to 1st centuries BC (earliest walls shown with lighter shading) (Drawn by Will Bowden/BF archive)



Figure 19.2. Walls on the foreshore; although the earliest walls (arrowed) are buried beneath later deposits, their alignment is mirrored in the later structures (Photo by Will Bowden)



Figure 19.3. Early terrace wall (2nd to 1st centuries BC) in irregular polygonal masonry (Photo by Will Bowden)

wooden uprights. Thick layers of green clay found associated with these structures contained quantities of roof-tile in a soft and poorly fired fabric, suggesting that, as at the Sevasto House described below there was a superstructure of rammed clay or mud-brick sufficiently robust to support a heavy tiled roof.

The ground behind this shorefront complex appears to have been terraced with a substantial wall built using irregular polygonal masonry (Fig. 19.3). The short stretch of wall beneath the bathhouse (noted above), also seems to have been constructed using this technique. Such masonry is hard to date stylistically, although it resembles what Giorgi and Bogdani¹ classify as ‘irregular polygonal’, commonly found across the region. Although this style of construction is normally placed in the Hellenistic period, the section of wall excavated beneath the bathhouse can be placed in the 2nd or 1st century BC on the basis of



Figure 19.4. Early polygonal wall underneath the bathhouse (Photo by Will Bowden)

stratified pottery (Fig. 19.4). In this context, we can also note Giorgi’s recent arguments on the dating of the Phoinike fortifications, which he plausibly suggests belong to the first half or central decades of the 3rd century BC, rather than the second half of the 4th century BC to which it was previously ascribed, underlining the problems associated with dating on stylistic grounds alone.²

Earth- and clay-bonded structures on stone foundations are characteristic of the Hellenistic period in Epirus, and numerous examples are known. They can often only be attributed to broad periods and indeed this simple building technique continued in use throughout antiquity in the region into the Medieval period and beyond. The Sevasto House, a simple four-room dwelling in the Kokytos Valley in Thesprotia, is a typical example of such a structure, dating to c. 275–200 BC. Here a single course of stones survives forming a rough foundation that would have been surmounted by a mud-brick superstructure, although the discovery of a thick layer of collapsed roof tiles suggest that these walls must have been sufficiently robust to support the weight of such a roof, as seems to have been the case at Diaporit.³ Although less common in the Roman period, the use of clay as a bonding material is quite widely attested, for example, in the interior walls of the so-called *strutture della terrazza S* at Phoinike.⁴

Assuming that the earliest structures at Diaporit are contemporary, the evidence suggests a complex covering an area of at least 60 × 40 m. The plan of this early complex is very different from the fortified Hellenistic farmsteads of the region, of which a number of examples are known in the Butrint area, notably at Malathrea, Metoqi, Çuka and Çumpora.⁵ These small compact structures featuring either central or corner towers were built in strong isodomic masonry in defensive locations. In some respects, they clearly reflect the insecurity of their contemporary environment, but we should remember that they shared the landscape with less fortified sites, such as Matomara near



Figure 19.5. Early 1st-century AD water tank on foreshore (Photo by Will Bowden)

Phoinike⁶ and the Sevasto House noted above. We should envisage the impressive appearance of these compact fortified sites as a symbol of status and power as well as a practical defence. Interestingly, Malathrea has a second phase, dated by the excavator to the 1st century BC, in which the plan was expanded around the fortified core with a series of rooms of a less monumental nature, suggesting a reduction in the requirement for defence.⁷

The Augustan/Tiberian Villa

During the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD, the alignment of the early buildings at Diaporit seems to have been retained as the complex became increasingly elaborate. A water feature or tank (Fig. 19.5), lined with a coarse *opus signinum*, was built close to the present waterfront and can be stratigraphically placed in the late Augustan/Tiberian period. Similarly, a large square masonry pier, overlying deposits of late Augustan date, was constructed seemingly in relation to the terrace wall on the eastern side of the complex noted above. This pier was represented by a very substantial foundation (Fig. 19.6), which may have supported a large column base (subsequently robbed), suggesting a monumental portico fronting the terrace.

On the western side of the site, close to the waterfront, the complex was augmented with a series of structures represented by three parallel walls and two lines of small

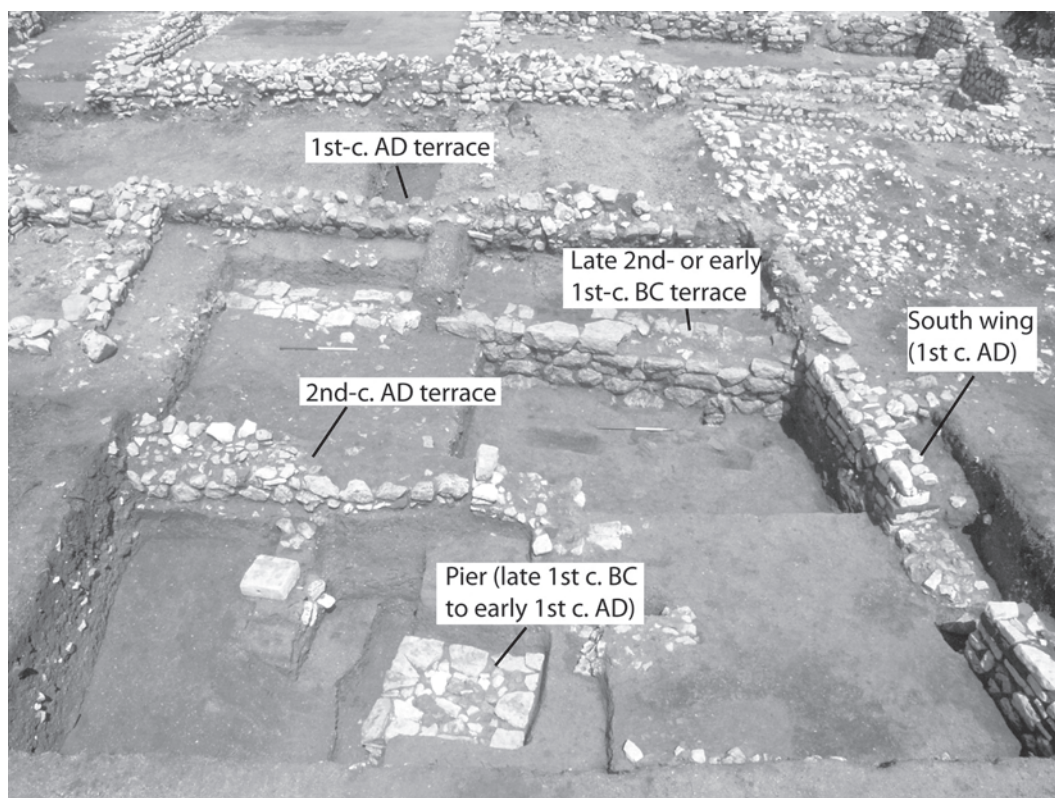


Figure 19.6. Different phases of the eastern terrace and large masonry pier of the early 1st century AD (Photo by Will Bowden)

masonry piers (Fig. 19.2). Stratigraphically there is little to separate these piers and walls from one another but it is clear that they post-date the structures described above including the water feature or tank which was bisected by one of the walls. It is not clear if these structures are contemporary with one another or indeed how the piers relate to the walls, but it seems that from the early 1st century AD there was a series of terraced structures running back from the present waterline. What appears to be the corner of a building that shared this alignment was also surveyed at a point around 10 m out from the present shoreline, suggesting that we may have lost a substantial part of this complex.

Of particular interest in relation to these early structures are what may be garden features, including what may be small planting trenches close to the terrace wall. These predate the pier described above and must date to the 1st century BC.

An Early *Villa Maritima*?

We can thus see that by the first decades of the 1st century AD, a substantial waterfront complex existed at Diaporit, which used the architectural vocabulary of the Italian maritime villa, exemplified in the oft-cited painting from the house of M. Lucretius Fronto in Pompeii. This included terracing and substructures to accentuate the visual impression of the complex as it was approached from the lake, long ranges of buildings with porticoes running parallel to the waterfront and almost certainly extending into the lake itself to create the direct contact between structures and water that was so emblematic of the *villa maritima*.⁸ The fact that Diaporit faced onto a lake rather than the sea proper does not mean that it does not conform to the requirements of the *villa maritima*. Pliny the Younger equates his villa on Lake Como with the seaside villas of his friend Romanus while Martial sees the villas of the Alban hills as maritime because of the views they have of the lake.⁹

The relatively early development of such features at Diaporit is striking. Although the dated evidence is poor, we can reasonably argue for the creation of terracing in the late 2nd or 1st century BC, suggesting that the *mores* of the *villa maritima* were present at Diaporit from very early in its history. The archaïcising appearance of the terrace walls is also intriguing, and can perhaps be seen as a deliberate device to reference the early walls of Butrint itself as well as other early fortifications that would have been major features in the surrounding landscape, not least at Kalivo which lies within a few hundred metres of Diaporit (see Chapters 12 and 13).¹⁰ Indeed, Hernandez has pointed to the use of similar devices at Butrint itself, suggesting that the striking pseudo-polygonal masonry that lines the possible shrine rooms to the west of Butrint's theatre are a self-consciously classicising pastiche of earlier building styles. Hernandez links this to a wider classicising impulse in Augustan building in Greece and elsewhere and

accordingly places this phase of construction in Butrint's colonial period.¹¹ Also, of note in this context is the recently excavated villa at Agios Donatos in Thesprotia. This villa (discussed further below), which dates to around the mid-1st century BC, sits in an elevated position just inside the circuit wall of a Hellenistic fortress. Like Diaporit, it is built on a system of terraces supported by what are described as 'probably Hellenistic' walls.¹² These could be of genuine Hellenistic date or, like those at Diaporit, perhaps have simply deliberately referenced the earlier construction style of the fortress. The relatively early dates of both Diaporit and the Agios Donatos villa could suggest that this deliberate referencing of earlier architectural styles pre-dates the Augustan period, although this must remain a tentative suggestion.

This initial development of Diaporit took place following a period in which Butrint underwent a process of significant change in which the early sanctuary of Asclepius was expanded into a monumental urban centre. The 2nd century BC had seen the town undergo a major programme of development involving the construction of the theatre, the temple above the theatre, and the north and south *stoas* of the agora, as well as the development of the last phase of fortifications in the lower city.¹³ Hernandez and Çondi argue that this flowering of the urban centre was a result of increased trade to Butrint and Kerkyra following the plundering of the Molossian kingdom by Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC. While the actions of Aemilius Paullus can be overstated in archaeological interpretation in Epirus¹⁴, the changes in Butrint following this period are seemingly evidenced in the manumission inscriptions carved on the *parados* of the theatre, all of which date to after 163 BC, as do all but four of the manumission inscriptions used as *spolia* in the so-called 'Tower of Inscriptions'.¹⁵ The increase in slave ownership in Butrint after 163 BC suggested by the inscriptions and the increase in individual rather than group manumissions in the later part of the 2nd century BC are certainly indicative of increased prosperity in the town during this period.¹⁶

This period also saw the establishment of landholdings in Epirus by an Italian aristocracy.¹⁷ These 'Epirote men' are recorded by Varro in the 1st century BC in Book 2 of *De Re Rusticae*, and Roman names appear among the Greek inscriptions at Butrint, including acts of inscribed manumissions, from the mid-2nd to mid-1st centuries BC.¹⁸ The most famous of the *synepeirotae* is Titus Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's friend and correspondent and a man of colossal wealth, who played a significant role in political life at Butrint not least in the events surrounding the establishment of the colony in 44 BC.¹⁹ By 68 BC, Atticus owned a villa in the vicinity of Butrint which is referred to a number of times by Cicero, with particular emphasis placed on the Amalthea/Amaltheum (a shrine dedicated to the nymph Amalthea), although the nature of this place or building is unclear, with some scholars assuming that Amalthea was the name given to the villa as a whole, while others suggesting that the Amaltheum is a single



Figure 19.7. Tile stamped GRA[E], possibly referring to Publius Pomponius Graecinus (Photo by James Barclay-Brown)

element of a larger complex.²⁰ Atticus placed inscribed epigrams to Cicero within his Amaltheum and Cicero was keen to replicate the Amaltheum on his own estate.²¹ The Amaltheum is described as being accompanied by plane trees and is often suggested to be situated on the Thyamis River (the present Kalamas), although the text itself is ambiguous as to the precise relationship between the Thyamis and the Amaltheum.²² Interestingly, Cornelius Nepos's biography of Atticus claims 'he had no gardens, no expensive suburban or maritime villa, nor any farm except those at Ardea and Nomentum; and his whole revenue arose from his property in Epirus and at Rome'.²³ This can be best understood, however, as a literary trope to reflect Atticus's modesty rather than a statement of fact.

Whether Diaporit can be associated with Atticus' Amaltheum is doubtful, although the site was at least occupied in the mid-1st century BC when Atticus was active in Butrint and so Diaporit would have at least existed in Atticus's social *milieu*. A slightly more concrete link to the potential proprietor is provided by a tile stamp reading GRA[E], found in probable 1st- to 2nd-century AD levels on the eastern terrace of the later villa (Fig. 19.7). This may well refer to P. Pomponius Graecinus, *quinquennial duovir* and *duovir* at Butrint. Graecinus was a major public figure in Augustan Butrint and is known from an inscription²⁴ and on a series of coins²⁵ issued by the colony during the reign of Augustus. A second partial tile stamp, possibly referring to Graecinus, was found in the forum excavations.²⁶ The Diaporit tile was made locally in a fabric characteristic of the ceramic building material from the site and, although we should be careful of reading too much into a single stamp, it plausibly represents the ownership of a Latin-speaking patron and someone who was, moreover, a major figure in the Augustan town. Interestingly, a number of tile stamps marked COS was found at the Agios Donatos villa in Thesprotia, which the excavators associate with L. Cossinius, another Roman Epirote landowner mentioned by Cicero in connection with Atticus in 60 BC.²⁷

It is possible, though not certain, that Pomponius

Graecinus had either a family relationship with Atticus or a relationship as a client taking the name of his patron.²⁸ A Gaius Pomponius Graecinus is also named as a suffect consul in AD 16. This Pomponius Graecinus was apparently a *homo novus*, elevated to the senate by Augustus between 18 BC and AD 3, and it is interesting to consider the relationship between him and the Butrint Pomponius Graecinus, given the close involvement of the Julio-Claudian family in the affairs of the town.

The development of Diaporit in the Augustan period is commensurate with developments in the town of Butrint itself, where the core of the town was dramatically remodelled, apparently in association with the refoundation of the colony by Augustus. This included the construction of the forum in the Augustan period²⁹ and a significant remodelling of the sanctuary of Asclepius and the addition of a building dedicated to the imperial cult.³⁰ The close association between Diaporit and the colony at Butrint is also paralleled in the case of Agios Donatos in Thesprotia, which lies within the territory of the probable colony at Photike.³¹

Diaporit is one of a relatively small number of early villas to the east of the Adriatic.³² In Greece, the concept of luxurious rural residences tended to develop rather later and never to the same extent that it did in Italy, reinforcing the impression that the colony of Butrint was a major factor in the development of Diaporit.³³ Similarly, the colossal villas of Istria and the Dalmatian coast seem to develop in the 1st century AD, although the spectacular maritime villa at Verige Bay on the island of Brijuni has its origins in the mid-1st century BC.³⁴ Like Agios Donatos, suggested by the excavators as a rare 1st-century BC villa in Greece, Diaporit finds direct parallels in Italian contexts.³⁵ Indeed, the early establishment of a *villa maritima* at Diaporit suggests a patron of Italian origin or one thoroughly familiar with the *mores* of elite living in the Italian Peninsula. In this respect it seems reasonable to associate the site with one of Varro's *synepeirotae* and view its early phases as a clear manifestation of a direct Italian influence on the Epirote coast.³⁶

Changing the Villa's Orientation (AD 40–80)

Probably around the mid-1st century AD, the Diaporit villa underwent a transformation involving the demolition of much of the earlier complex and the construction of a new villa on an entirely different alignment (Fig. 19.8). The new villa faced southwest towards Butrint and involved a shift in orientation of around 45°. The reasons for this change are obscure, although it must in part relate to a desire to create a more impressive façade to greet those arriving by boat from Butrint. This change seems to have particularly affected the buildings on the lake front. The terrace line to the east (which would have been less visible to those approaching across the lake) was reconstructed more-or-less on its original north-south orientation.

Little is known of the west wing of the villa, which

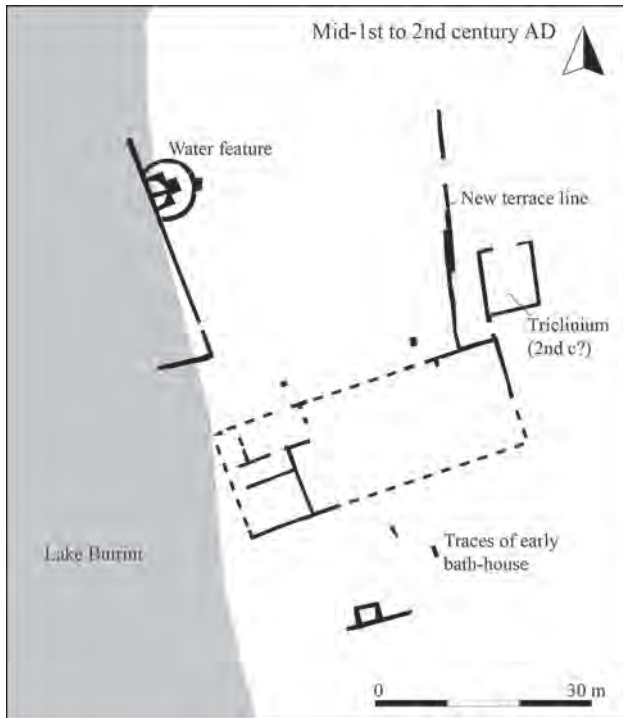


Figure 19.8. The villa of the mid-1st century AD (Drawn by Will Bowden/BF archive)

seems to have extended out into the lake. The excavation in this area mainly removed overlying beach gravel along the edge of the lake and no stratified deposits were uncovered. The main structure revealed was an ornamental water feature comprising a rectangular structure with a semi-circular basin on its interior, surrounded by an almost circular enclosure, both features apparently abutting the one major extant wall of the west wing (Fig. 19.9). Extensive sections of a fallen wall suggested that the outer enclosure stood several metres high, although a gap in the fallen masonry suggested a window in the rear of the structure. A small rectangular buttress on the outer face of the enclosure clearly overlay one of the long walls of the earlier phase of the villa.

This enigmatic structure seems most likely to be some kind of fountain or nymphaeum that was intended to be viewed from the west, perhaps from within the building represented by the long wall or alternatively from the lake itself as one approached the villa. It is also possible that it is a *piscina* or fishpond, although it is small in comparison with other examples unless it is part of a larger complex.³⁷

The south wing also seems to be newly laid out at 90° to the new lakefront structures. Relatively little excavation was carried out on this part of the building, but some clearance of the superficial topsoil revealed some tops of walls allowing something of the plan to be discerned. The exposed walls suggest a southern range of at least 40 × 15 m, fronted to the north by a portico of which traces were revealed in two trenches, suggesting the presence of a large courtyard or garden on the lower terrace. The



Figure 19.9. Nymphaeum or water feature on the west wing (Photo by Will Bowden)

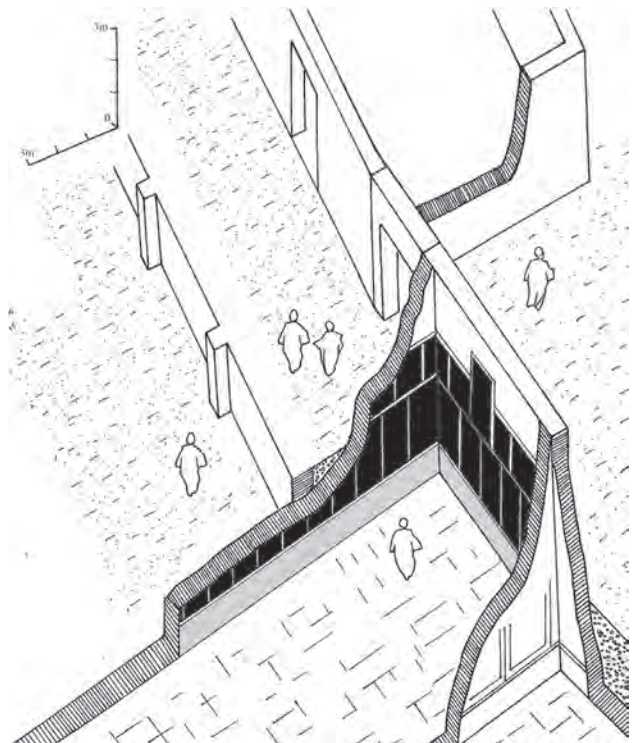


Figure 19.10. Axonometric reconstruction of the junction between the south and east wings of the villa of the mid-1st century AD (Drawn by Will Bowden/BF archive)

eastern end of this new wing was cut into the terrace line to the east, creating a difference in levels of around 2.5 m between the floor of the easternmost room of the south wing below and a long portico or corridor that fronted the eastern wing (Fig. 19.10). It is possible that this difference in levels suggests that the south wing was a two-storey structure, allowing direct access between the terrace of the eastern wing and the upper floor of the south wing. Alternatively, the rooms of the southern wing may have

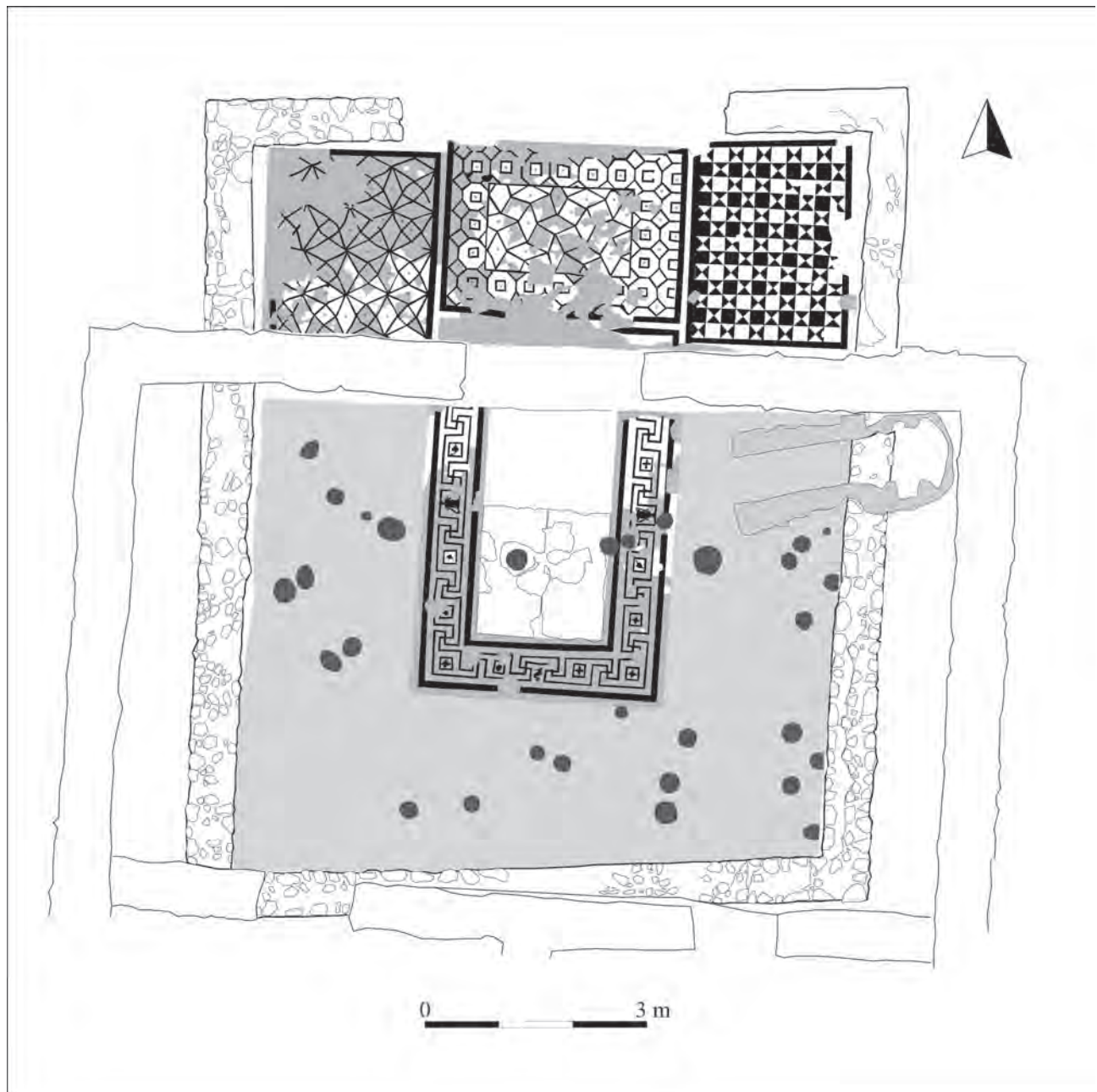


Figure 19.11. Triclinium on the east terrace with mosaic probably dating to the 2nd century AD; note the awkward relationship between the room and the mosaic, suggesting the layout of the triclinium is secondary to the construction of the room (Drawn by Will Bowden/BF archive)

been double height at this point. One was decorated with panels of black paint divided by cream-yellow bands above a dado level painted to resemble a marble veneer, while a second was painted with panels of red and white framed with blue bands above a yellow dado.

To the south was the earliest phase of the villa bath suite. This early bath complex was entirely buried beneath later phases, but an early wall and hypocaust were located and could be dated to post-AD 40–80 based on ceramics from beneath the wall. Demolition deposits from this room contained *tegulae mammatae* on which four conical bosses protruded from the tile to allow the tile to be fixed

vertically on a wall leaving a gap behind through which heated air could pass. In Italy, *tegulae mammatae* were largely superseded by *tubuli* from the mid-1st century AD, although outside Italy, including in Achaëa, they continued to be used beyond this period.³⁸ Given the apparent Italian inspiration of other aspects of Diaporit, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that they were unlikely to have been used later than the 1st century in this context.

The most complete element of this phase of the building was recovered from the eastern wing. Here a new terrace around 35 m long was laid out. The upper level of the terrace was fronted by a corridor or portico



Figure 19.12. Triclinium on the east terrace with mosaic probably dating to the 2nd century AD (Photo by Will Bowden)

c. 4.7 m wide. Deposits beneath the fragmentary remains of the earliest floor level on this upper terrace contained ceramics of 1st-century AD date.³⁹ Behind this corridor was a large *triclinium*, measuring 8.25×6.60 m, with its function denoted by a mosaic pavement arranged in a typical T+U-shape, with plain plaster denoting the areas that would have been obscured by dining couches (Figs 19.11 and 19.12).⁴⁰ The focus of the pavement was a central *emblema* (c. 2.90×1.45 m) formed of large slabs of *africano* marble, of which two survived *in situ*, albeit heavily burned. This was surrounded by a black and white border with a meander interlace interspersed with motifs of dolphins and kraters. The bar of the T was formed of three rectangular black and white geometric panels. The room, slightly obscured beneath later structures, was not quite rectangular in shape requiring the mosaicists to compensate slightly by staggering the placement of the three geometric panels, which were of unequal size. This slightly awkward arrangement could suggest that the pavement was later than the construction of the room or that the shape of the room was forced on the builders by the presence of pre-existing structures.

The scale of the *triclinium* is indicative of a date no earlier than the 2nd century AD. First-century AD taste seems to have frowned upon banquets with more than around nine guests and the average Pompeian *triclinium* is around 6×4 m. At Diaporit the space allowed for the couches is around 6 m, allowing for six or more diners to be accommodated on each side (following Dunbabin's estimates for the *triclinium* of the Schola del Traiano at

Ostia). In addition, the division of the mosaic of the bar of the T into three sections would have allowed additional couches to be inserted without disturbing the unified design of the pavement.⁴¹ Stylistically, the mosaics can be placed in the context of other examples from Butrint, notably the mosaic of the so-called *apodyterium* of the baths under the Great Basilica⁴², where a central field of irregular octagons recalls the outer field of the central geometric panel at Diaporit. The alternating black and white triangles of the *apodyterium* mosaic are also present in the northern panel of the Diaporit mosaic. These same motifs (black and white triangles within an octagonal field) can also be seen in the gallery of the Triconch Palace, placed broadly in the 3rd century AD.⁴³ Raynaud associates the *apodyterium* and Triconch Palace gallery mosaic (and the Diaporit mosaics) with the output of a mosaic workshop (*Atelier 1*) that she holds to be responsible for 13 of the 15 Roman-period pavements from the walled city of Butrint. She suggests that this workshop was active from the late 2nd century until the 3rd century AD.⁴⁴ The Diaporit *triclinium* mosaic should perhaps be placed slightly earlier than the late 2nd century, in that the structure of the *triclinium* is superseded by a larger building that can still be reasonably placed in the 2nd century on stratigraphic grounds (see below).

The orientation of the *triclinium* is interesting, as it might be expected to have been positioned to allow the reclining diners a view out across the lake towards Butrint. Instead, it faces northwards along the terrace, indicating the presence of a further courtyard or garden on the upper terrace, and a more sheltered dining experience, perhaps a

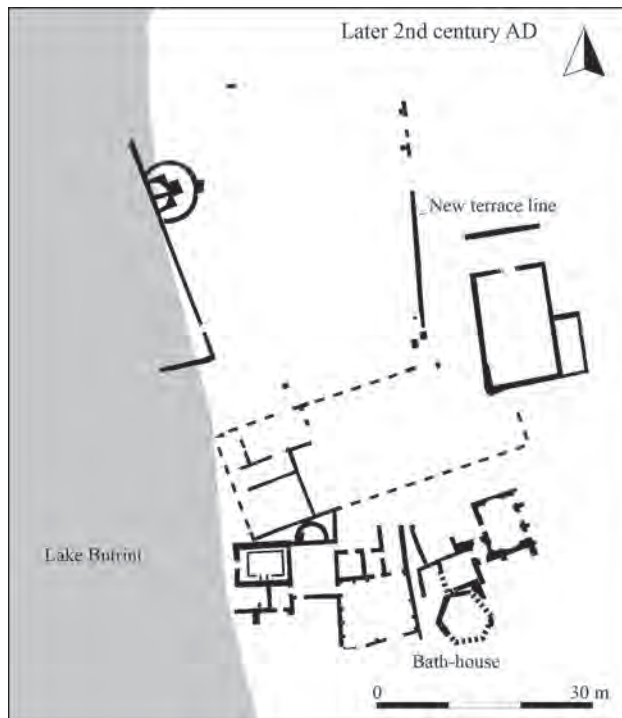


Figure 19.13. The 2nd-century AD villa (Drawn by Will Bowden/BF archive)



Figure 19.14. Overview of the bath complex (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)

response to the stiff breeze that habitually blows across the lake from the northwest. The slightly awkward fit of the pavement to the space could also suggest that the creation of a large *triclinium* represents the alteration of an existing space to accommodate the changing social *mores* of the 2nd century AD.

The Bathhouse and the Villa of the Later 2nd Century AD

During the 2nd century, the Diaporit villa saw a number of additions, giving an impression of almost continual aggrandisement and redevelopment (Fig. 19.13). The most spectacular of these additions was a colossal bathhouse laid out on both the upper and lower terrace, presumably replacing the baths associated with the previous phase (Fig. 19.14). The upper terrace was moved westwards in what was clearly a major work of landscaping, which buried the 1st-century heated room noted above. This presumably had the effect of further emphasising the height of the buildings on the upper terrace as one approached from the lake.

The excavated remains of the bathhouse on the upper terrace comprise a suite of architecturally adventurous rooms, several of which were excavated. A double-apsed room, probably with a central fountain, was articulated with four niches, two of which functioned as entrances (Fig. 19.15). A door in the west wall led to a room or corridor from which was accessed a small oval vestibule, which in turn led to a heated room that was partially revealed. The surviving tiled sub-floor of this latter room was composed of reused *tegulae mammatae* with the conical bosses removed, presumably deriving from the demolition of the earlier phase (Fig. 19.16). Both the double-apsed room and the oval vestibule had been paved with marble and their walls had been decorated with marble veneers. Although the marble had all been stripped out for later reuse elsewhere, the imprint of the slabs was clearly visible in the remaining plaster base (Fig. 19.17) as were lines of small holes for bronze fixing cramps (examples of which were also found in demolition deposits). To the south of these rooms on the upper terrace was a large hexagonal room of slightly uneven shape of which one large pier survives. Although the associated floor levels have not survived, it is clear that it was accessed from the upper terrace. The substantial construction of the surviving pier suggests a vaulted roof, covering an interior c. 6.5 m in diameter.

On the lower terrace a large sub-rectangular space, perhaps a small open courtyard, was created, its uneven shape partly reflecting the alignment of earlier structures. A series of small brick piers arranged around the walls could suggest that their inner faces were articulated by a blind arcade. Alternatively, the fact that all the piers terminate at the same height (some way below the surviving tops of the walls) could indicate that they supported benches. This courtyard gave access to a large apsidal *frigidarium* with a cold plunge in the apse (Fig. 19.18). The outer face of the apse abutted what was previously an interior wall



Figure 19.15. Double-apsed room on the upper terrace (Photo by Will Bowden)



Figure 19.16. Sub-floor with reused tegulae mammatae (marks of removed projections arrowed) (Photo by Will Bowden)

of the 1st-century phase described above, indicated by red painted plaster on the wall face abutted by the apse. A suite of heated rooms lay to the west along the present lake front; these perhaps used prior to a final immersion in the cold plunge. In total across both terraces, the bath suite must have comprised at least 20 rooms. Ceramic evidence



Figure 19.17. Small oval vestibule with walls showing imprints of marble veneers (Photo by Will Bowden)

from floor levels and from deposits above the floor levels places this complex in the 2nd century AD.⁴⁵

Probably in the late 2nd century AD, the *triclinium* on the upper terrace was demolished and partly buried beneath a much larger room (15 × 9 m) (Figs 19.11. and 19.13). This extended out over the painted rooms of the south wing (the floors of which were on the lower terrace) thereby necessitating the construction of a freestanding foundation around 2.30 m high within the rooms of the southern wing to support this huge new structure. Second-century AD pottery was recovered from the backfilled remains of the painted rooms of the southern wing. It is possible that the three square panels of the *triclinium* mosaic were retained in a new corridor to the north of the new room, although this would have required the creation of a step up into the new room, to create a floor level that was higher than the demolished foundations of the *triclinium* walls. At the same time, a new terrace wall was built around 4 m to the west



Figure 19.18. The 2nd-century AD frigidarium (note later oven) (Photo by Will Bowden)

of the earlier terrace wall. Deposits beneath this terrace contained a coin of Marcus Aurelius of AD 172/3 which provides a *terminus post quem* for this alteration. No floor levels were found associated with this huge new room, but it was reused in Late Antiquity and it is possible that usable floor materials were salvaged at this point. Alternatively, given that the villa was abandoned as a luxury residence in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD, it is possible that it was never completed. The fact that the mosaic showed signs of burning relating to activity after the villa was abandoned as a luxury residence tends to support the idea that this room was never finished.⁴⁶

Continuous Construction and Status Display: The 1st- to 2nd-century AD Villa in Context

The mid-1st to 2nd century AD saw the apogee of the Diaporit villa or was at least the period that left the most substantial archaeological signature. The buildings show signs of multiple alterations across a relatively short time, including work on an enormous scale, such as changing the orientation of the villa by 45° so it faced directly towards Butrint or moving the upper terrace line further to the west. It is hard to envisage any practical benefits

from such major alterations that would have warranted the effort and expense of carrying them out. It is possible that earthquake damage may have created the opportunity or necessity for such rebuilding, but there is no obvious evidence of such an event at Butrint in the 1st century AD. It seems most likely, therefore, that the ability to carry out such alterations was part of the vocabulary of social display that characterised villas. The fact that it was turned to face directly towards Butrint must surely have had some symbolism for the owner and their visitors, serving perhaps as a highly visible reference to the owner's civic role in Butrint itself. Certainly, the continued embellishment of the terraces would have enhanced the impression made by the complex as it was approached from the lake and even now the walls of the villa remain clearly visible from Butrint across the 3 km of lake that separates the villa from the town.

Although the chronology of the west wing (on the lake shore itself) is imprecise, the change in orientation seems to date to before the mid-1st century AD. The evidence for the buildings is relatively limited, but points to increasing architectural embellishment including a bathhouse of uncertain scale and the curious apsidal fountain-like structure associated with the west wing. The precise function of this is unclear but its unusual plan does not find any obvious parallels, either as nymphaeum or fishpond/

piscina.⁴⁷ It appears too small for the latter unless it is part of a much larger structure that has been destroyed or obscured by the lake. Nonetheless, these features continue to point to the exceptional nature of Diaporit (and Epirus) in the context of villa architecture as further afield in Greece luxury villas remained rare until the 2nd century AD.⁴⁸

The constant embellishment of Diaporit continued into the 2nd century AD. The *triclinium* described above belongs to this period, but seems to have been relatively short-lived, as a much larger room of unknown function replaced it. The orientation of the *triclinium* is suggestive of a garden or similar on the upper terrace (in front of the later church) and it is likely that the new larger room that replaced the *triclinium* was also intended to function as a major reception room looking out onto this space.

The most striking additions to the 2nd-century villa were the multiple rooms of the huge bathhouse, which rivalled the known public baths of the town in terms of scale. A particularly notable element of the bath is the hexagonal room on the upper terrace. Polygonal rooms are highly unusual in villas particularly in the 2nd century but seem to be characteristic of Epirus. Further examples are known from villas at Riza (midway between Parga and Preveza) and Strongyli on the Ambracian Gulf. That at Riza is a decagonal structure with an interior diameter of 7 m. Surviving pendentives on the eastern side indicate that it was a vaulted structure as was probably the case at Diaporit. Dating is unclear, although the wide spacing of the brick courses (separated by mortar courses of equivalent or greater width) could suggest a late Roman date, which is apparently supported by ceramics of the 3rd or 4th centuries recovered in excavations.⁴⁹ At Strongyli, meanwhile, an octagonal room is associated with a villa bath complex. Like the example at Riza, dating is unclear beyond a broad date range of the 1st to 3rd centuries.⁵⁰

The channel-side bath at Butrint also features a central octagonal structure, probably a *tepidarium*, although the unified plan of this complex, with the octagon forming the central core, appears very different from the situation at Diaporit where the hexagonal building appears to be an independent element. Although Mustilli⁵¹ and Baçe⁵² both suggest a 2nd-century AD date for the channel-side bath, Delaine⁵³ argued for a much later date based on parallels from North Africa. More recently, Raynaud and Islami have suggested a 3rd-century date for the mosaic pavement in a second phase of this bath building⁵⁴, thereby indicating that the bath itself is earlier. Other parallels for polygonal rooms in villa bath complexes are more often of Late Antique date, for example, those at Desenzano and Palazzo Pignaro in northern Italy.⁵⁵ Closer to Diaporit, the octagonal room in the *domus* on the Vrina Plain has been dated to the early to mid-4th century⁵⁶ and the small octagonal room in the Triconch Palace bathhouse has been placed in the early 5th century.⁵⁷

The apparent 2nd-century AD date of the hexagonal room at Diaporit reinforces the impression from earlier phases that the owners of the villa were receptive to

architectural innovation, again separating Diaporit out from villas in mainland Greece where such elaboration is relatively unusual in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

Interesting exceptions to this are the villas associated with Herodes Atticus, notably that at Brexiza near Marathon and at Eua Loukou.⁵⁸ Herodes Atticus (AD 101–177) was a Greek-born senator who achieved the consulship and was a major benefactor and landowner, dividing his time between Greece and Italy. The bathhouse at Brexiza has elements in common with Diaporit, including the use of polygonal and oval rooms, although the Brexiza bath is designed along an explicitly symmetrical axial plan, recalling that of the Small Baths and Heliocaminus bath at Hadrian's Villa.⁵⁹ Too little of the Diaporit bath-complex has been revealed to determine whether a similar symmetrical arrangement was present or planned, but the use of curving and polygonal structures suggests that the architect may well have drawn his inspiration from the same sources as Herodes Atticus.

The construction of the bathhouse was curiously haphazard in some respects and strongly indicates that some elements, particularly on the lower terrace, were added on an *ad hoc* basis rather than following a coherent plan. It is particularly striking that the drains were added very late so that they had to be run through doorways and around the ends of buildings that had already been constructed.⁶⁰ Certainly, the apparently rapid changes that took place at the site during the 2nd century AD point to an owner who used construction at the villa as a way of demonstrating both wealth and a knowledge of the latest architectural trends. It is likely that the villa was only occupied for a relatively short period every year during the summer months, when the breeze arriving across the lake would have been welcome. Outside the summer months, Diaporit can feel cold and exposed and is unlikely to have been occupied on a sustained basis.

Alongside the bathhouse, one of the most striking features at Diaporit is the use of terracing. The edge of the upper terrace seems to have been moved westwards during the 2nd century AD, presumably to create more space for the buildings on the upper level and to create a more imposing view of the building from the lake. Dramatic terracing was a key part of villa architecture and the visual rhetoric of the villa, either through utilising and enhancing the natural terrain (as was the case at Diaporit) or through using artificial substructures.⁶¹ Terracing was also used at Riza (judging from the slope of the site) and a probable villa at Acharavi on Kerkyra. At Benitses (also on Kerkyra), a villa was built on the flat coastal plain and seems to have used an elaborate system of vaulted substructures to create a platform to accentuate the height of the villa.⁶² Use of terracing has also been noted at other possible villas to the south of the Ambracian Gulf at Kakavoula and Variko⁶³ and, combined with a view over water, seems to have been a key feature of villa architecture in the region as it was elsewhere.

To some extent the 1st- to 2nd-century AD aggrandisement of Diaporit can be seen in the context of the

widespread development of architecturally elaborate villas within Epirus and further up the Adriatic coast, particularly within Istria.⁶⁴ The Verige Bay villa on the island of Brijuni reached an extraordinary scale in the 1st century AD, including a massive bath suite, a peristyle garden, three temples, a 150 m long colonnaded walkway and a large *piscina* to provide the villa with fresh fish.⁶⁵ However, unlike Diaporit, the Istrian villas all had extensive evidence of productive activity often on a grand scale, including the production of wine, olive oil, amphorae and tiles. This productive activity was often in close association with the more luxurious residential areas of these villa, for example, at the sites of Katoro and Fornače in the territory of the colony at Tergeste (modern Trieste).⁶⁶

At the Barbariga villa, on the Istrian coast, meanwhile, multiple oil production facilities were located within a 2 km² area around the villa, although the main residential complex (a palatial layout on the coast) in this instance was entirely separate from the productive activities.⁶⁷ Xavier Lafon (2001) argued that the true *villa maritima* was essentially non-productive, and was instead supported by a network of productive sites elsewhere and this may be a situation represented at Diaporit where evidence of productive activity is absent although it is always possible that productive areas lie in unexcavated parts of the complex.

The grandiose nature of Diaporit in the later 1st and 2nd centuries AD finds a ready context in contemporary developments in Butrint. Although post-Augustan Butrint did not see the same imperial attention as it did during the critical years after Actium, there is plentiful evidence that it was a thriving town in which the local aristocracy competed for status through the medium of public building. Work in the forum on the tripartite building (perhaps the *capitolium* and certainly some form of cult space) indicates frequent alteration and embellishment through the 2nd century AD.⁶⁸ The remodelling of the theatre may also belong to the Hadrianic period⁶⁹, although Sear⁷⁰ argues against a 2nd-century date, associating construction of the *scenae frons* with the Augustan colony. His interpretation was reliant, however, on an association between the Augustan statue group recovered by Ugolini and the niches of the *scenae frons*. Subsequent analysis has shown this is problematic and that the statue group is more likely to be associated with a shrine of the imperial cult in the so-called West Building.⁷¹

The public areas of the town are certainly augmented in the 2nd century AD. The fountain complex to the south of the eastern end of the forum (the so-called 'Gymnasium') seems to have developed in the 2nd century as the town expanded out over the newly developed skirt of land that developed towards the Vivari Channel. The function of this complex is ambiguous, although Raynaud and Islami⁷² hypothesise that it may be religious, focused on the central nymphaeum structure and associated with the Sanctuary of Asclepius.

The fountain complex was part of a series of develop-

ments in the lower town of Butrint during the 2nd century AD that probably included the baths under the Great Basilica and the channel-side baths discussed above. A further bath between the Baptistery and the Great Basilica is thought to date to the 2nd century and repairs to the aqueduct and construction of the Nymphaeum next to the Great Basilica are also likely to belong to this period.⁷³ In addition, the earliest structures in the area of the Triconch Palace also belong to this period⁷⁴, while major private housing was developing on the Vrina Plain outside the town.⁷⁵ The impression is of a prosperous town expanding rapidly beyond its Augustan core. The continued aggrandisement of the Diaporit villa, presumably as the long-established property of one of the town's major families, sits comfortably within this context.

The End of the Villa as Luxury Residence

Around the end of the 2nd century AD, the Diaporit villa was apparently abandoned as a high-status dwelling and with this a number of its earlier rooms were quarried for building materials or turned over to secondary activity.⁷⁶ The bathhouse was stripped of its marble veneers and other fixtures, including what were presumably stone or marble steps that allowed access to the plunge bath in the apse of the *frigidarium*. A large oven was built in the northeast corner of the room, partly covering the space formerly occupied by the steps and a rough entrance was knocked from the *frigidarium* through to the heated room to the west (Fig. 19.18). The floor was covered with a thick dark occupation deposit (Fig. 19.19) containing significant quantities of pottery, particularly coarse-ware dating to the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD, which spread into the room to the west filling the hypocaust (suggesting the hypocaust upper floor had also been removed).

On the upper terrace, the large 2nd-century AD room that had replaced the *triclinium* was also turned over to secondary uses (Figs 19.11 and 19.12). A small kiln, probably for the manufacture of pottery, was constructed in the northeast corner, cut through the demolished wall of the earlier *triclinium*. The central panels of Africano marble were heavily burned, either by activity associated with the kiln or by an open fire lit in the middle of the room. This burning is presumably why these marble panels were not subsequently salvaged for use elsewhere. The mosaic was pierced by around 35 post-holes, some apparently cut from the level of the mosaic and others cut through a layer of dark silt that developed above it. A large deposit with quantities of coarse-ware ceramics including wasters developed in the western part of the room. Like the material from the bathhouse, it dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries AD.

It is thus clear that Diaporit underwent a fundamental change around the end of the 2nd century AD and was apparently entirely abandoned around the mid-3rd century AD. This abandonment is not, however, obviously reflected in contemporary Butrint, where development of the *domus*



Figure 19.19. Excavation of the frigidarium showing dark occupation deposits above the floor (which had been stripped of marble) (Photo by Will Bowden)

on the Triconch Palace site continued⁷⁷ or on the Vrina Plain, where the town-house was progressively expanded during the 3rd century.⁷⁸ Other changes, however, can be noted in the public areas of the town, particularly the forum which apparently underwent major changes between AD 230–250, including the quarrying of structures for building material and the destruction of marble (including statues) in lime-kilns.⁷⁹ The reasons for this are unclear, although Hernandez hypothesises earthquakes or social change may have been a factor. We should perhaps not be too hasty to link this to events at Diaporit, which seem to occur slightly earlier.

While the relationship with contemporary events at Butrint may be ambiguous, it is interesting to examine the abandonment of Diaporit in the context of widely documented changes in villas elsewhere, particularly in Italy, given that Diaporit appears to share at least architectural traits in common with Italian villas for

much of its history. The occupation span of Diaporit finds at least superficial parallel in the occupation of Italian villas like Settefinestre which began in the late 2nd/early 1st century BC, saw major remodelling in the early 2nd century AD and was abandoned by the Severan period.⁸⁰ During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, the villa system in Italy underwent major transformations with apparent abandonment of large numbers of villa sites, which frequently show evidence of the type of secondary use noted at Diaporit, although Marzano warns against seeing this as a blanket phenomenon. She suggests that the abandonment of some sites as luxury residences was the result of proprietors concentrating resources in a single site. In general, the change is more pronounced at productive *villae rusticae* rather than at *villae maritimae*, which in Italy often show signs of occupation without interruption into Late Antiquity⁸¹, and in this context we should note

that no trace of productive activity has been recovered from Diaporit as yet. Equally, Lafon has demonstrated that the decrease in the number of elite villas in central Italy is to some extent countered by their apparent increase in the south, in Calabria and Sicily.⁸²

Connections with the Italian economy have been argued elsewhere in Greece, for example, at Patras, where Rizakis argued that the economy of the Patras region was more closely bound to Italy by dint of the colony.⁸³ Rizakis sees the '3rd-century crisis' and the textually attested abandonment of land as a factor in the desertion of some of the rural villas around Patras. Diaporit is not apparently the only Epirote villa to change in the 3rd century AD, with those as Masklinita⁸⁴ and Strongyli only lasting into the 3rd century. Karatzeni⁸⁵ argues the abandonment of the latter was associated with the Herulian attacks on Greece, but there seems little reason to associate such changes with historical events in this fashion. Diaporit's abandonment as an elite residence might, however, be seen in the context of contemporary events in central Italy in which, for reasons of economics or the changing *mores* of elite life or both, there was a move away from the ownership of multiple luxury residences by a single owner.

Although the phenomenon of secondary use of a non-elite nature is sometimes viewed in pejorative terms as 'squatting' or similar, it may also simply represent a different use of a site of which the owner had only ever been a temporary resident and was no longer interested in maintaining it as a luxury space. We need not envisage catastrophic events or changes in land ownership. The Diaporit villa was stripped of its fixtures and fittings (particularly marble) in a thorough and systematic fashion, but was available to be reoccupied in the 5th century AD when it was used as the site of a church and probable pilgrimage complex.⁸⁶ The relationship between the church and villa is unknown but it is perfectly reasonable to envisage a proprietor donating a site for which he or she had little practical use.

Conclusion

From the 2nd century BC until the late 2nd century AD, the villa at Diaporit appears to mirror contemporary developments at Butrint and the wider landscape of Epirus. From its earliest phases, it differed dramatically from the farmsteads of Hellenistic Epirus, instead perhaps reflecting the changing aspirations of an Italian-focused elite, with use of innovative architectural devices that maximised the visual impact of its lakefront setting. The early adoption of such features in the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD sets it apart from the villas of Greece whose owners showed relatively little interest in the architectural vocabulary of aristocratic competition until the 2nd century AD. The later phases of the villa in the 2nd century show continuous alteration and construction at a complex whose large *triclinium* and huge bath complex show that it was focused on entertainment and the leisured life of the type of Roman aristocrat who may have been as familiar with

Rome as with Butrint.

Its early 3rd-century AD abandonment as a luxury residence is not obviously reflected in other high-status domestic buildings in Butrint, for example, on the Vrina Plain and at the Triconch Palace where large *domus* continued to be expanded. It is possible that this abandonment reflects wider economic currents or changes in elite behaviour as seem to have occurred in Italy. While we should be wary of taking this analogy too far, the apparent Italian parallels for the earlier phases of the villa suggest that the owner was linked to these wider networks, providing an intriguing insight into Butrint's connections with the Italian Peninsula over the *longue durée*.

Notes

- 1 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 312.
- 2 Giorgi and Lepore 2020, 163.
- 3 Turmo 2011.
- 4 Giorgi 2003, 44.
- 5 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 108–112.
- 6 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 112, 211–213.
- 7 Çondi 1984.
- 8 Lafon 2001; Marzano 2007, 13–46.
- 9 Pliny *Epistulae* 9.7; Martial *Epigrammata* 5.1. See Marzano 2007, 19.
- 10 Lima 2013.
- 11 Hernandez 2017b, 55; see also Spawforth 2012, 218–219.
- 12 Viitanen 2020, 240.
- 13 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 276–281; Giorgi and Lepore 2020.
- 14 Bowden 2011, 111.
- 15 Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007.
- 16 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 281–282.
- 17 Ferriès and Skenderaj 2015, 197–204; Papaioannou 2018, 329.
- 18 Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007.
- 19 Deniaux 2007, 33–34.
- 20 Moore 1906.
- 21 Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.16.
- 22 Cicero *De Legibus* 2.3–7.
- 23 Nepos *Atticus* 14.
- 24 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1950, 169.
- 25 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1998, 274–279, nos 1387–1393.
- 26 David Hernandez *pers. comm.*
- 27 Forsén *et al.* 2020.
- 28 For the Pomponii at Butrint, see Deniaux 1987.
- 29 Hernandez and Çondi 2008.
- 30 Hernandez 2017b.
- 31 Bowden 2011, 104.
- 32 Bowden 2018.
- 33 Zarmakoupi 2013.
- 34 Begović and Shrunk 2004.
- 35 Viitanen 2020, 242.
- 36 Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.5.1.
- 37 Higginbotham 1997.
- 38 Nielsen 1990, 15.
- 39 Bowden *et al.* 2002, 214–215.
- 40 Dunbabin 1991, 125–127.
- 41 Dunbabin 1991, 125–127.

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- 42 Raynaud and Islami 2018, 37–38.
 43 Bowden, Francis *et al.* 2011, 14.
 44 Raynaud and Islami 2018, 181–182.
 45 Bowden *et al.* 2002, 215; Bowden and Përzhita 2004a, 421.
 46 Bowden and Përzhita 2004a, 424–425.
 47 I am grateful to Annasli Marzano for sharing her thoughts on this structure.
 48 Zarmakoupi 2013, 756–757.
 49 Katsadima and Angeli 2001; Bowden 2003, 63–64.
 50 Douzougli 1993; Bowden 2003, 64–65.
 51 Mustilli 1941.
 52 Baçe 1980.
 53 Delaine 1988, 19.
 54 Raynaud and Islami 2018, 51.
 55 Brogiolo and Arnau 2018, 185.
 56 Greenslade 2019d, 119–123.
 57 Bowden, Francis *et al.* 2011, 33–37.
 58 Papaioannou 2018, 343–345.
 59 Papaioannou 2018, 344.
 60 Bowden and Përzhita 2004a, 421.
 61 Marzano 2007, 34–35.
 62 Bowden and Përzhita 2004a, 424.
 63 Wodtke 2011.
 64 Bowden 2018.
 65 Schrunk and Begović 2000.
 66 De Franceschini 1998, 443–444, 677–694; Begović and Schrunk 2004.
 67 Bezeczky 1997, 69–71 ; De Franceschini 1998, 589–618.
 68 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 285–288.
 69 Melfi 2007, 28; 2012.
 70 Sear 2003, 183.
 71 Hernandez 2017b, 61.
 72 Raynaud and Islami 2018, 52–53.
 73 Martin 2004, 91–92.
 74 Bowden *et al.* 2011, 11–14.
 75 Greenslade 2019c, 26–66.
 76 Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 424–425.
 77 Bowden *et al.* 2011, 14–24.
 78 Greenslade 2019d, 67–115.
 79 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 288.
 80 Dyson 2002, 224–226.
 81 Marzano 2007, 203–218.
 82 Lafon 1994, 219–220.
 83 Rizakis 2013, 43.
 84 Papaioannou 2018, 334.
 85 Karatzeni 2001, 171.
 86 Bowden *et al.* 2002, 209–219; Bowden and Përzhita 2004a, 425–431.

20 The Late Bronze Age and Hellenistic Fortified Site at Mursi, Albania

David Hernandez

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of archaeological excavations undertaken in 2010 on a hilltop at the northern end of Mursi, a small town situated 6 km southeast of Butrint (Fig. 20.1).¹ An extensive surface survey of the Butrint region in 2008 found a broad pottery scatter covering an area of about 5 ha around the hill.² Ancient pottery sherds and lithics were recovered from an exposed section on the hill's eastern side (Fig. 20.2). The site is now on private land owned by Stavros Chamuli, who reported that the hill had been truncated in 1968 for the construction of the elementary school nearby. The section was apparently created when about one-fifth of the hill's eastern side was removed to provide space for the school's football field. According to local witnesses, columns and other ancient architectural fragments and artifacts were discovered during the demolition. These accounts are substantiated by the presence of ancient architectural *spolia* in the school's terrace walls (Fig. 20.3). Shortly after these activities, in 1971, Dhimosten Budina included the site on his map of archaeological sites in southern Albania.³

The regional context of Mursi is historically defined by its proximity not only to the urban settlement at Butrint but also to the large fortified site at Çuka e Aitoit, which lies 5 km to the southwest. After Kalivo, Shën Dimitri and Xarra, Mursi is the last of the four ancient hilltop sites running south of Butrint along the eastern side of the Vrina Plain towards Çuka e Aitoit. The site offered several natural advantages for ancient settlement. It held a naturally defensive and strategic position in the landscape, overlooking the foothills of Mount Mile to the east and the Pavllas River Valley running to Mount Korafi to the west. Its nearby hills and adjacent alluvial plain would have made the site suitable for pastoralism, agriculture and

systems of mixed farming. The shortest passage through the coastal hills of Mount Korafi to the Ionian Sea at the harbour of Kato Aetos lies opposite Mursi. This conduit, as well as the Pavllas River flowing northward to Butrint, provided the site with opportunities for transport and trade. Mursi also held a favourable position with access to timber on Mount Mile. In prehistoric times, the coastal embayment between the Butrint headland and the alluvial plain was much broader, approaching the site at Mursi.⁴ It is believed that deforestation of Butrint's hinterland during the early settlement of the region in the Late Bronze Age substantially increased rates of erosion.⁵ The transport of alluvial soils through the Pavllas River into the valley accelerated the process of sediment accretion, which over time has led to the gradual narrowing of Butrint Bay. During the Bronze Age, Mursi was at or near the northern coast of the alluvial plain.⁶

By the early Hellenistic period, Butrint had established a defensive perimeter at least at four principal points around its *chora* in the Pavllas River Valley.⁷ The Dema wall, which had been built by Greek colonists of Kerkyra in the 5th century BC, controlled the northwestern passage to the Ksamil Peninsula and Butrint. Kalivo defended the northeastern passage to the plain between Lake Butrint and Mount Mile. These northern defenses are in proximity to others built by Phoinike during the Hellenistic period; these include the fortified sites at Metoqi, Çumpora, Çuka, Karalibeu and Qenurio (Blerimasi).⁸ Malathrea, built on the foothills of Mount Mile, overlooked the entry of the Pavllas River into the valley and defended the primary mountain passage at Bogazi Gorge from its neighbors at Vagalat to the east. Kato Aetos was the site of a minor harbour at the end of the southwestern passage through Mount Korafi opposite Mursi. It is likely that Çuka e

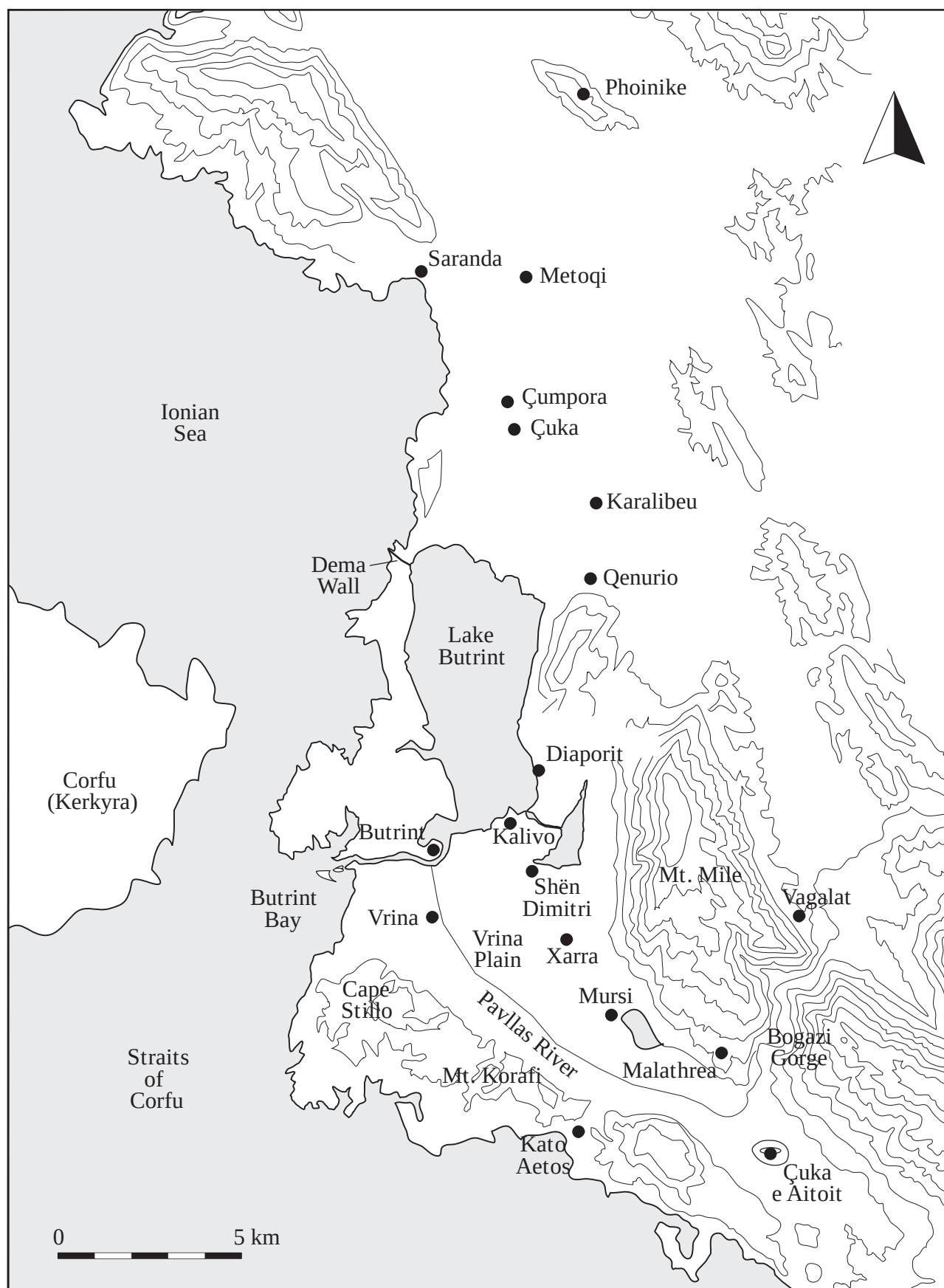


Figure 20.1. Mursi and the Butrint region (Drawn by David Hernandez/BF archive)



Figure 20.2. The eastern side of the hilltop site at Mursi (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.3. Spolium of Hellenistic block in modern terrace wall of elementary school (Photo by David Hernandez)

Aitoit was originally Butrint's major fifth point of defense of the Pavllas River Valley to the south, although the site may have at times fallen under the control of Gitana in Thesprotia (see Chapter 25).

The excavations at Mursi brought to light the first known stratified deposits of Late Bronze Age (LBA) date in the region of Butrint.⁹ The LBA chronology is supported by radiocarbon (C-14) and thermoluminescence (TL) dating, which provides some greater resolution to the examination of stratified lithic and ceramic assemblages. As shown by Sarah Lima (Chapter 21), the stratified material offers unique and valuable evidence for the classification and chronology of LBA ceramics in northern Epirus. In respect to the Hellenistic material, the ceramic study provided by Nadia Aleotti (Chapter 22), together with the short coin report by William Bubelis and Elena Baldi (Chapter 23), elucidates the phasing of the site and examines ceramic use and exchange in the hinterland of Hellenistic Butrint.¹⁰

Prehistoric Archaeology at Butrint and Its Environs

Prehistoric archaeological investigations of Butrint and the larger region of Epirus have found an almost complete lack of stratified depositional sequences at open-air, settlement sites.¹¹ Throughout Epirus and its bordering regions, cave sites have served as the principal sources for prehistoric stratigraphic data.¹² In the case of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (EIA), the richest finds of material culture have come from excavated cemeteries and tumuli.¹³ The discovery of swords, weapons, and finely crafted metalwork of non-local manufacture, in particular, has shown that the Epirote elite had contacts with the Mycenaean world.¹⁴ One of the few such items found in the environs of Butrint is a bronze dagger dated to the Middle Bronze Age from the site of Çuka, about 8 km north of Butrint.¹⁵ In Butrint's microregion, the earliest known prehistoric sites are situated on hilltops around the Vrina Plain, specifically at Butrint, Kalivo, Shën Dimitri, Xarra, Mursi, Çuka e Aitoit

and Cape Stillo.¹⁶ While substantial LBA and EIA finds have been noted at most of these sites (Çuka e Aitoit has only yielded Palaeolithic and Hellenistic material), few associated architectural remains have been identified, and those are often of ambiguous date and purpose.

Luigi Maria Ugolini reported the discovery of flint tools, pottery and other prehistoric artefacts at Butrint, Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit, but was not able to identify any architecture associated with these early periods.¹⁷ On 4 July 1939, Luigi Cardini submitted a report to Benito Mussolini concerning the prehistoric research he undertook in southern Albania on behalf of the Italian Archaeological Mission. Having identified and examined over 100 prehistoric open-air and cave sites along the coast of ancient Epirus, from Vlora down to Butrint, Cardini informed Mussolini that he had discovered the first open-air Palaeolithic site in the southern Balkan Peninsula at Xarra, a town located less than 2 km north of Mursi.¹⁸ Having recovered hundreds of prehistoric lithics there, Cardini identified some as Mousterian-Levallois tools, characteristic of Neanderthal manufacture of the Middle Palaeolithic period, while attributing other tools to the Upper Palaeolithic.¹⁹ While most of these stone tools were surface finds, a number were said to have been recovered from a deposit of *terra rossa*. The rarity of primary Pliocene Palaeosol deposits in western Epirus suggests that it was probably a secondary deposition, post-dating the Neolithic period.²⁰ Cardini also identified and excavated an important prehistoric cave at Shën Marina in the Pavllas River Valley, between Mursi and Vagalat. The cave contained lithics, animal bones and other prehistoric artifacts that showed habitation dating from at least the Middle Palaeolithic period.²¹ Recent archaeological research undertaken by the German Albanian Palaeolithic (GAP) Project discovered a Middle and Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic site at Shën Mitri near Xarra.²² It is clear from this research that all Palaeolithic and Mesolithic finds

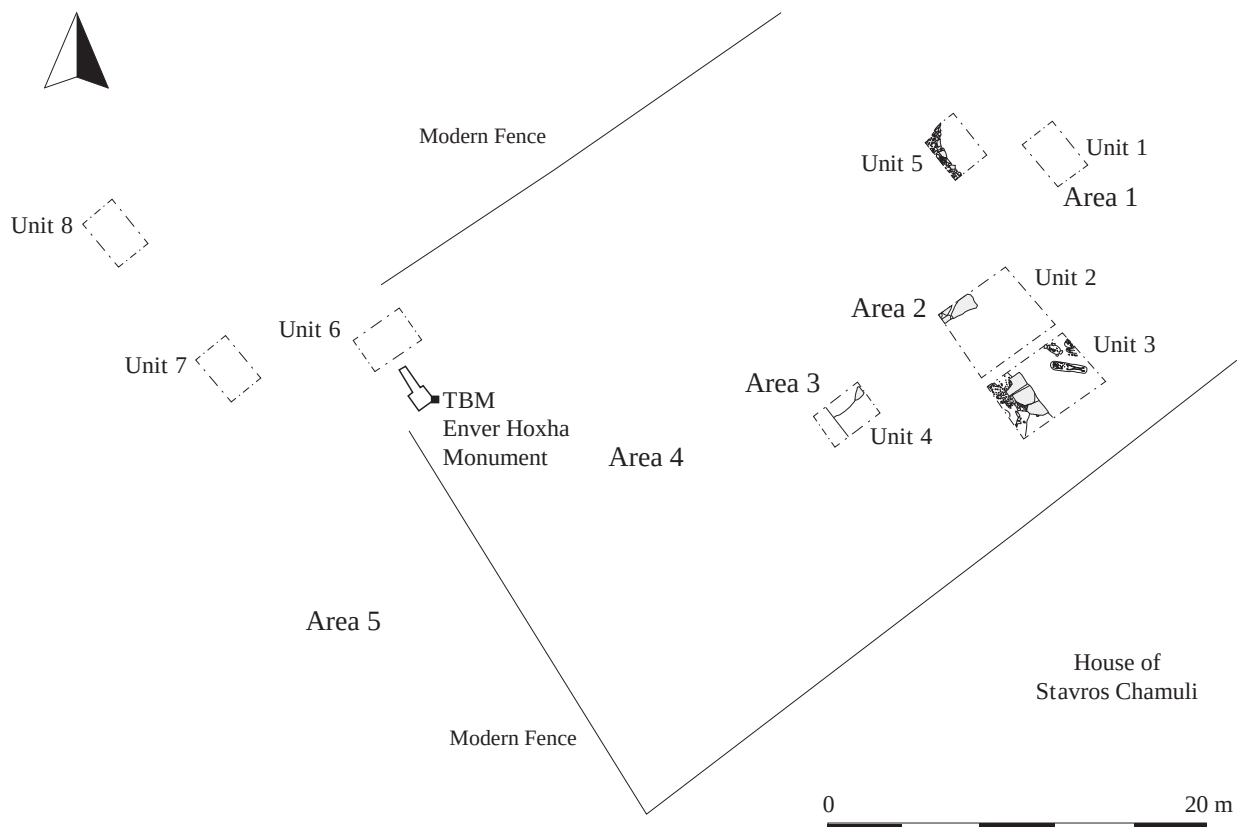


Figure 20.4. Mursi site plan (Drawn by David Hernandez)

from the Butrint region and throughout Albania, while numerous, derive from Holocene post-glacial deposits, with as yet no Palaeolithic or Mesolithic artifacts found *in situ*.²³

An investigation of Cardini's notebooks, together with a reexamination of his lithic artifacts from Albania, revealed that Cardini had discovered a second open-air prehistoric site at Mursi in 1939, where he recovered prehistoric lithics, including microliths, blades and scrapers, some later attributed to the Palaeolithic period.²⁴ In 2000, an attempt to relocate Cardini's site at Mursi proved unsuccessful.²⁵ It remains an open question whether the site identified by Cardini is the same as the hilltop site excavated in 2010. Our project recovered what appears to be a similar assemblage of microliths, blades and scrapers, but none of Palaeolithic date. It is possible that the dates ascribed to some of Cardini's lithics to the Palaeolithic is incorrect.

Possible LBA and EIA sites in the Butrint region have received considerable attention since the earliest archaeological explorations of the region in the 1920s.²⁶ In the larger region of southwestern Albania, 44 sites have reportedly been identified, of which 33 are fortified, 8 are open-air, and 3 are cave sites.²⁷ Most of these identifications derive from the discovery of LBA/EIA pottery and lithics from later fortified hilltops of

Classical and Hellenistic date (*e.g.* Butrint and Kalivo).²⁸ A prevailing characteristic of the proposed LBA fortified sites is their siting on hilltops, overlooking alluvial valleys for agricultural exploitation and strategic pathways to control territorial communications. It is not uncommon for these sites to be defended on one side by a fortification wall and on the other by a natural steep cliff. Most of the sites cover a small area, between *c.* 0.3 and 3 ha.²⁹ LBA/EIA fortifications/terrace walls typically measure 2–4 m wide and are comprised of local unworked stones of various sizes assembled to create an inner and outer face, with the intermedial space filled with small stone rubble. In the Butrint region, the site most often thought to represent an LBA/EIA fortified site is Cape Stillo, which is situated about 5 km southwest of Butrint on Mount Korafi.³⁰ The masonry construction of the wall, consisting of large, unhewn boulders filled in with larger stones, is similar to the earliest walls noted at Butrint and Kalivo, dated by stratigraphic excavation at Butrint to the 5th century BC.³¹ Whether the walls at Cape Stillo date to the Late Bronze Age remains an open question. It is clear, however, that the site of Cape Stillo was a significant LBA-EIA site, demonstrated by abundant ceramic finds that typologically are similar to those recovered in our excavations at Mursi.

Fieldwork

Four modern terraces on the eastern side of the hill were reportedly made in 1974 when an honorific monument to Enver Hoxha was erected on the summit (Figs 20.4 and 20.5). The coordinates of the southeastern corner of the base of the Enver Hoxha monument was selected to serve as the project's Temporary Benchmark (TBM), located at 39° 42' 36.832 N, 20° 04' 29.640 E, Alt. 92 m (UTM: 34N 4395984.94N, 420692.44E, Alt. 92 m). The TBA was arbitrarily assigned the level of 10 m R.L. Trenches were excavated on three terraces and on the summit: Area 1 is the lowest terrace; Area 2 is the second terrace; Area 3 is the third terrace; Area 5 is the summit.³² Further, each trench was given a distinct unit number. The excavation followed the methods of single-context planning. Stratigraphic



Figure 20.5. Summit of the hill (Area 5) and the Enver Hoxha monument, with Dhimitër Çondi (second from right) (Photo by David Hernandez)

matrices were used to establish the phasing of the site (Plates 20.1 and 20.2).

Lithics

The project recovered 113 lithics from 17 deposits (Table 20.1; Figs 20.6–15).³³ These are microliths, showing technological continuity from the Neolithic period. Most, if not all, date to the Late Bronze Age, between the 13th and 11th centuries BC [Phases 2–5 below]. They represent the first lithic assemblages from stratigraphically excavated and dated LBA deposits in the Butrint region and possibly in all Epirus.³⁴ Therefore, they serve as an exemplar of Epirote stone tool technology and use in the Late Bronze Age.

The lithics were distributed as follows: 56% (64/113) were recovered from LBA deposits [Phases 2–5: 12, 21, 25, 29, 44]; 14% (16/113) were found in robbing fills of the LBA site [Phase 6: 74, 93, 95] and likely originated from LBA deposits; and the remaining 30% are associated with Hellenistic deposits of which 14% (16/113) are residual and found in deposits associated with later robbing phases of the Hellenistic complex [Phases 6 and 13: 45, 54, 75, 92, 102]. One deposit [79] yielded two lithic tools from an occupation phase, dating to the 3rd century BC [Phase 7]. Eight lithics were found in a ritual deposit of an adult male inhumation burial, dating to the same century [Phase 9: 101]. These include two blades and two cores of fine quality (Fig. 20.15; Plate 20.3). LBA and Hellenistic pottery were also recovered from this burial. One piece of flint debitage [88] was also retrieved from the fill of an adult female burial, dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BC [Phase 11: 88].

Given their sporadic distribution and low count numbers, it is unclear whether all the lithics associated

Table 20.1. Mursi lithics data

Area	Unit	Context	Lithic count	Blades/ knives	Endscrapers/ scrapers	Cores	Drills	Flakes/ debitage	Flint	Chert	Obsidian
1	1	12	24	3	8	2	1	10	18	5	1
1	1	21	11	0	5	0	0	6	8	3	0
1	1	25	11	2	0	0	0	9	9	2	0
1	1	29	11	0	4	0	0	7	9	2	0
1	1	44	7	0	3	0	0	4	5	2	0
2	2	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
2	2	45	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
2	3	74	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
2	3	75	4	2	0	0	0	2	3	1	0
2	3	79	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
2	3	88	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
2	3	92	6	2	3	0	0	1	5	1	0
2	3	93	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	0	0
2	3	95	16	0	5	3	0	8	11	5	0
2	3	101	8	2	0	2	0	4	7	1	0
2	3	102	3	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0
2	4	54	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total			113	14	36	7	2	54	88	24	1
%			100	12	32	6	2	48	78	21	1

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010

Lithics

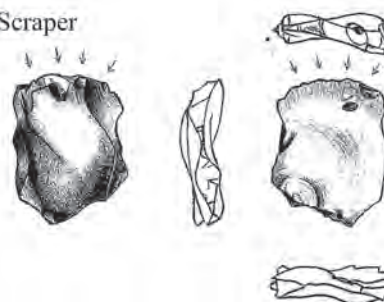
Area 1, Unit 1

Context 12

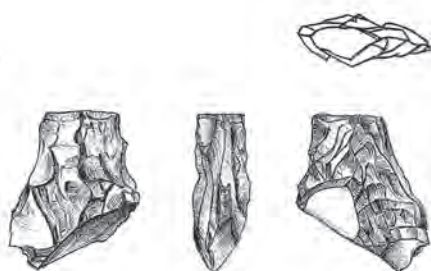
Core



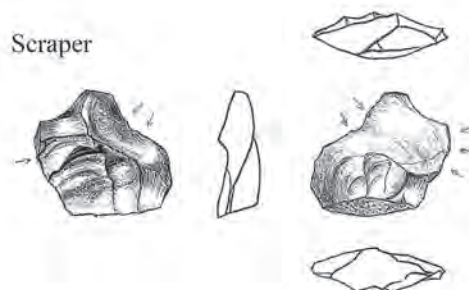
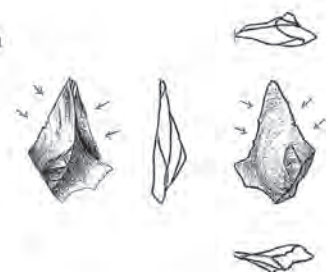
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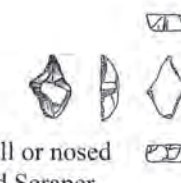
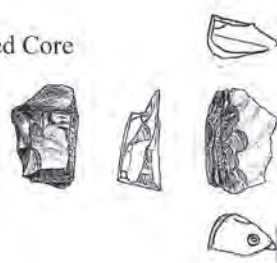
Core



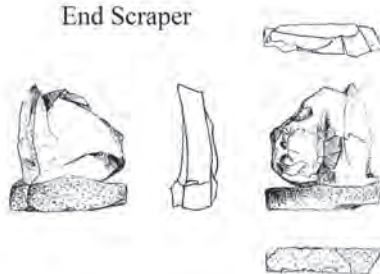
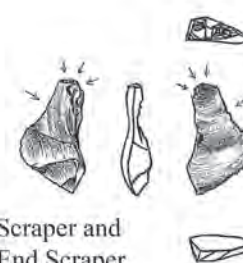
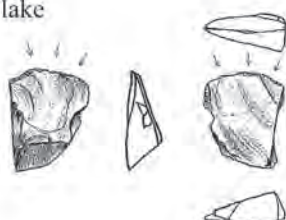
Scraper

Knife on
FlakeScraper and
End Scraper

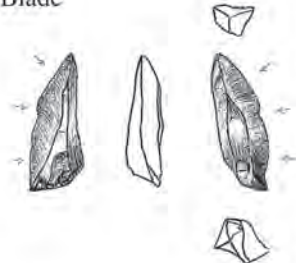
High End Scraper

Drill or nosed
End ScraperScraper
from used Core

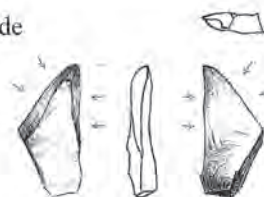
End Scraper

Scraper and
End ScraperScraper
from Flake

Blade



Blade

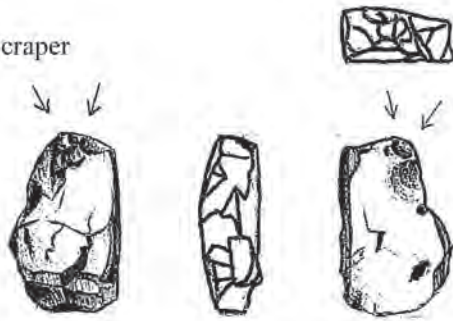


0 10 cm

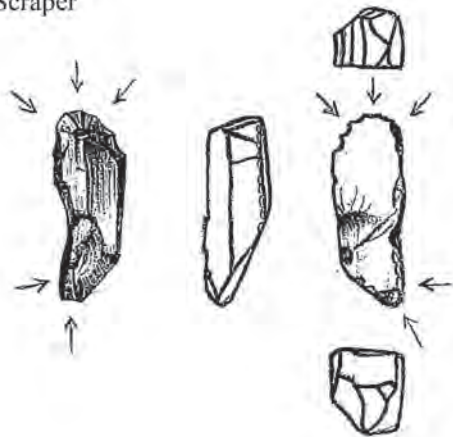
Figure 20.6. Lithics: Context 12 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Lithics
Area 1, Unit 1
Context 21

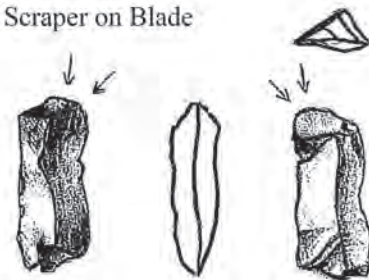
End Scraper



End Scraper



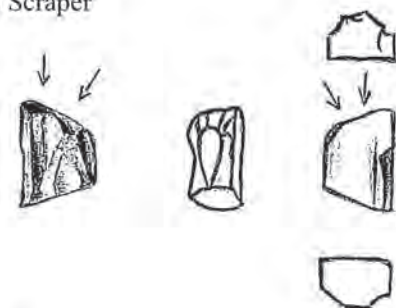
End Scraper on Blade



Scraper on Flake



End Scraper



0 5 cm

Figure 20.7. Lithics: Context 21 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

with Hellenistic deposits are residual and date to the Late Bronze Age. The assortment and quality of flint tools in the adult male burial may indicate that they belonged to the deceased, particularly the two blades and two cores which may have been used, together with pyrite, to make fire. It is conceivable that lithics continued in use in northern Epirus into the early Hellenistic period.³⁵

Most (78%) of the assemblage are glossy (vitreous lustre), fine-grained flints. Individual pieces are generally homogeneous and of differing colours (e.g. mahogany, amber, brown, light to dark grays) and translucency (low to high). The rest (21%) are cherts without vitreous lustre. These tend to be heterogeneous, opaque, and of differing colours (white, brown, and medium to dark greys). The one exception, found in Deposit 12 (Unit 1), is an obsidian scraper made from a used core, dating to the 12th–11th

century BC [Phase 5 below] (Fig. 20.6; Plate 20.4). Only 16 obsidian lithic artefacts have been found in Albania, dating from the Middle/Late Neolithic to Late Bronze Age (5500–1050/25 BC).³⁶ In the context of the robust obsidian trade network during this period in the adjacent regions of Greece and Croatia, Albania is an outlier. It is possible that the demand for obsidian was persistently low in northern Epirus owing to an abundance of quality local flint sources.³⁷ The flint and chert assemblages from Mursi represent a sample of local sources available in northern Epirus during the Late Bronze Age.

Typologically, 32% are end scrapers and scrapers, 12% are blades, and 2% are drills. Flakes and debitage comprise 48% and cores 6%. The high concentration of scrapers and blades points to the processing of animals, perhaps for wool, hides and meat.

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010

Lithics

Area 1, Unit 1

Context 25

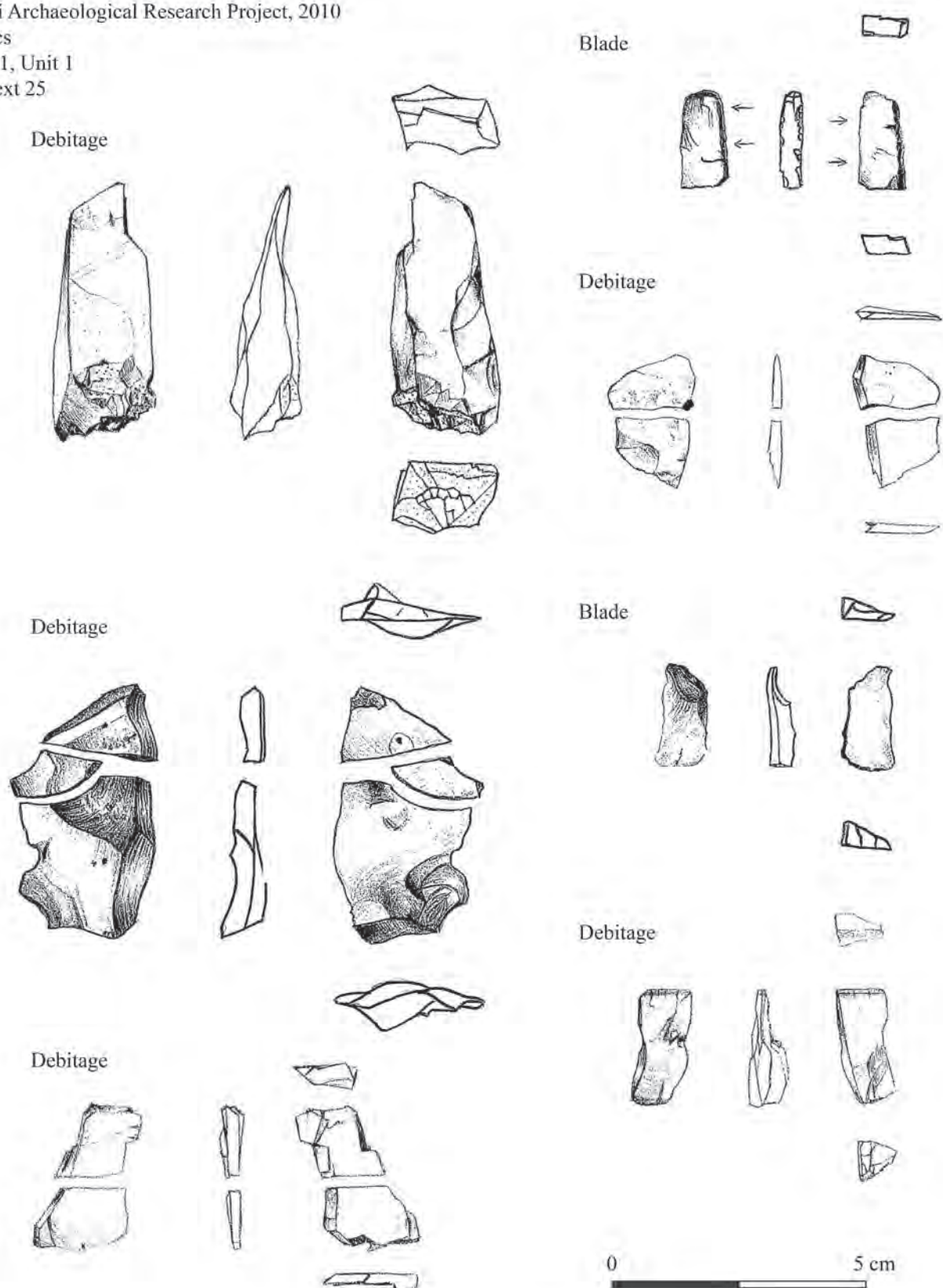


Figure 20.8. Lithics: Context 25 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010

Lithics

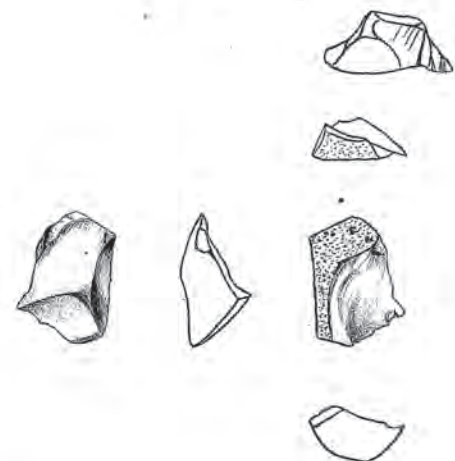
Area 1, Unit 1

Context 29

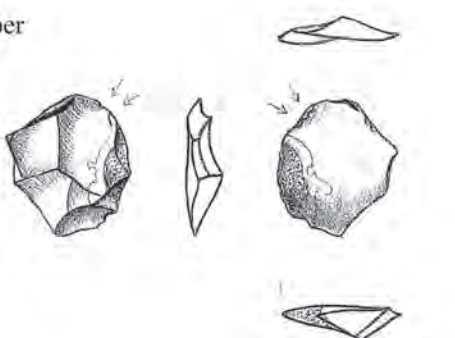
Debitage



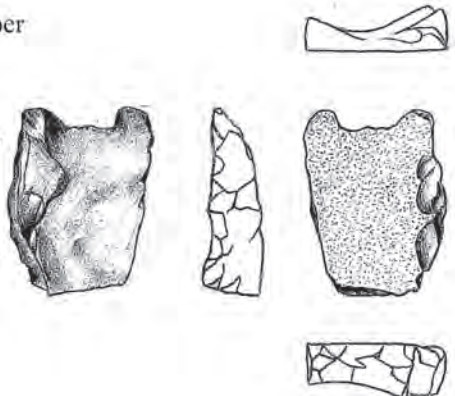
Debitage



Scraper



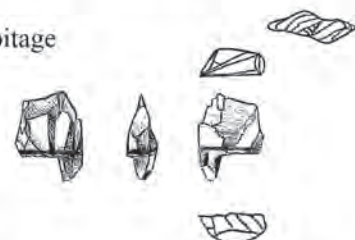
Scraper



Scraper



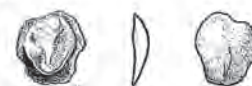
Debitage



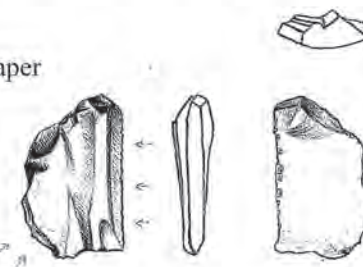
Flake



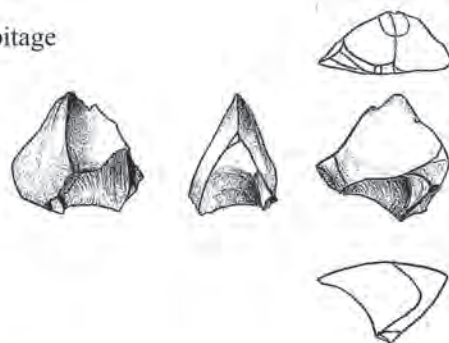
Flake



Scraper



Debitage



0 10 cm

Figure 20.9. Lithics: Context 29 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010

Lithics

Area 1, Unit 1

Context 44

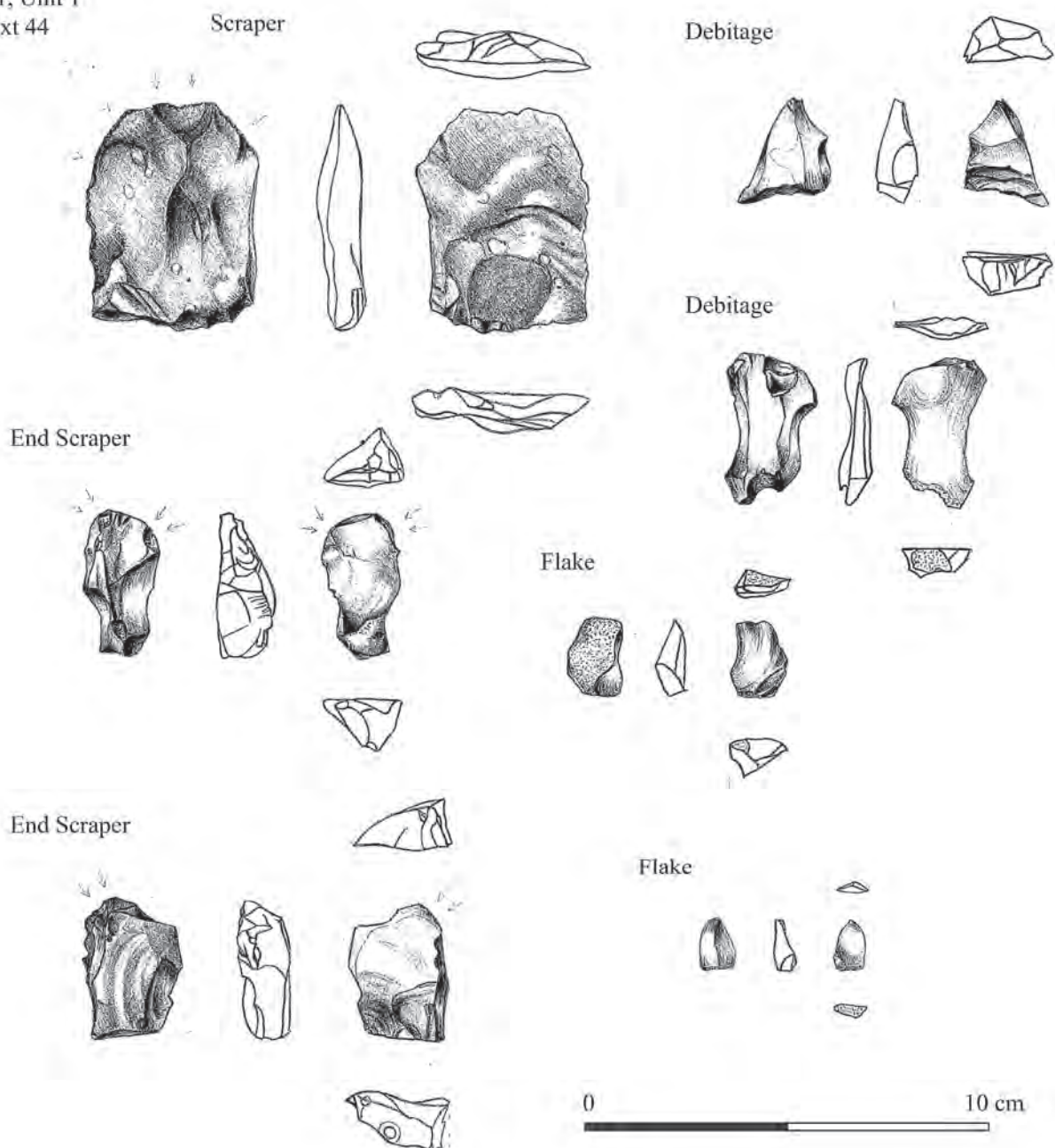


Figure 20.10. Lithics: Context 44 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

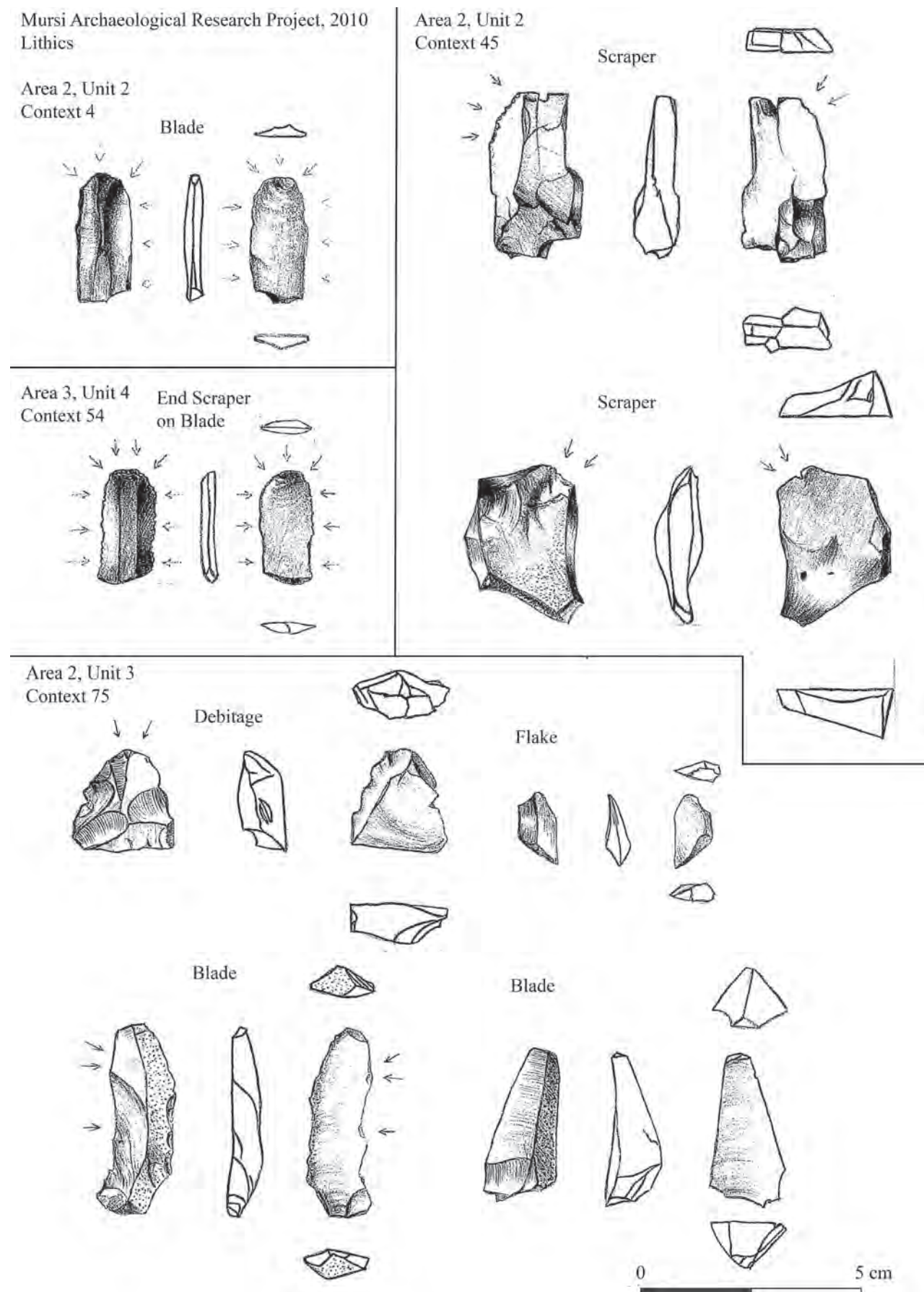
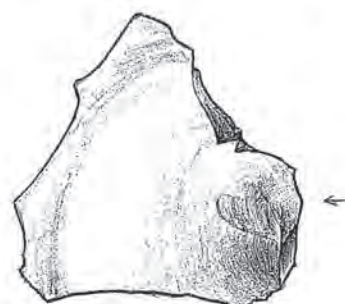
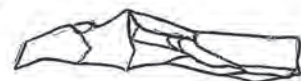
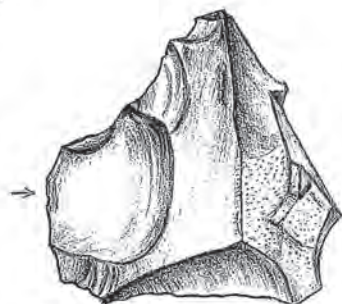


Figure 20.11. Lithics: Contexts 4 and 45 (Area 2, Unit 2); Context 75 (Area 2, Unit 3); Context 54 (Area 3, Unit 4) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Lithics

Area 2, Unit 3
Context 74

Debitage



Area 2, Unit 3
Context 92

Blade



Blade



Debitage



End Scraper



End Scraper



Scraper

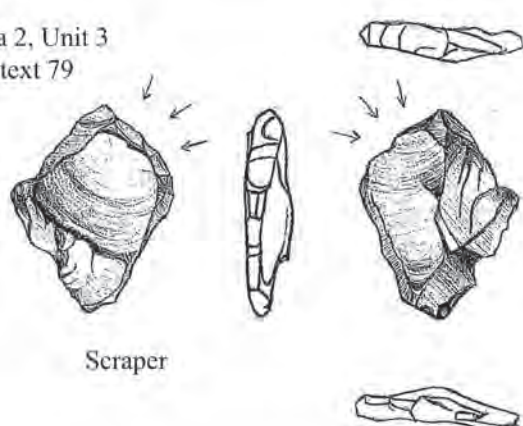


0 5 cm

Figure 20.12. Lithics: Contexts 74 and 92 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

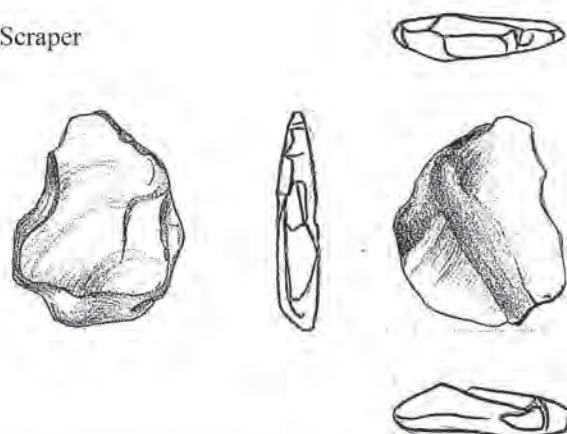
Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Lithics

Area 2, Unit 3
Context 79

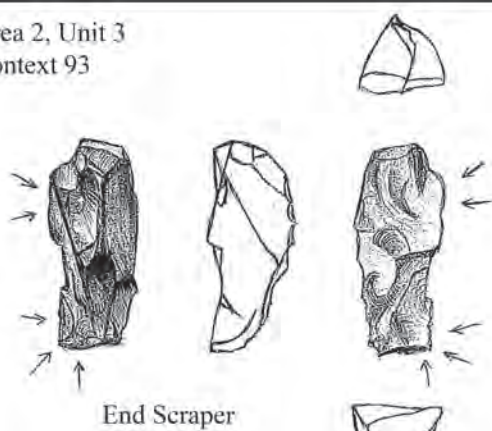


Scraper

Scraper

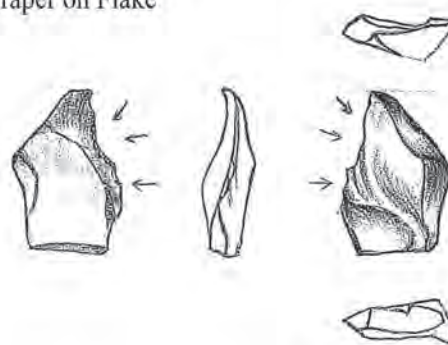


Area 2, Unit 3
Context 93

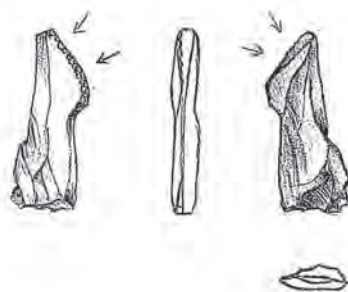


End Scraper

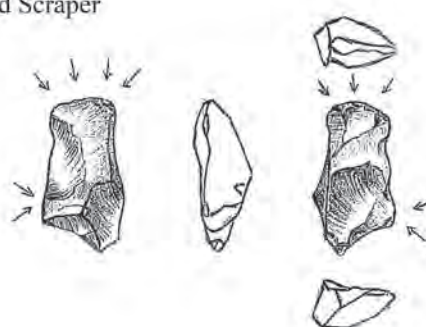
Scraper on Flake



Blade



End Scraper

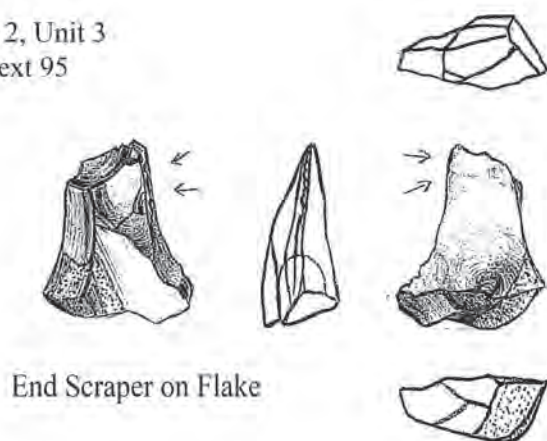


0 5 cm

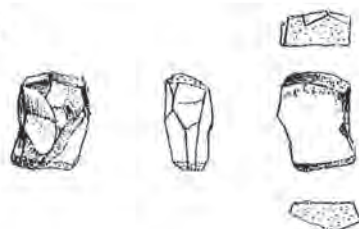
Figure 20.13. Lithics: Contexts 79 and 93 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Lithics

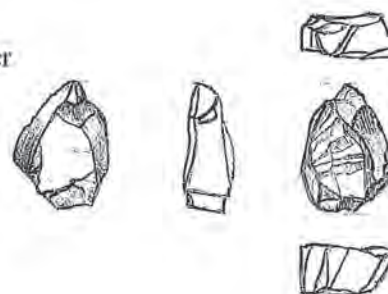
Area 2, Unit 3
Context 95



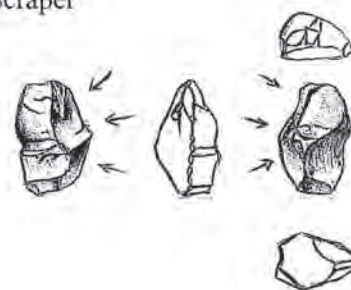
Debitage



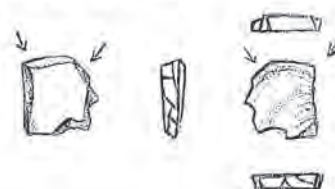
Scraper



End Scraper

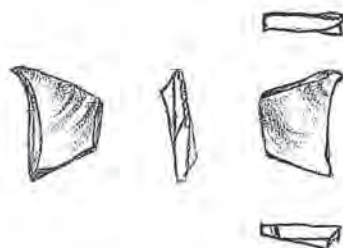


End Scraper on Flake

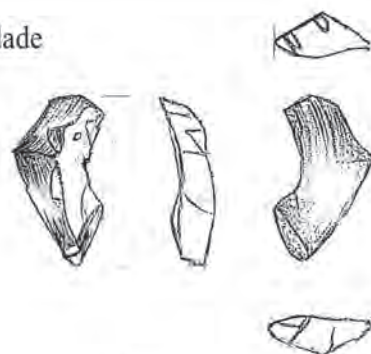


Area 2, Unit 3
Context 102

Drill



Blade



0 5 cm

Figure 20.14. Lithics: Contexts 95 and 102 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Billér)

In addition to drill tools, a number of blades and flakes had sharp points, which could have been used to puncture hides. Scrapers and blades could also have been used to process fish, given the site's proximity to the sea at that time. The other half of the assemblage is

associated with the reduction sequence of flintknapping and demonstrates that stone tools were manufactured on site. In this respect, the site at Mursi follows a regional pattern, since flintknapping has been noted at all LBA sites in southern Epirus.³⁸

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Lithics
Area 2, Unit 3
Context 101

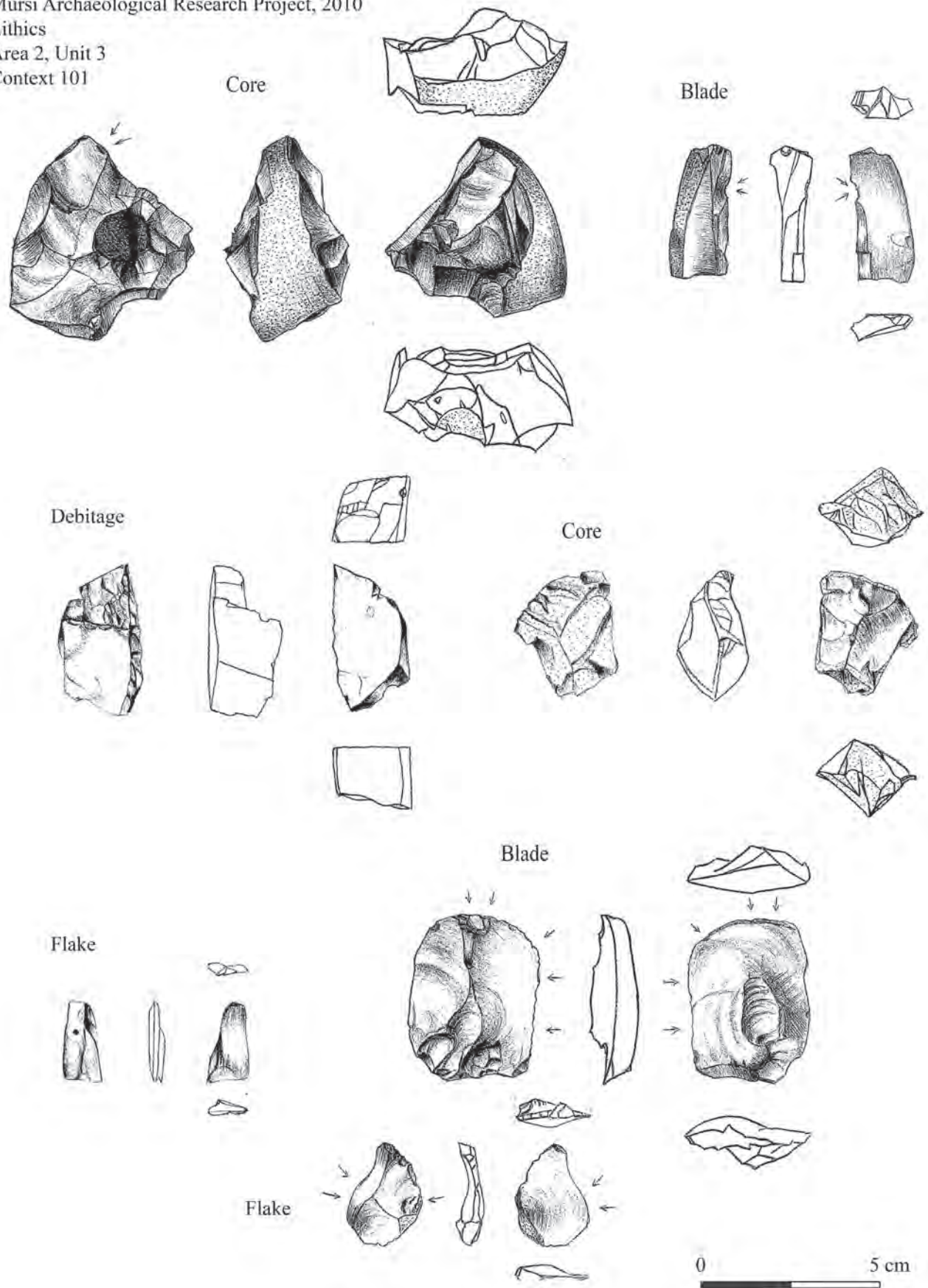


Figure 20.15. Lithics: Context 101 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Drawn by Anna Zsófia Biller)

Phases

Phase 1: Sand Dune

Sequence 1.01, 2.01, 3.01

The lowest deposits [61, 62, 63, 89, 104] excavated in Units 1, 2, 3 and 4 consisted of a finely textured sand, containing small (c. 2 cm), smooth, irregularly shaped black pebbles evenly distributed throughout the deposit in low concentration. The sand was sterile, with no traces of seashells or other lifeforms. The deposits are arenosols of natural geologic formation, predating human occupation of the hill. They are known to be common formations in coastal estuaries.³⁹ Borehole sediment samples taken across the Vrina Plain show that the Butrint region was one such coastal estuary formed after the Holocene post-glacial period.⁴⁰ In its earliest manifestation, the hill of Mursi was a sand dune.

On the very top of the hill in Units 6, 7 and 8 in Area 5, a different natural deposit was present below topsoil. It was bright red, consisting of gravel and sand. No cultural material or evidence of anthropogenic activity was seen in these deposits, which were sterile. The deposit is a geologic palaeosol, stratigraphically situated below the sand dune formation. Truncation of the hilltop at some point, possibly in 1974 for the Hoxha monument, may have removed cultural layers and the natural sand deposits from the top of the hill.

Phase 2: Late Bronze Age (LBA) Terracing, Occupation and Construction of Fortification Wall, c. 13th Century BC (earlier than 1190 BC)

Sequence 1.02, 2.02, 3.02

Terracing and manuring

In Unit 1, the top of the sand deposit was found to be more or less level across the trench, at 7.37 RL.⁴¹ Level sand surfaces were also found in Units 2 and 3 in Area 2 and Unit 4 in Area 3, but at the higher elevations of c. 8.82 RL in Area 2 and c. 10.98 RL in Area 3. The change in elevations between the adjacent level sand surfaces represents height differentials between adjacent ancient terraces, measuring 1.45 m (Terraces 1–2) and 2.16 m (Terraces 2–3) in height, respectively. The terracing and occupation of the sand dune marks the earliest human activity observed in the archaeological record.

In Unit 1, an orangy-brown clay-sand deposit [44] lies above the natural sand (Figs 20.16–20.18). It contained handmade, non-wheel-turned prehistoric pottery and flint tools. The 268 sherds (3.1 kg) analysed from the ceramic assemblage contained all five known types of Bronze Age pottery (see Chapter 21). Lithics included two end scrapers, a scraper, flakes and debitage (Plate 20.5; Fig. 20.10).

Soil characteristics indicate that the deposit was formed by the application of manure onto the sand terraces.⁴² The orange colour of the soil derives from iron-oxide, but it is not the deep red of iron-oxide that occurs through the leaching of stone, as with *terra rossa* formations. The soil



Figure 20.16. North-facing section of Unit 1, Area 1 (Photo by David Hernandez)

contained very high levels of nitrogen and moderate levels of phosphorus and potassium.⁴³ Sheep manure has the distinctive quality of having high concentrations of nitrogen and potash, which is rich in potassium.⁴⁴ The amount of potash in sheep manure is generally higher than that of other livestock. Potash helps to improve water retention and thereby increases soil productivity. However, mixing sheep manure with fine sand would have produced a weak soil structure. The abundance and typological range of fragmentary pottery in the deposit represents the mixing of rubbish containing pottery sherds into manure. This allowed the earliest occupants of the hill to strengthen its soil structure and make the terraces productive. This might be why all known prehistoric locally produced ware types (T1–T5) are present and mixed in the deposit, which contained cook, coarse, semi-fine and fine wares (see Chapter 21).

The LBA deposits were found in Unit 1 (Area 1). Later robbing and construction activity in the early Hellenistic period appears to have removed almost all deposits dating to the Late Bronze Age in the other excavated trenches. One exception in Unit 2 is the lowest stratigraphic deposit [84] which yielded 21 sherds of LBA pottery, including a lug handle, which was the only LBA deposit found undisturbed in Area 2.

Fortification wall and attached building (tower?)

In Unit 2, four large stone blocks were discovered near the northwestern corner of the trench (Figs 20.19–22). These belong to two different walls. The first group consists of two large abutting stone blocks [39] that are the remains of a large fortification/retaining wall. One block exposed in full by excavation measures $1.56 \times 0.87 \times 0.57$ m; the other, which protrudes from the section, appears to be of equal size.

The top and bottom of the two stones are level and had been worked flat, whereas their sides are irregular and natural. The stones are of a unique limestone of unknown provenience, featuring millimeter bands of

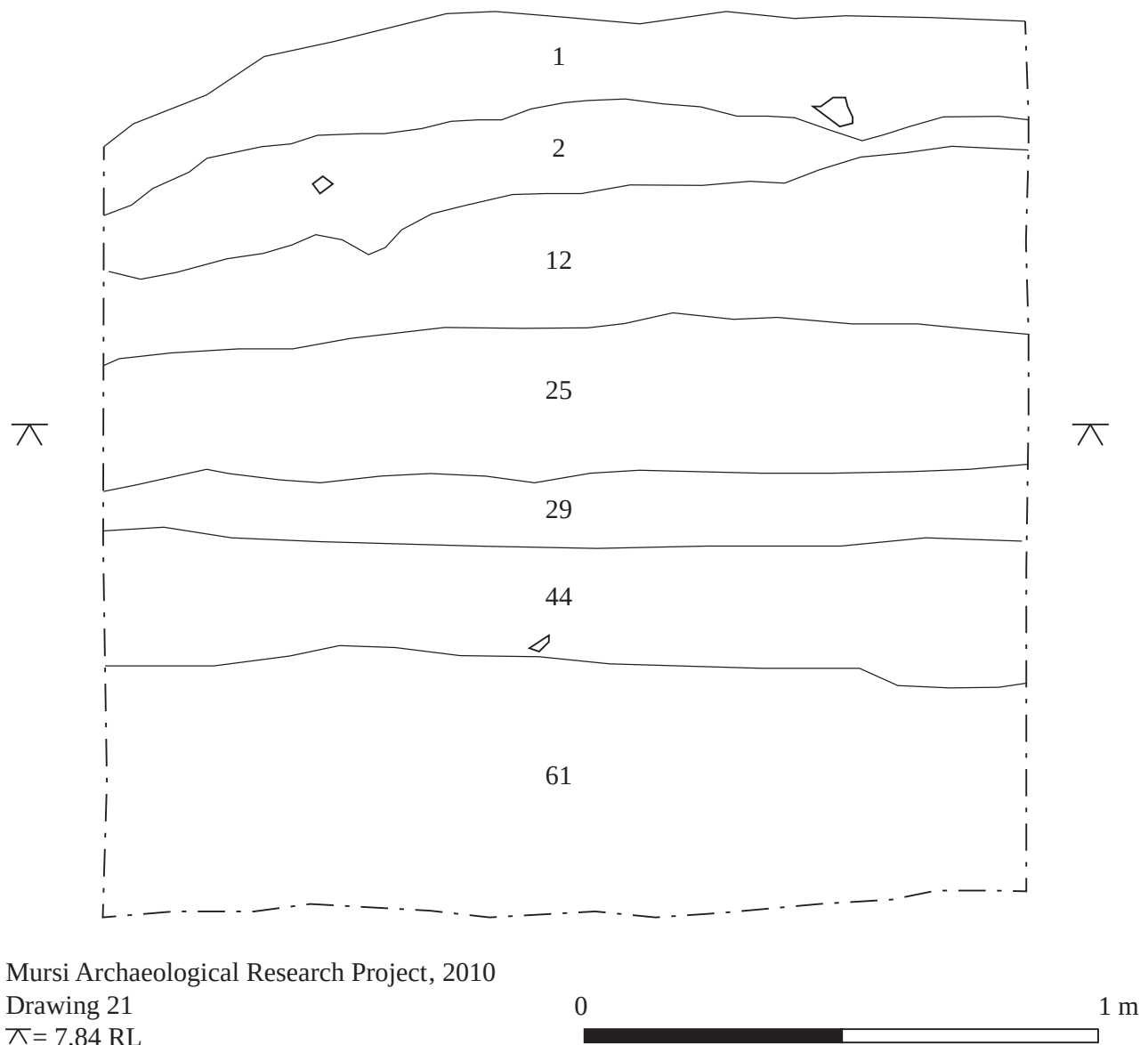


Figure 20.17. North-facing section drawing of Unit 1, Area 1 (Drawn by David Hernandez)

calcium carbonate layers. This type of banded limestone is not present in the building materials found at Butrint or in its environs. A robbing trench [71, 90] created after the wall's spoliation [Phase 6] extended across Units 2 and 3, showing that the wall originally ran more than 8 m. The outline of the robbing trench is clearly visible in the north-facing section of Unit 2 (Plates 20.6 and 20.7; Figs 20.19 and 20.23). The section also shows that the wall was built against the higher adjacent terrace (Area 3). The top of the stone blocks and the level of the sand retained behind them are the same (9.86 RL). This demonstrates that the terracing of the hill and the construction of the wall are contemporaneous. The stone embedded in the section of the trench lies at an angle relative to the orientation of the 8-m stretch of the original wall. It is evident that the wall made a slight turn to the northwest at this point following the

contour of the hill. The extant remains appear to represent a corner segment of the fortification wall.

The other two stones [85] in Unit 2 are part of the foundations of a building constructed against the inner side of the fortification wall (Figs 20.24 and 20.25). The stones are of the same type of limestone, but the blocks are smaller and placed on edge within a foundation trench [80], which was cut directly from the sand deposit [62]. The foundation trench for this wall was constructed after the fortification wall was built, but it is likely that both are contemporaneous because they consist of the same materials and were built from the surface of the terraced sand. The form and purpose of the attached building remain unclear. If we consider the attached building and the fortification wall as an integral unit, the combined structure may represent the remains of a tower. This might explain why this part of the wall alone

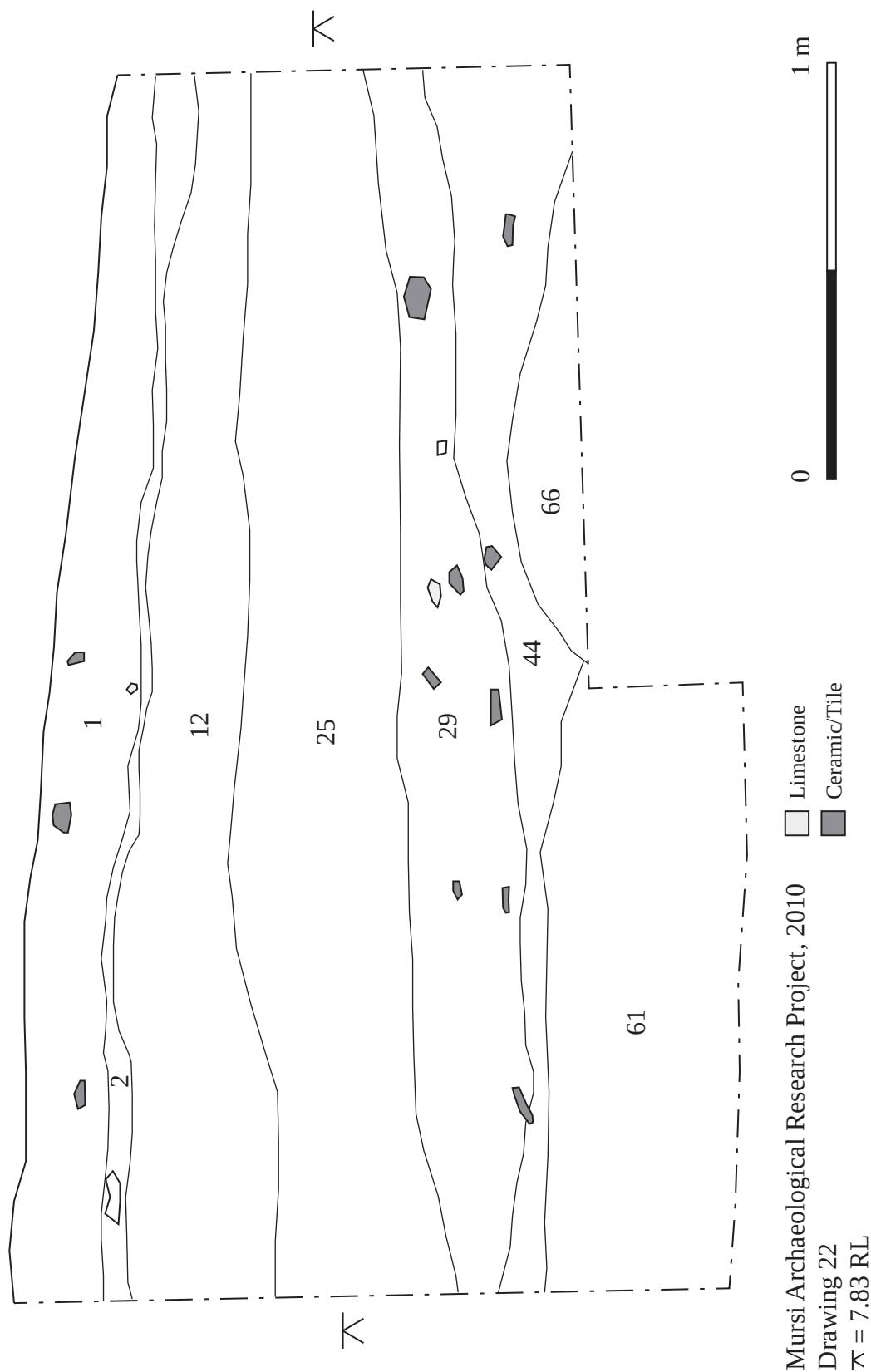


Figure 20.18. East-facing section drawing of Unit 1, Area 1 (Drawn by David Hernandez)

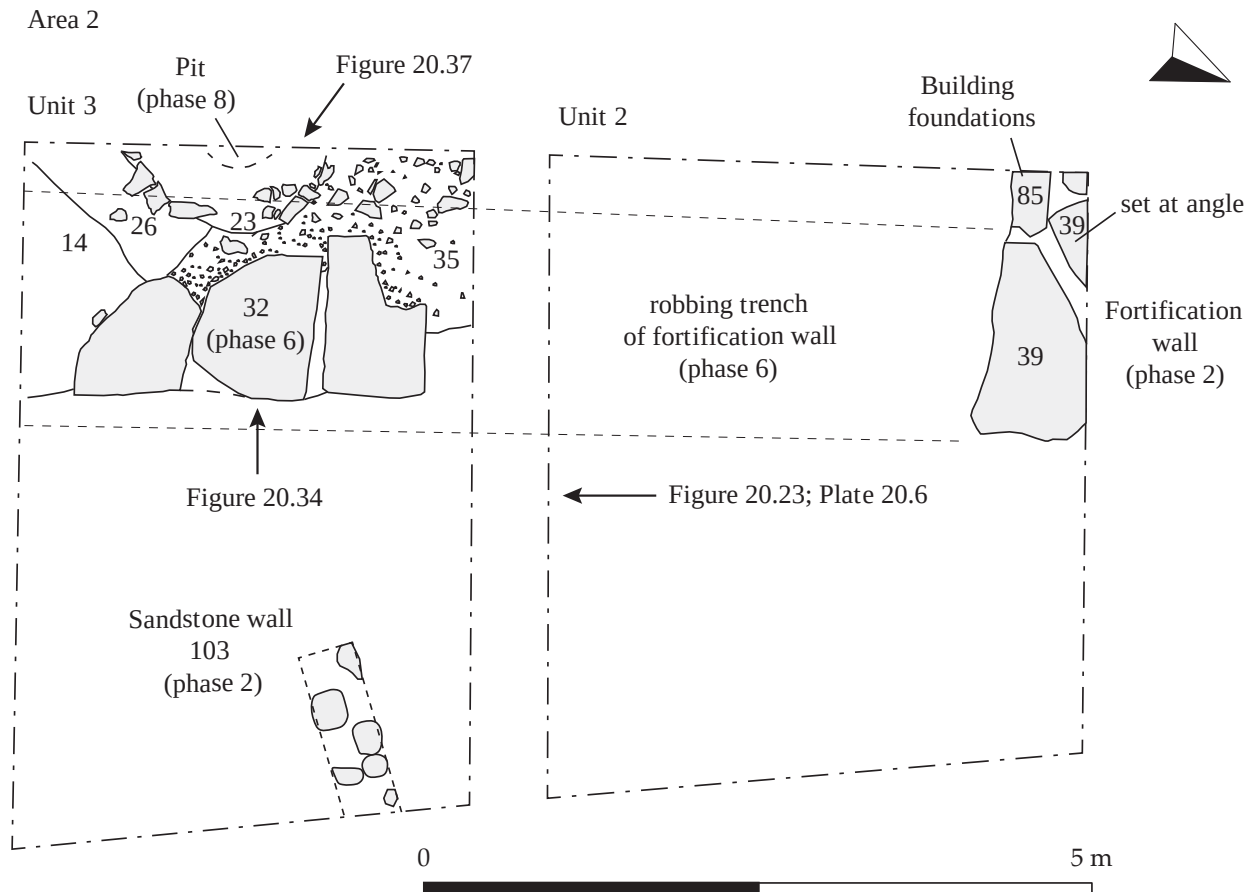


Figure 20.19. Plan of Units 2 and 3 in Area 2 (Drawn by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.20. Post-excavation photograph of Unit 2, showing wall 39 (lower left) (Photo by David Hernandez)

remained in use when the rest of the fortification wall was robbed out in the Hellenistic period [Phase 6].

Sandstone wall

Unit 3 revealed a degraded, soil-bonded wall [103] made of irregularly shaped sandstone blocks (Figs 20.19 and 20.26). Built directly on the sand terrace, the wall measured 42

cm wide (thickness of two sandstone blocks). Its remains were preserved for a length of 1.24 m. In some places, it was two-courses high. Fragments of similar sandstone blocks were recovered from a few deposits with residual prehistoric remains. The wall's function is unknown.

Dating

A radiocarbon date from the subsequent layer [Phase 3] suggests a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1190 BC for this phase, which probably dates to the 13th century BC. The fortification wall was built on sterile sand that lacks datable material. The fill of its robbing trench [Phase 6] contained lithics and abundant handmade and non-wheel-turned pottery sherds of LBA date, similar to those found in Deposit 44 in Unit 1. The material culture in the robbing fill likely came from the layers associated with the LBA fortification wall's use and construction.

Phase 3: Cultivation and Occupation Activity, c. 13th Century BC (earlier than 1190 BC)

Sequence: 1.03

In Unit 1, Deposits 44 and 29 were separated by a distinct interface, yet both were of similar composition, texture, colour and consistency (see Figs 20.17 and 20.18). The



Figure 20.21. Stone block of fortification wall 39 and foundations of wall 85 (left) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.22. Detail of stone block 39, showing millimeter bands of calcium carbonate (Photo by David Hernandez)

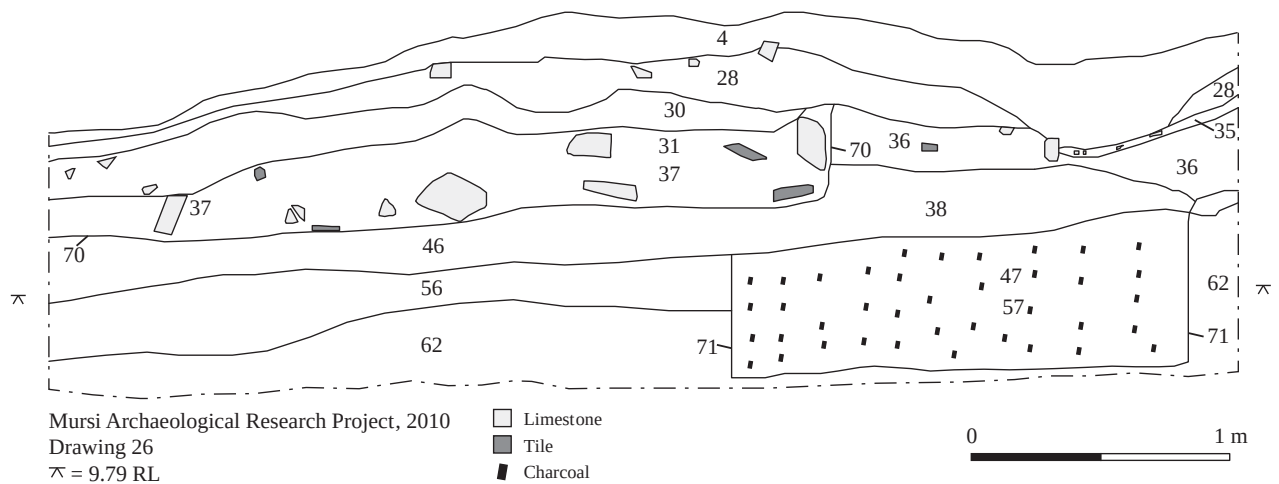


Figure 20.23. North-facing section drawing of Unit 2 (Drawn by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.24. Foundation block 85 abutting stone block 39 (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.26. Sandstone block of wall 103 (Photo by David Hernandez)

formation of Deposit 29 is best explained as a second phase of manuring. With the depletion of nitrogen, phosphorus and potash in the soil due to cultivation, re-application of manure would serve to sustain soil productivity. Deposit 29 yielded the same distribution of prehistoric ware types 1–5 as Deposit 44. The 108 sherds (1.4 kg) recovered from the deposit are less than half of those from Deposit 44 (268 sherds; 3.1 kg). Given that the volume of Deposit 29 in the trench is roughly half that of Deposit 44 (1.8 m³ and 3.6 m³), the ceramic density (count/volume) is the same for both deposits, suggesting a consistent manuring practice. The lithic assemblage of flint tools is also similar to that of Deposit 44, consisting of scrapers, flakes and debitage (Fig. 20.9).

Dating

A charcoal sample was recovered from Deposit 29 and submitted for AMS radiocarbon dating (Fig. 20.27). The

two-sigma calendar calibrated date of the sample (95% probability) is 1380–1190 and 1140 Cal. BC. The one-sigma calendar calibrated date (68% probability) is 1310–1250 and 1240–1220 Cal. BC. The deposit likely dates to the 13th century BC (before AD 1190).⁴⁵ The two-sigma date would correspond to the Mycenaean Late Helladic IIIA2–IIIB period, with the most probable date (one sigma) falling within the Late Helladic IIIB period.

Phase 4: Cultivation and Occupation Activity, c. 13th Century–1010 BC

Sequence 1.04

Deposit 25 is an orangy-brown sandy clay, with a similar colour and composition as the earlier two deposits [29 and 44]. Its formation appears to be the same, representing a phase of manuring. However, the pottery recovered from the deposit was different both in number and type from the lower two layers [29, 44]. It yielded 41 sherds

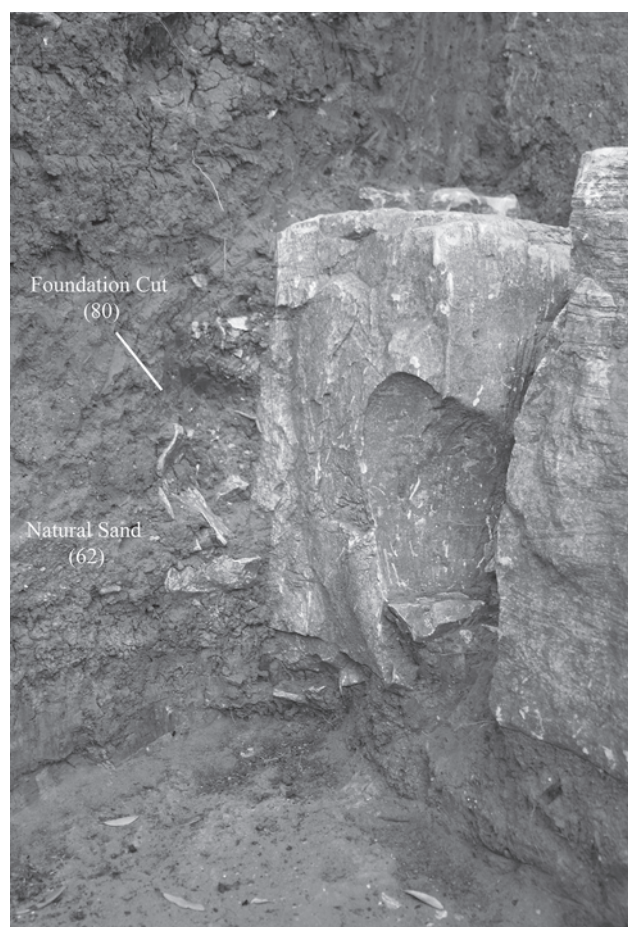


Figure 20.25. Detail of foundation trench, showing cut 80 and foundation block 85 (Photo by David Hernandez)

from a much larger volume of earth (4.65 m³). Its pottery assemblage consists of semi-fine and fine ware types 1–3, with few sherds of types 4–5 present (see Chapter 21). The deposit also has a stronger soil structure than the two underlying deposits, due to a higher concentration in gravel and coarse components. The difference in inclusions and ceramic density might reflect a change in the practice of soil enrichment. The lithic assemblage consisted of two blades and several fragments of debitage (Fig. 20.8).

Dating

Radiocarbon dates from Phases 3 and 5 suggests that this phase dates between the 13th century and c. 1010 BC.

Phase 5: Final LBA Occupation and Site Abandonment, c. 12th–11th Century BC

Sequence 1.05a, 1.05b

A surface [108] was identified at the interface between Deposits 25 and 12. A complete, non-wheel-turned, handmade ceramic vessel was found *in situ*, resting on its side on this surface (Figs 20.28 and 20.29). The vessel is an open form with everted rim of type 5 ware (Epirote class

KII/KIII) (Fig. 21.14, Plates 21.3 and 21.4; see Chapter 21). It is a medium- to large-sized cooking pot with an external diameter measuring 31 cm. The vessel is similar to a cooking pot excavated at the site of Sovjan in the modern region of Korçë.⁴⁶

Surface 108 marks the final occupation level of the LBA site. The cooking pot was filled with Deposit 21 and came to be buried within Deposit 12 after the site was abandoned, thereby preserving the vessel in its final resting position. Deposit 12 is an orangy-brown sandy silt, unlike the sandy clay of earlier deposits. Its higher silt content shows that it formed from erosion, by rain and wind action, leading to the deposition of fine-grained soil from higher ground. This is supported by the condition of the ceramic sherds, which were more battered and scuffed than those found in earlier deposits. The greatest number of sherds [308] and flint artifacts [14] in Unit 1 were found in this deposit. The lithics included end scrapers, scrapers, blades, cores, flakes and debitage (Plate 20.4; Figs 20.6 and 20.7). The majority of ceramic sherds (70%) were type 5 wares of KII/KIII. The deposit did not contain fine wares, but a few sherds dating to the Hellenistic period were present. This suggests that the deposit formed over centuries, perhaps until the reoccupation of the hill in the 4th century BC [Phase 6].

Dating

A fragment from the base of the vessel and a sediment sample taken near the vessel were submitted to the Luminescence Dating Laboratory at University of Washington for analysis (Appendix). Dose rate measurements were made on the sherd as well as on an associated sediment sample. Dose rates were mainly determined using alpha counting and flame photometry. Equivalent dose was determined by thermoluminescence (TL), infrared stimulated luminescence (IRSL) and optically stimulated luminescence (OSL). Derived ages for OSL, IRSL and TL were found to be statistically identical. A weighted average of the three determinations is 3.19±0.21 ka, furnishing a calendar date for the vessel of 1180±210 BC (1390–970 BC).

Charcoal obtained from the lower levels of Deposit 12 was sampled for AMS radiocarbon dating (Fig. 20.30). The two-sigma calendar calibrated date of the sample (95% probability) is 1250–1240 and 1220–1010 Cal. BC. The one-sigma calendar calibrated date (68% probability) is 1190–1050 Cal. BC, which would correspond with the Mycenaean post-palatial Late Helladic IIIC period.

The combined evidence suggests that the abandonment of the LBA site occurred sometime between 1250–1010 BC and probably in the 12th or 11th century BC.

Phase 6: Robbing of the LBA Fortification Wall and Construction of Hellenistic Complex; 4th Century BC

Sequence 2.03, 2.04

A small deposit of blackish-brown loam [56] with charcoal

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-27.7;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-296470

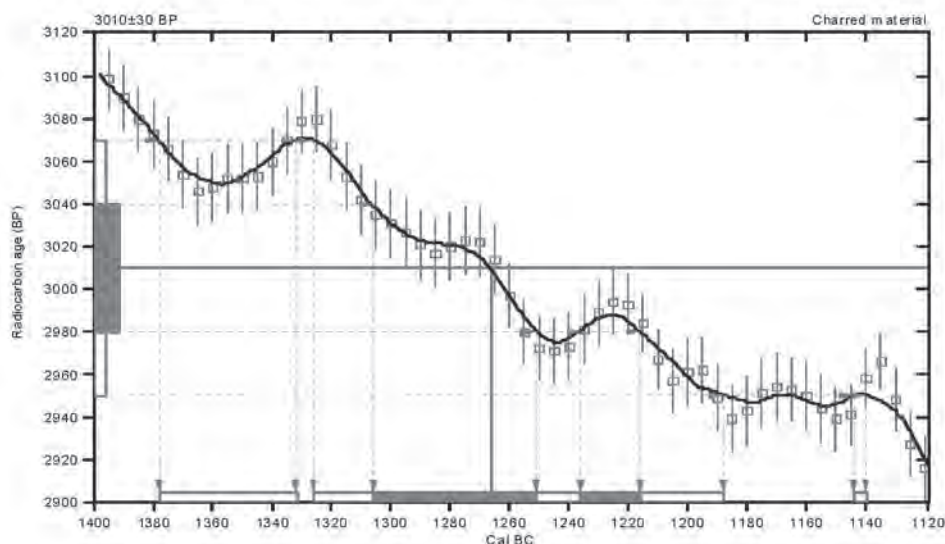
Conventional radiocarbon age: 3010±30 BP

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 1380 to 1330 (Cal BP 3330 to 3280) and
(95% probability) Cal BC 1330 to 1190 (Cal BP 3280 to 3140) and
Cal BC 1140 to 1140 (Cal BP 3090 to 3090)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal BC 1270 (Cal BP 3220)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 1310 to 1250 (Cal BP 3260 to 3200) and
(68% probability) Cal BC 1240 to 1220 (Cal BP 3190 to 3170)



References:

Database used

INTCAL04

Calibration Database

INTCAL04 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

IntCal04: Calibration Issue of Radiocarbon, (Volume 46, nr 3, 2004).

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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Figure 20.27. AMS Radiocarbon dating results, Deposit 29 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Courtesy Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory)

flecks and black lenses overlaid the natural sand deposit in Unit 3, abutting the eastern side of the LBA fortification wall. It contained Hellenistic pottery and large fragments of yellow roof tiles, as well as small, battered fragments of prehistoric coarse ware pottery. The robbing trench [71, 90] of the fortification wall cut into this deposit and also into Deposit 84 in Unit 2 (see Plates 20.6 and 20.7; Figs 20.19 and 20.23, discussed above).

The fill of the robbing trench was a reddish-brown silty clay [47, 57, 74, 82, 83, 93, 95] containing a high concentration of charcoal chunks and flecks. Some parts revealed burnt soil. The charcoal shows burning activity, perhaps for the clearance of vegetation on site or the disposal of rubbish. The fill contained abundant handmade and non-wheel-turned prehistoric pottery and

lithics associated with the site's earlier LBA phases (Fig. 20.14, Context 95). Other sherds of early Hellenistic coarse ware and fine ware pottery and roof tile fragments were recovered. Additionally, several unidentifiable and corroded iron objects and one bronze coin were found within the fill deposits.⁴⁷

A series of three large flat stone blocks [32] set above the robbing fill was found in Unit 2 (Figs 20.31–34). The two northernmost stones are *in situ*, while the southernmost was found at an angle of about 30° from the horizontal. The stone appears to have been pried up and then abandoned after an unsuccessful robbing attempt, which probably occurred in the 3rd century BC [Phase 8]. The three stones are *spolia* of the LBA fortification wall, made of the same millimetre-banded limestone. However, they were



Figure 20.28. Cooking pot in situ in Context 12 (Area 1, Unit 1), 12th–11th century BC (Photo by David Hernandez)

reworked into regular masonry blocks, roughly squared ($0.80\text{--}0.85 \times 1.18\text{--}1.32 \times 0.45\text{--}0.50$ m) and faced on their eastern side. The stones align perfectly with the position of the LBA fortification corner tower segment, which was not spoliated when the rest of the wall was removed. The building material acquired from the robbing of the LBA fortification wall was used to construct a new complex, which incorporated some part of the old LBA building (tower?) and corner fortification segment.

Dating

Fill 83 of the robbing trench contained a coin, minted in Kerkyra (ancient Korkyra), dated to the 4th century BC, which serves as a *terminus post quem* for the robbing of the fortification wall and the construction of the Hellenistic complex (Fig. 23.1). The coin displays on the obverse an amphora with the letter K to its left and O to its right for ‘Korkyra’. The reverse features a bunch of grapes with leaves. The type is one of the two main productions of Kerkyra’s mint in the 4th century BC and has been found in previous excavations in Butrint, Phoinike and its environs (see Chapter 23).

Charcoal from a burned patch of soil in fill 83 was sampled and submitted to Beta Analytic for AMS radiocarbon dating (Fig. 20.35). The two-sigma calendar calibrated date of the sample (95% probability) is 400–350 and 300–210 Cal. BC. The one-sigma calendar calibrated date (68% probability) is 390–360 Cal. BC.

The radiocarbon and numismatic dating evidence from the robbing fill indicates that the Hellenistic complex was built in the 4th century BC.

Phase 7: Occupation of the Hellenistic Complex, 3rd Century BC

Sequence 2.05

A number of deposits [14, 26, 36, 38, 46, 65, 72, 79] were excavated that are associated with the use of the



Figure 20.29. Detail of cooking pot in situ in Context 12 (Area 1, Unit 1), 12th–11th century BC (Photo by David Hernandez)

Hellenistic complex. A yellowish-grey deposit [79] yielded a diagnostic inverted black-slipped rim of a cup, dated to the 3rd century BC.⁴⁸ This deposit also contained a large spherical lump of lead, perhaps an ingot, and various bronze objects and fragments of chipped stone (Fig. 20.36). The interface above Deposits 26 and 36 represents the surface associated with the final occupation of the complex.

Dating

Ceramics from these deposits date to the 3rd century BC, including a rim cup from Context 79 in Area 2 (Fig. 22.6.2)

Phase 8: First Robbing Phase of the Hellenistic Complex, 3rd Century BC

Sequence 2.06

The Hellenistic complex was robbed from the surface of Deposits 26 and 36. Four large pits [23, 60, 76, 94] identified in Unit 2 provide valuable information about the robbing of the complex (Figs 20.32 and 20.37). The pits are generally oval in plan and are filled uniformly with black soil extending up to the topsoil. The stratigraphy shows that the pits were dug in two separate robbing phases. In the first phase, two pits [23, 94] were dug adjacent to the courtyard stones [32], precisely on both sides of the dislodged southern stone. In other words, the two pits are associated with the attempted removal of this stone. In addition, the northwestern side of the northernmost stone was truncated at that time and several stone fragments and stone chips were found related to this activity. Abundant moderate-sized stone fragments and layers of stone chips demonstrate that the stones of the Hellenistic complex were broken up into smaller pieces on site. One stone chip layer [35] runs down to the bottom of pit 23, proving that these pits were dug before the demolition of stones 32. Given their large size and depth, which reached the layer of natural sand, the pits were dug in an apparent search

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-24.5;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-296471

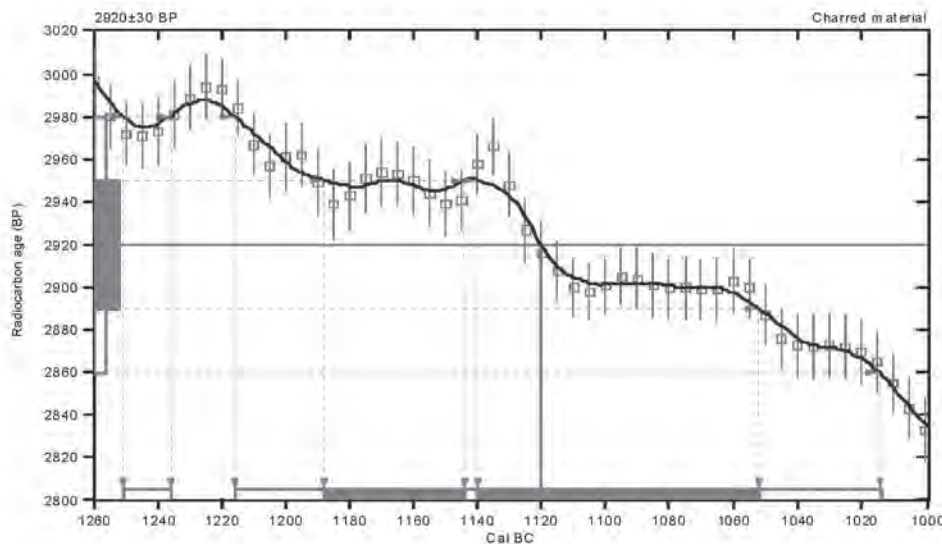
Conventional radiocarbon age: 2920±30 BP

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 1250 to 1240 (Cal BP 3200 to 3190) and
(95% probability) Cal BC 1220 to 1010 (Cal BP 3170 to 2960)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal BC 1120 (Cal BP 3070)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 1190 to 1140 (Cal BP 3140 to 3090) and
(68% probability) Cal BC 1140 to 1050 (Cal BP 3090 to 3000)



References:

Database used

INTCAL04

Calibration Database

INTCAL04 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

IntCal04: Calibration Issue of Radiocarbon (Volume 46, nr 3, 2004)

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory

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Figure 20.30. AMS Radiocarbon dating results, Deposit 12 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Courtesy Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory)

for materials. After the Hellenistic complex was robbed, the pits were left open and came to be filled by natural processes over time.

Dating

The date of this first robbing phase in the 3rd century BC derives from a *terminus ante quem* of 210 BC established by the subsequent phase.

Phase 9: Cemetery, 250–210 BC

Sequence 2.07

An adult male inhumation burial [99] was excavated in Unit 2. Its stratigraphic position lies between two robbing

episodes [Phases 8 and 10]. The interment suggests that the complex was abandoned and that the hill was used as a cemetery. The burial was oriented east–west. On account of its location in the northeastern corner of Unit 2, only the lower half of the individual was excavated. The preservation of the skeleton was generally poor, but the major leg bones survived. The grave had no stone or tile lining. No nails were found to indicate a wooden coffin. It appears to have been a simple pit inhumation, perhaps with the deceased wrapped in a shroud.

To the right of the lower legs, a burned ritual deposit [101] was found adjacent to the individual. The deposit contained two fragments of a *kantharos*. As a specialised wine drinking vessel, closely associated with the symposium,



Figure 20.31. Stone blocks of peristyle in Unit 2 (right) and blocks of the LBA fortification wall in Unit 3 (left) (Area 2) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 20.32. Stone blocks of peristyle in Unit 2 and robbing pit 23 in section (Area 2) (Photo by David Hernandez)

the *kantharos* suggests that the interred was a male. The deposit also yielded two fragments of a *dolium*, with three horizontal bands, and several sherds of fine ware pottery, in addition to residual fragments of prehistoric coarse ware pottery. Eight lithics were found in the ritual deposit. As discussed above, it is possible that the two flint blades and two cores belonged to the deceased (see Plate 20.3; Fig. 20.15)

Dating

The *kantharos* in Deposit 101 dates to the 3rd century BC (Fig. 22.3, 1 and Fig. 22.4). The fill [97] of the burial also yielded a diagnostic coarse ware strap handle of an *oinochoe*, featuring a unique ‘tongue’ from the rim joint. Similar *oinochoi* have been found at Athens and Corinth, dating to the 4th–3rd centuries BC.⁴⁹ A bronze coin was also recovered from the fill dating to 250–210 BC (Fig. 23.2; see Chapter 23).



Figure 20.33. East-facing elevation and section of stone blocks 32 (Drawn by David Hernandez)

A sample of charcoal was collected from the deposit [97] and submitted to Beta Analytic for AMS radiocarbon analysis (Fig. 20.38). The two-sigma calendar celebrated date of the sample (95% probability) is 390–340 and 320–210 Cal. BC. The one-sigma calendar calibrated date (68% probability) is 380–240 Cal. BC.

The ceramics, coin, and radiocarbon evidence date this phase to the second half of the 3rd century BC, specifically between 250–210 BC.

Phase 10: Second Robbing Phase of the Hellenistic Complex, 250 BC–2nd Century BC

Sequence 2.08

Two robbing pits [60 and 76] were dug into the same deposit [75] from which burial 99 was cut. Unlike pit 23, pit 94 had by this time become sealed with fill deposits [92 and 96] before the interment of burial 99. It is intriguing that robbing pit 60 was dug nearly above sealed pit 94, adjacent to the dislodged courtyard stone 32. The purpose of these pits seems to have been the same as those of Phase 8, probing for subsurface material. Three robbing pits [23, 60 and 76] were left open after the second robbing phase of the site.

Phase 11: Cemetery, 250–2nd Century BC

Sequence 2.09

A second adult inhumation burial [87] was placed after the second robbing phase of the site (Figs 20.39 and 20.40). The burial was oriented east–west. The only grave good found in the burial was a loom weight, which suggests that the individual was female. She was found with arms folded across her torso in a stone and tile lined grave. Stones were carefully placed on either side of her head and below the mandible in order to keep her head firmly in

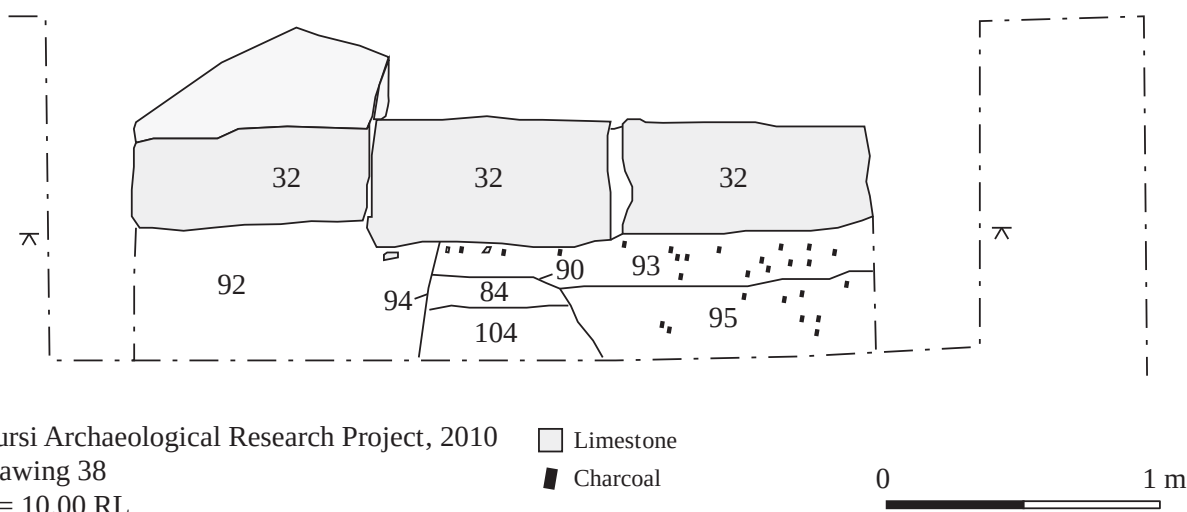


Figure 20.34. East-facing elevation and section drawing of stone blocks 32 (Drawn by David Hernandez)

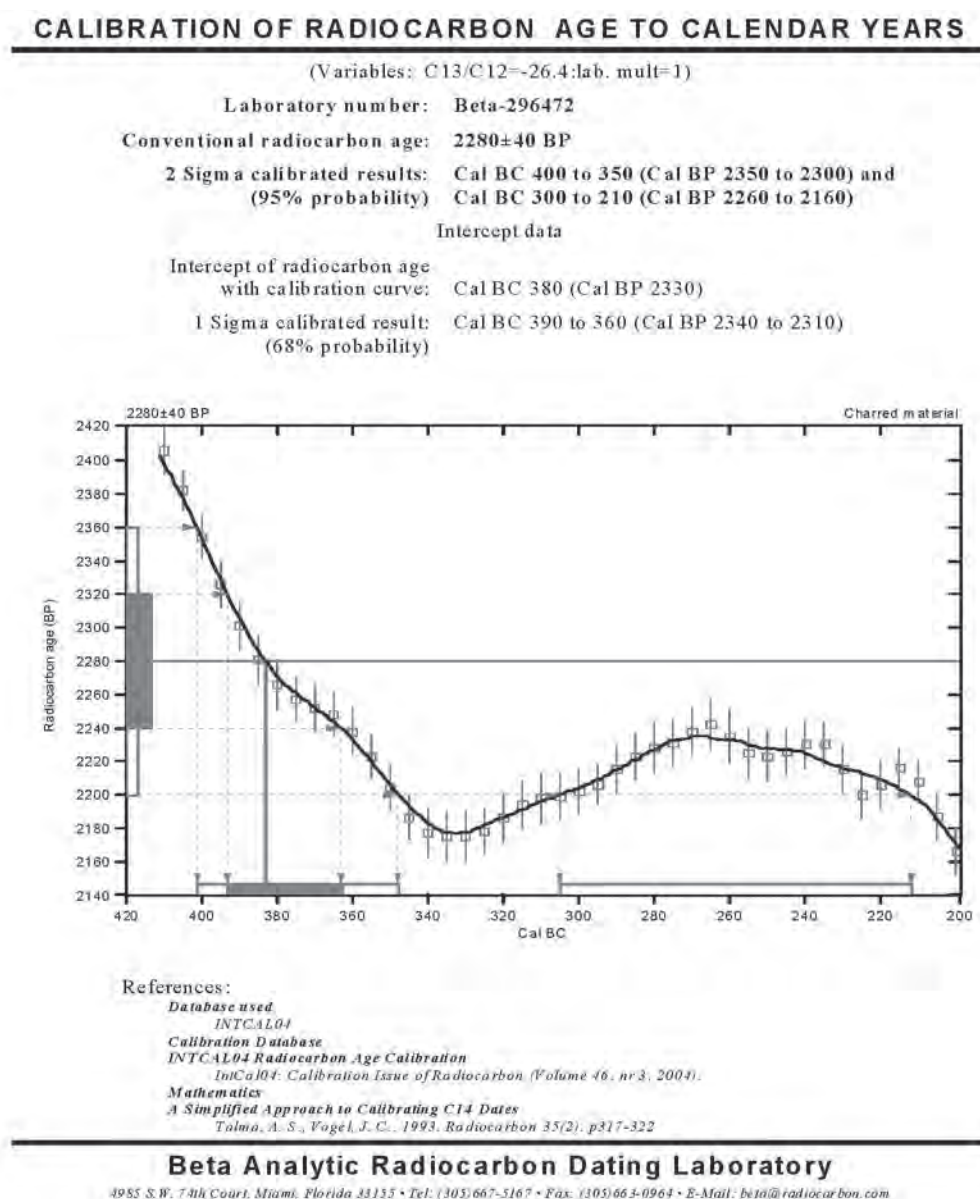


Figure 20.35. AMS Radiocarbon dating results, Deposit 83 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Courtesy Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory)

place and oriented toward the zenith. The close proximity of this burial and burial 99 suggests that this area of the hill continued to serve as a cemetery between Phases 9 and 11.

Phase 12: Road/Goat Path Up the Hill, 2nd–1st Centuries BC

Sequence 2.10

Units 2, 3 and 5 revealed a road or goat path running north–south leading up-slope from Area 2 (Fig. 20.41). The road/goat path was formed by a shallow cut [70], which was then filled in with stones and tiles [34, 37, 105]. The cut was made into a clay deposit [36, 73], which would have been difficult for hooved animals to climb when wet. Thus, the road likely represents a goat path for ovicaprids

to gain their footing while climbing the clay surface of the hill. The animals would have fed on the wild vegetation that probably grew after the first robbing phase and abandonment of the site [Phase 8].

Dating

Pottery recovered from the makeup of the goat path included Hellenistic black-slipped fine ware, coarse ware and *dolia*. Deposit 27 yielded a black-slipped rim of a *kantharos*, dated to the 3rd century BC (see Chapter 22). Similar *kantharoi* have been discovered at Corinth, Phoinike, Apollonia, and are on display in the Archaeological Museum of Igoumenitsa. A down-curved rim of a Hellenistic mortar with ‘pie-crust handles’ was recovered from Deposit 37, dating to the 3rd or 2nd century BC. This type of mortar

has been identified at Corinth and Athens. These deposits did not contain any pottery later than the 2nd century BC.

Phase 13: Vegetation Growth and Abandonment, 2nd–1st Centuries BC

Sequence 2.11

Evidence of long-term vegetation growth was found in the fill deposits [10, 13, 45, 77, 78] of robbing pits 23, 60, and 76 (see Figs 20.32 and 20.37). All three pits are filled with black soil created by the accumulation of carbon-rich soil

formed by long periods of vegetation growth. After the first robbing of the Hellenistic complex [Phase 8], the pits were left open and only came to be filled over time by natural decomposition of vegetation. The fill deposits contain black-slipped Hellenistic pottery and residual prehistoric pottery and stone chips. The natural buildup of soil, much of which was due to vegetation growth, ultimately buried the goat path in Deposits 3, 30 and 64.

Dating

These deposits did not contain any pottery later than the 2nd century BC.

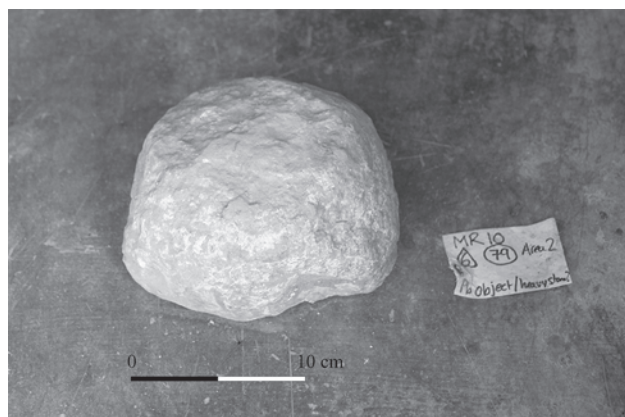


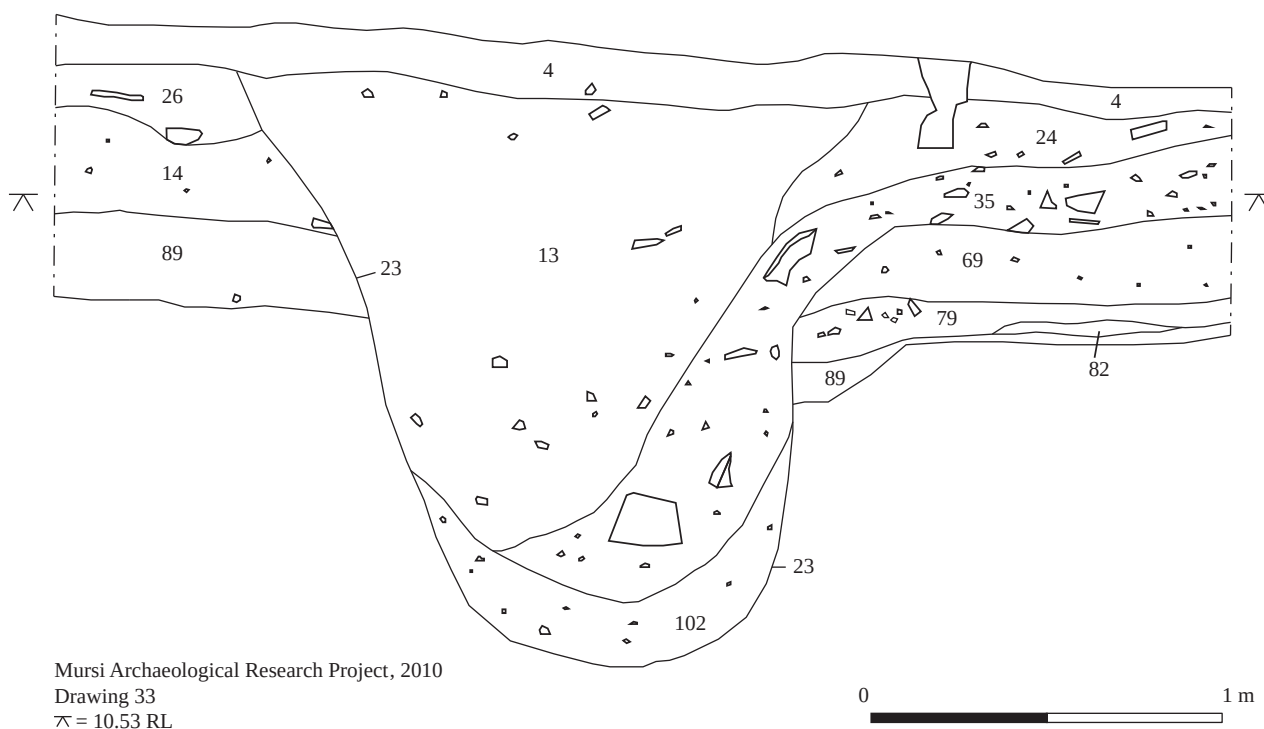
Figure 20.36. Lead object in deposit 79 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Photo by David Hernandez)

Phase 14: Cemetery, 2nd–1st Centuries BC

Sequence 2.12

Memory of the cemetery established in the late 3rd century BC continued, but a notable change in burial type occurred during this phase. Four inhumation burials [18, 41, 51, 67] were excavated, all of which were infants or young children (see Fig. 20.40). They were placed in simple stone and tile lined graves, with a large roof tile serving to cover the graves. The burials were oriented East–West. The skeletons were poorly preserved. In most cases, fragments of the skull, teeth and long bones were the only remains. Almost all small bones had degraded.

Burial 17 was distinctive in several ways. It contained a complete bronze earring found within the child's skull cavity (Fig. 20.42). Evidently, this burial was of a young girl. No other grave goods were identified from the other



Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010
Drawing 33
N = 10.53 RL

Figure 20.37. East-facing section drawing of Unit 2, showing robbing pit 23 (Area 2, Unit 3) (David Hernandez)

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.2;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-296473

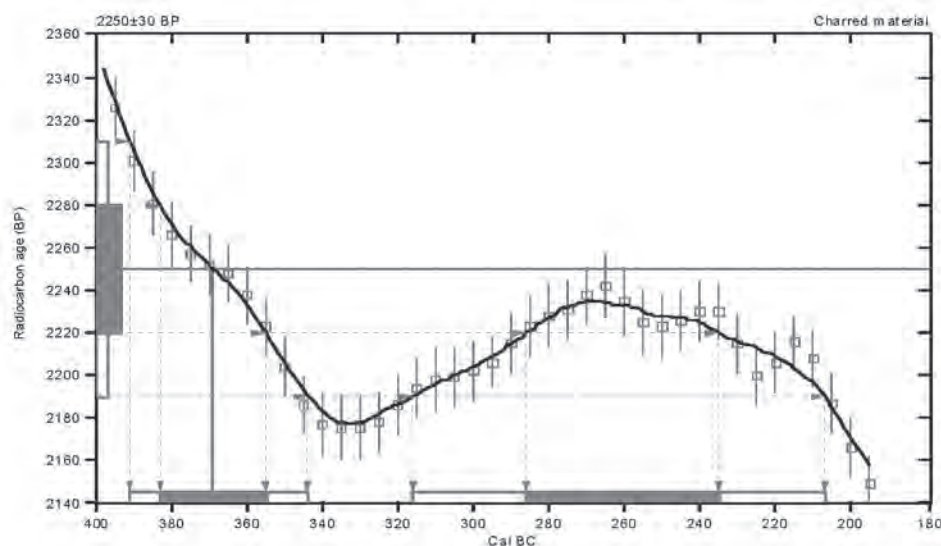
Conventional radiocarbon age: 2250±30 BP

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 390 to 340 (Cal BP 2340 to 2290) and
(95% probability) Cal BC 320 to 210 (Cal BP 2270 to 2160)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal BC 370 (Cal BP 2320)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 380 to 360 (Cal BP 2330 to 2300) and
(68% probability) Cal BC 290 to 240 (Cal BP 2240 to 2180)



References:

Database used

INTCAL04

Calibration Database

INTCAL04 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

IntCal04: Calibration Issue of Radiocarbon (Volume 46, nr 3, 2004).

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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Figure 20.38. AMS Radiocarbon dating results, Deposit 97 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Courtesy Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory)

three burials. Burial 17 was also located precisely above the adult female burial 91, such that the superposition of the two aligns perfectly. Therefore, it appears that the child was intentionally interred in the same grave as the adult female. This might suggest that Phases 11 to 14 transpired within a generation in the 2nd century BC.

Phase 15: Truncation and Vegetation Growth, 1st Century BC–16th Century AD

Sequence 1.06, 1.07, 1.08

A truncation cut [107] was made into Deposits 12, 25 and 29 in the northern part of Unit 1. The purpose of the cut is unknown. The truncation appears to have removed any

deposit in Unit 1 associated with the Hellenistic or later occupation of the site. The cut was later sealed with Deposit 11, which is a blackish-brown loam with low gravel content. It is a carbon-rich deposit that formed from vegetation growth during the abandonment phases of the site. The deposit contained both prehistoric and Hellenistic pottery. Similar processes of vegetation growth formed Deposit 2, which is a similar blackish-brown loam.

Dating

The deposit contained prehistoric and late Hellenistic ceramic sherds, but no Roman (from the 1st century BC onward), Late Antique, Medieval, Venetian or Ottoman material culture was found.



Figure 20.39. Adult female inhumation burial 87, 3rd century BC (Area 2, Unit 3) (Photo by David Hernandez)

Phase 16: Reoccupation in Venetian and Ottoman Times, 16th–19th Centuries

Sequence 2.13

Deposits 5, 6, 15 and 28 contained glazed Venetian wares, dating to the 16th–17th centuries AD. The site thus appears to have been reoccupied about that time. The end of a smoking pipe, dating to the 18th or 19th century, shows that some activity occurred on the hill under Ottoman rule.

Phase 17: Modern Terracing, AD 1974–2010

Sequence 1.09, 2.14

Deposit 1, 4 and 20 are topsoil, formed after the modern terracing of the hill in 1974.

Discussion: The Late Bronze Age Site

In contrast to its verdant appearance today, the site at Mursi was a barren hill of fine-grained sand before its earliest occupation in the Late Bronze Age. Lying above Quaternary Palaeosols of red gravelly sand, the hill was part of a sand-dune formation around the coastal estuary of Butrint Bay where the Pavllas River emptied into the Ionian Sea. In respect to comparanda, the occupation of the site is similar to that of the Kryegjata B site which appears to have been established on a sand dune in an estuary context near Apollonia.⁵⁰ The earliest occupation of the hilltop site at Mursi is marked by the creation of terraces on its eastern slopes and the contemporary construction of a large fortification/retaining wall. The excavation observed four distinct Phases [2–5] associated with this period of occupation.

Built directly above levelled sand, the wall consisted of a series of massive stone blocks (c. $1.56 \times 0.87 \times 0.57$ m). A robbing trench shows that a stretch of the wall ran for over 8 m along the hill's contour. The surviving architecture represents a corner segment of the wall with an attached building on its inner side. The foundations of this inner structure were made of smaller blocks of the same stone

Mursi Archaeological Research Project, 2010 Area 2, Unit 3

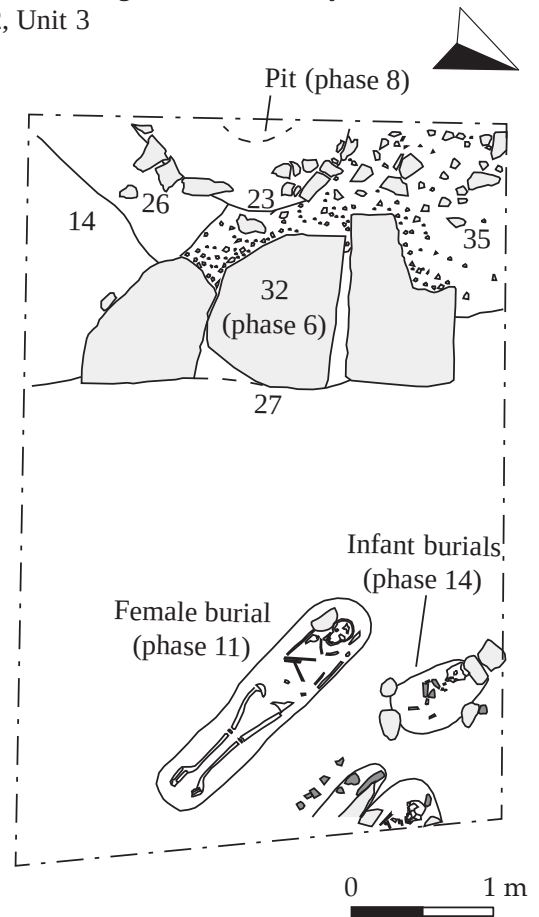


Figure 20.40. Plan of adult and infant burials in Unit 3 (Area 2) (Drawn by David Hernandez)

type set on edge within a foundation trench cut directly into the sand. Together, the fortification corner segment and inner building may correspond to the remains of a tower, but this remains hypothetical. Notably, the attached building was reemployed and not robbed out with the rest of the wall during the later Hellenistic reoccupation of the site in the 4th century BC. The entire fortified enclosure protected the eastern side of the hill. It is unlikely that the wall formed a closed circuit around the hilltop because the steep cliff-face along the hill's western side should have served as an adequate natural defense. The hilltop site would have covered an area of about 1 ha.

It is noteworthy that the fortification wall is made of limestone blocks of unknown provenience. The stone did not come from Shkallë, the stone quarry near Çuka e Aitoit that supplied most of the stone that was used in pre-Roman construction in the region.⁵¹ In addition, the wall's masonry construction, consisting of large irregular stones set in a series, is unique and unparalleled in the Butrint region. Both the stone type and masonry construction are dissimilar not only to those seen at Butrint, Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit, but also to those observed in regional prehistoric sites at

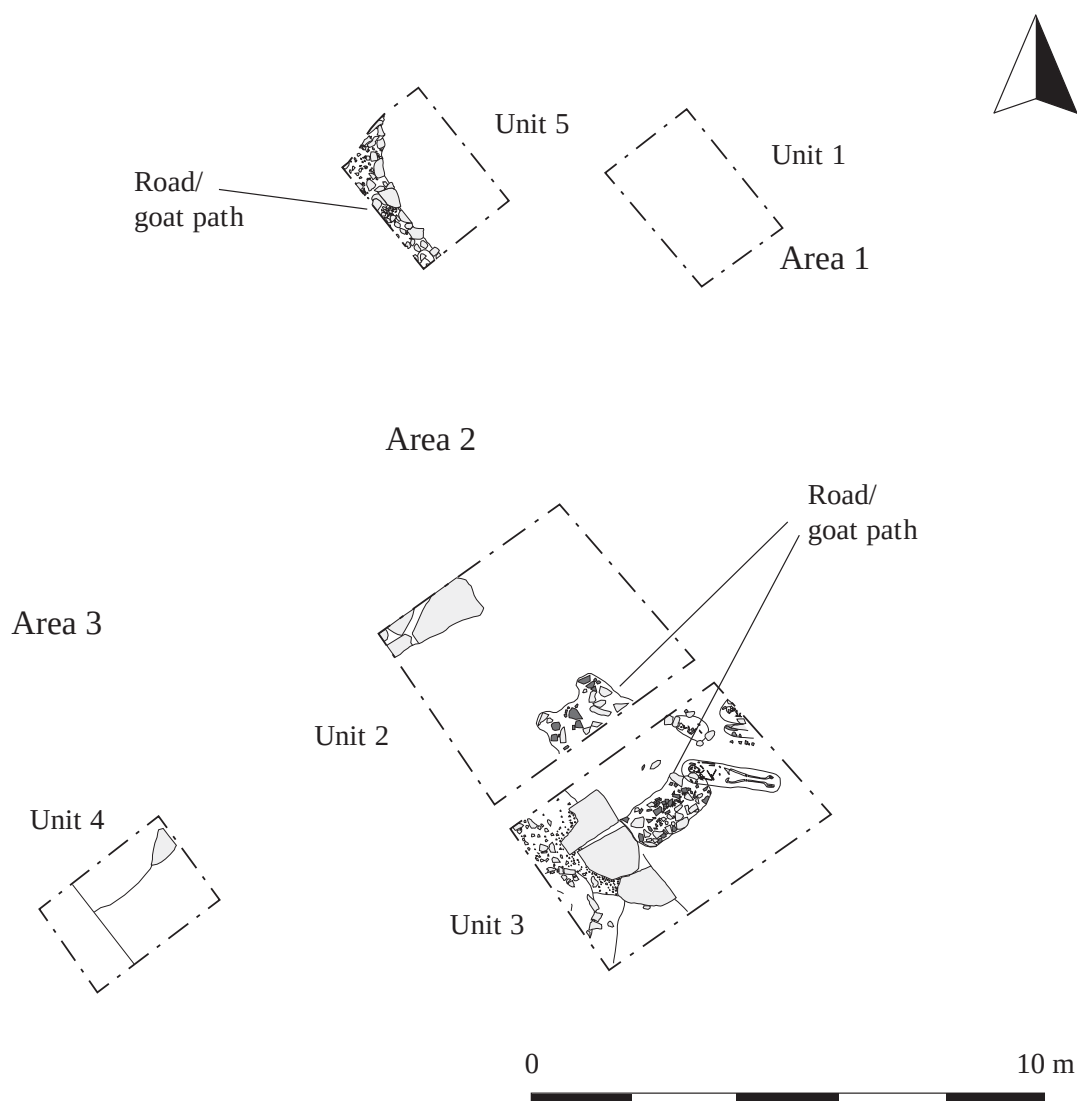


Figure 20.41. Plan of rubble road/goat path through Area 2 (Drawn by David Hernandez)

Cape Stillo, Vagalat and elsewhere in Epirus. Considerable labour, expense and organisation were required to quarry and transport the massive stones up the hill and place them into position. This effort contrasts with regional prehistoric sites where stone material for walls was acquired locally, from scarping of their own respective hilltops.⁵²

The fortification wall was built in the 13th century BC. It is possible that the LBA wall at Mursi represents a subcategory of large-stone construction, which may have been used in both the Late Bronze Age and the Hellenistic period in northern Epirus. In other words, some ‘Cyclopean wall’ construction types might date to the Late Bronze Age, rather than to the Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic periods as often thought.⁵³ The LBA walls at Mursi were not made of ‘squared’ masonry, which is the key characteristic of walls at Hellenistic sites. In Hellenistic masonry constructions, the stones are essentially worked into rectangular blocks, whereas the LBA stones at Mursi are irregular in shape.

The other notable feature of the LBA wall at Mursi is that it was not very thick, consisting of only one course, despite its ‘Cyclopean stone’ construction.

The construction of the walls occurred during a period which corresponds to the Mycenaean Late Helladic IIIB period. This is a time associated with Mycenaean expansion, characterised by a wide spatial distribution of Mycenaean material culture and associated settlements, some referred to as Mycenaean ‘colonies’, in southern Italy, southern Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly.⁵⁴ The status of Epirus within the Mycenaean world in the Late Bronze Age has consequently become a topic of importance and ongoing research.⁵⁵ According to Klaus Kilian,

‘... the coastal areas of Thessaly and the inland plains around Larissa and Pharsala, and Epirus as far north as Ioannina may be assigned to the Mycenaean civilization from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The



Figure 20.42. Bronze earring from infant burial 17 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Photo by David Hernandez)

relatively high percentage of handmade pottery (60–80 percent) in those regions necessitates their classification as border zones of the Mycenaean culture. A regression can be observed in northwestern Greece where southern Albania belonged to the Aegean sphere in the Middle Helladic period, whilst there was only limited diffusion of Mycenaean culture during the palatial period (Late Helladic IIIA) when the Mycenaean ‘border’ was running along Lake Ioannina’⁵⁶

Kilian views southern Epirus as a border zone locked in a dynamic relationship with a Mycenaean core region. The presence of fortified sites with Mycenaean-type masonry at Ephyra and Kastriza in Glykys Limin and the widespread presence of imported Mycenaean pottery at 40 sites throughout southern Epirus have demonstrated that the southern regions of Epirus were intimately tied to the broader trans-Ionian and trans-Adriatic maritime trade networks that ran from Greece to Italy and up the eastern Adriatic.⁵⁷ Glykys Limin was evidently a vital Mycenaean anchorage on this trade route. The LBA sites of southern Epirus are thought to have supplied raw materials, particularly metal ores, and exotic, prestige goods from the Epirote interior to the Mycenaean trade network.⁵⁸

The central question, therefore, is to what degree, if at all, was northern Epirus (southern Albania) influenced by this robust trade activity traversing its coastline, from southern Epirus and the Ionian Islands up to Italy and the eastern Adriatic. Weapons and prestige goods, particularly swords, spearheads and jewelry found in LBA tumuli and burials along the Albanian coast demonstrate elite contact

with Mycenaean maritime trade.⁵⁹ At the same time, this is the period that witnessed a flourishing of fortified LBA sites throughout northern Epirus.⁶⁰ However, the masonry constructions of sites and burial customs were not inspired by Mycenaean culture and very little imported or locally imitated Mycenaean pottery of LHIIIB date has been found in northern Epirus.⁶¹

It is against this backdrop that the fortified site of Mursi should be assessed. No Mycenaean pottery was found at the site. All the pottery was handmade and non-wheel-turned. The pottery and lithics fit squarely into the indigenous material culture of northern Epirus. The fortification wall, on the other hand, both in its stone type and masonry construction, does not conform to local tradition. The drystone masonry construction with an attached building (tower?) is evidently more robust, regular and ‘monumental’ than any known LBA fortifications in northern Epirus.

Although it cannot be described as a Mycenaean type, the fortification’s design may very well reflect Mycenaean influence. It would be difficult to explain the expense, organisation and technical knowledge associated with its construction on the basis of local dynamics alone. There is no evidence to suggest that Mursi served as a Mycenaean colonial port, as some have ascribed to Glykys Limin. However, the fact remains that the site was situated adjacent to a bay that could have served as an indigenous trading post for Epirote–Mycenaean trade. Just 16 km away, on the island of Kerkyra, LBA Mycenaean pottery arrived through maritime trade.⁶² While the lack of Mycenaean imported pottery in northern Epirus appears to suggest limited cultural diffusion, the indigenous community that built and occupied the fortified site at Mursi did possess the wealth and means to exchange with Mycenaean traders. Given the proximity of the site to the Mycenaean frontier zone in central Epirus, there is some possibility that the fortified site was built as a territorial marker or in response to a perceived Mycenaean threat.

The purpose of fortified LBA sites in Albania has long been a topic of dispute. Ilir Gjipali, for example, argues that about half of the proposed sites served as settlements and half as forts.⁶³ Neritan Ceka, on the other hand, interprets the vast majority of these sites as corrals serving principally to protect livestock from wild animals and bandits at night.⁶⁴

The LBA occupation phases at Mursi provide some evidence to understand how the site was used. Excavation of the ancient terraces showed evidence of manuring for agricultural purposes. The manure was not deposited onto the terraces through natural corralling, because large quantities of fragmentary ceramics were applied to the manure to enhance soil structure for agricultural productivity. The site was therefore connected to a larger system of mixed farming, involving animal husbandry and crop production. It is not known what was grown on these terraces. Possibilities range from gardens to single crops for trade. Almost all the LBA ceramic material comes from secondary deposition (manure deposits) that may not be

directly related to the use of the site *per se*. The wall of sandstone found on the terrace suggests that structures, maybe even dwellings, were built on the eastern terraces of the hill below the fortification wall. The 113 lithics recovered at the site include end scrapers, scrapers, blades, drills, cores, flakes and debitage. These are flint microliths, many of which are high quality. The flakes, debitage and cores show that stone tools were manufactured on site, an activity that is consistent with LBA sites in southern Epirus. Scrapers and blades dominate the stone tool assemblages and point to the processing of animals, perhaps for wool, hides and meat. A number of blades had sharp points, which could have been used to puncture hides. Given the proximity of the site to Butrint Bay, the lithics could also have been used to process fish.

It appears then that the site was not used strictly for one purpose alone, such as settlement, defense or corralling, but instead served several purposes at once, related to settlement, agriculture, defense, pastoralism, animal processing, flintknapping and possibly fishing. If the site belonged to a larger tribal group dominant around Kalivo, as seems likely in light of the site's distinctive monumentality and strategic position, it was built in response to a close Mycenaean presence both on land and sea, perhaps for both trade and regional defense.

The abandonment of the LBA site occurred sometime in the 12th or 11th century BC, during the post-palatial Late Helladic IIIC period that saw the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. A complete, non-wheel-turned, handmade ceramic vessel was found *in situ*, resting on the terrace below the building (tower?) attached to the fortification wall. It was a medium- to large-sized cooking pot that suggests some level of habitation at the site during its final occupation phase. The site was thereafter abandoned for centuries.

Discussion: The Hellenistic Fortified Site

The site at Mursi was reoccupied in the 4th century BC, a date supported by radiocarbon dating and numismatics. This date is consistent with the chronology of Butrint's resettlement in the second half of that century after a period of abandonment between c. 475–350 BC.⁶⁵ Notably, no Archaic or Classical material was found at the site. Its reoccupation was preceded by the spoliation of the LBA fortification wall. The corner segment of the fortification and its attached building (tower?), however, was spared and incorporated into the new Hellenistic complex. The building material acquired from the robbing of the fortification wall was used for the construction of the complex. A series of three large, roughly squared blocks (0.80–0.85 × 1.18–1.32 × 0.45–0.50 m), were placed in perfect alignment with the position of the old LBA fortification corner with an attached building (tower?). The three stones are *spolia*, made of the same millimetre-banded limestone of the LBA

wall. Almost all the diagnostic ceramic material dates to the site's principal occupation phase in the 3rd century BC. Some of the diagnostic forms range in date from the early 4th to 2nd centuries BC. No ceramics were identified dating to the 1st century BC.

The nearby Hellenistic fortified site at Malathrea serves as an important reference to understand the architecture of these remains and the overall significance of the Mursi site (Fig. 20.43). Malathrea is situated 2.9 km southeast of Mursi at the foot of Mount Mile.⁶⁶ After initial explorations by Luigi Ugolini and the Italian team in the 1930s, Malathrea was excavated by Albanian archaeologist Dhimitër Çondi from 1980 to 1983.⁶⁷ The archaeological material recovered suggested that the complex was built in the 3rd century BC and continued in use until the 1st century BC. The complex had a square plan, covering an area of c. 22 × 22 m, and was equipped with four towers, one at each corner. The southeast tower is the best preserved, surviving to a height of 6 m and covering an area of 2.6 × 5.5 m. The complex has an inner, central courtyard (8.2 × 8.2 m), lined by flat stone blocks that are nearly identical in size, shape and architecture to the series of three flat blocks found at Mursi (Fig. 20.44). There is little doubt that the architectural remains at Mursi belonged to a similar courtyard. With the presence of a possible tower, the complex at Mursi may have been a similar fortified complex.

The fortified site at Mursi, however, predates that at Malathrea and falls out of use in the 3rd century BC, when the site of Malathrea was constructed. As discussed previously, during the Hellenistic period, Malathrea was built to mark and defend the southeastern boundary of the *polis* of Butrint. At the time of Butrint's refoundation in the 4th century BC, the *polis* may have controlled a more restricted area of the Pavllas River Valley running as far south as Mursi. Within a century, that boundary may have extended to Malathrea and possibly Çuka e Aitoit, thereby rendering the Mursi site obsolete and precipitating its abandonment before the end of the 3rd century BC (see Chapter 25).

The Hellenistic ceramic material at Mursi reveals traces of other activities as well (see Chapter 22). The presence of *dolia* suggests that agricultural surplus was stored at the site. In addition, the use and abundance of black-glazed fineware pottery, most locally produced but some imported from as far as Athens, points to elite dining and occupation. The vessel types, in particular, are typical of those of the *symposium*, indicating that the site was occupied by an elite who were closely tied to the aristocratic urban milieu of *Bouthrotos*.

From the 2nd to 1st centuries BC, the abandoned site was robbed for building materials, employed as a cemetery for adult and infant burials, and used for pasture. No Roman material culture was recovered at the site, which apparently was not reoccupied until Venetian and Ottoman times.



Figure 20.43. Central peristyle of the Hellenistic fortified site of Malathrea (After Çondi 2010, 28, fig. 19)



Figure 20.44. The Hellenistic fortified site of Malathrea (Photo by Dhimitër Çondi)

Appendix: Report of Luminescence Analysis of Cooking Pot from Mursi

A pottery sherd from the base of the prehistoric cooking pot [Phase 5] and a sediment sample [Deposit 12] collected within 30 cm of the vessel were sent to the Luminescence Dating Laboratory at the University of Washington for luminescence analysis. The following report was written by James Feathers from the Luminescence Dating Laboratory on 26 April 2012.

A sherd from a cooking vessel uncovered in stratigraphic context at a hilltop prehistoric site, Mursi, near the well-known site of Butrint in southern Albania was submitted for luminescence analysis by David Hernandez, director of Roman Forum Excavations at Butrint and a professor at University of Notre Dame. The deposit sealing the vessel also turned up stone tools, suggesting a possible late Bronze Age date, although an Iron Age date cannot be ruled out. Suspected age range is from 1600–400 BC. The sherd was given the laboratory number of UW2574.

Dose rate: Dose rate measurements were made on the sherd as well as an associated sediment sample (Table 20.2). Dose rates were mainly determined using alpha counting and flame photometry. The beta dose rate calculated from these measurements was compared with the beta dose rate measured directly by beta counting on just the sherd. These were in agreement, suggesting no significant problem of disequilibrium in the U decay chain. Moisture content was estimated as 80 ± 30 % of saturated value because the area is well-watered, and 15 ± 5 % for the sediment.

Equivalent Dose: Equivalent dose was determined by TL, IRSL and OSL. The TL measurements resulted in a broad plateau (250 – 420°C) and the growth curves had relatively low scatter. A sensitivity change (slope ratio of 1.48 ± 0.11) was apparent between additive dose and regeneration. Anomalous fading was detected, but at a measured rate

Table 20.2. Thermoluminescence dose rate

Sample	²³⁸ U	²³³ Th	K (%)	Beta dose rate (Gy/ka)		Total dose rate* (Gy/ka)
	(ppm)	(ppm)		β-counting	α-counting/ flame photometry	
UW2574	1.82±0.16	8.23±1.15	0.94±0.03	1.26±0.11	1.24±0.05	2.56±0.12
Sediment	0.90±0.10	5.07±0.87	1.27±0.09			

*Dose rate calculated for TL. It will be slightly lower for OSL because of lower alpha efficiency

Table 20.3. Thermoluminescence equivalent dose values

Sample	Equivalent dose (Gy)			b-value (Gy μm ²)		
	TL	IRSL	OSL	TL	IRSL	OSL
UW2202	7.38±0.69	7.42±0.90	6.37±0.48	1.31±0.06	0.81±0.12	0.46±0.06

of only 3.0±1.2 % per decade, where a decade is a power of 10 and the rate is normalised to two days.

OSL/IRSL was measured on six aliquots. Results from all six aliquots were in statistical agreement with each other for both measures. The IR signal was relatively weak, at least twelve times smaller in magnitude than the OSL signal. This is often the case in ceramics and means the OSL signal probably does not contain a significant contribution from feldspar, which is subject to anomalous fading (anomalous fading is not routinely measured for IRSL and OSL, because of considerable machine time and because it usually is not necessary). Equivalent dose values are given in Table 20.3. Also given are the b-values, which are measures of alpha efficiency. The OSL b-value is typical for quartz, which is additional evidence that the OSL signal in this sample does not fade.

Age: Derived ages for OSL, IRSL and TL, with the latter corrected for anomalous fading, are statistically identical. The fact that no underestimation was determined for IRSL indicates that fading in his sample is not very significant. A weighted average of the three determinations is 3.19±0.21 ka, which translates to a calendar age of 1180±210 BC, well within the suspected age range.

Notes

1 The Mursi Archaeological Research Project was directed by the author and Dhimitër Çondi (Albanian Institute of Archaeology). It would not have been possible without the support of Richard Hodges (American University of Rome), who was among the first to recognise the importance of the site. We are indebted to the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts at the University of Notre Dame and the Butrint Foundation for providing financial support for the project. Special thanks are owed to Mirgen Shametaj for his help with the management of fieldwork. My thanks also to Michael Galaty for helpful comments on a draft of this report. We are grateful to Ilir Gjipali, Shpresa Gjongecaj

(both Albanian Institute of Archaeology), Brian Ayers (Butrint Foundation) and Iris Pojani (Albanian Heritage Foundation) for administrative support. We thank Nadia Aleotti, Elena Baldi, Anna Zsófia Biller, Emily Glass, Seren Griffiths, Sarah Lima, and Alessandro Sebastiani for their expert assistance. We are grateful to Stavros Chamuli and his family for granting us permission to excavate on their property and for their kind hospitality. We also wish to thank the Albanian local excavators and students from the University of Notre Dame for their valuable contribution to the project.

- 2 Hodges *et al.* 2016.
- 3 Budina 1971a, 323.
- 4 See Pirazzoli 1991, 88–99; 1996; Lane 2004, 31.
- 5 Pollen evidence supports the chronology for historical deforestation in the Butrint region: Lane 2004, 43; Morellón, Sinopoli *et al.* 2016.
- 6 See Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 72.
- 7 Hammond 1967, 95, 121; Ceka 1976, 27, table 1; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 167–175, 204–205.
- 8 For these sites, see Giorgi and Bogdani 2012; Giorgi and Lepore 2020, 158.
- 9 In this study, the chronology adopted for the Late Bronze Age follows that of the mainland Helladic sequence: see Tartaron 2013, 3. For a discussion concerning the lack of stratified LBA sites in the Butrint region, see Lima 2013, 31.
- 10 The botanical, faunal and human remains from the Mursi excavations are being analyzed separately and will be reported in a different venue at a future date.
- 11 Papadopoulos 1990; Tartaron 2004, 29; Jung 2010, 176. Some progress has been made beyond the northern and eastern frontiers of ancient Epirus through excavations of prehistoric sites in the regions of Illyria and Macedonia: at Lofkend and Apollonia, see Runnels *et al.* 2004; Damiata *et al.* 2009; Papadopoulos *et al.* 2014; and at Sovjan in the Korçë region, see Korkuti 2003a.
- 12 For example, at Klithi, see Bailey 1997; Bailey *et al.* 1999; Runnels and van Andel 2003; at Gajtan, see Fistani 1989; at Grava, Corfu, see Sordinas 1969; at Konispol, see Korkuti and Shabani 1990; Korkuti 2003b, 212–225; at Vlushë, see Ylli 1990; and at Neziri Cave, see Hauck *et al.* 2017.

- 13 Hammond 1967, 289–340; 1997, 32–45; Papadopoulos 1987; Bodinaku 1995. See also Lima 2016.
- 14 Hammond 1967, 325–328; Galaty 2016.
- 15 Korkuti 1990.
- 16 See Gjipali 2018.
- 17 Ugolini 1927; 1937, 67–68; 115–116; Mustilli 1941.
- 18 Francis and Gjipali 2005, 193; Francis and Vulpi 2005, 89–98; Skeates 2005, 5.
- 19 Mustilli 1941, 677–681; Francis 2005b, 186.
- 20 Runnels and van Andel 2003, 62.
- 21 Mustilli 1941, 679; Francis and Vulpi 2005, 24–26; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 197.
- 22 Gjipali *et al.* 2015; Hauck *et al.* 2017.
- 23 Hauck *et al.* 2017, 167.
- 24 Francis 2005b, 186; Francis and Gjipali 2005, 196–198, fig. 4.3.
- 25 Francis 2005b, 186.
- 26 Hammond 1967; Ceka 1984b, 1988b; Prendi 1977–1978.
- 27 Gjipali 2018, 35.
- 28 The earliest fortifications of Butrint and Kalivo date to the 5th century BC: see Hernandez 2017a, 247. Those at Çuka e Aitoit date to the 4th–3rd century BC: see Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 249–252.
- 29 Gjipali 2018, 36.
- 30 Lima 2013, 35–37; Gjipali 2018, 37–38.
- 31 Hernandez 2017a, 245–249.
- 32 The topographical plan of the site was produced using a Sokkia 1X Total Station.
- 33 Some excavated deposits were sieved, but not all. The counts in Table 20.1 represent a sample rather than a systematic appraisal of the number of lithics in each deposit.
- 34 Tartaron, Runnels and Karimali 1999, 819.
- 35 For the use of lithics in historical periods, see Runnels 1982.
- 36 Ruka *et al.* 2019.
- 37 Perhoč and Ruka 2017.
- 38 Kardulias 1992; Tartaron, Runnels and Karimali 1999, 820.
- 39 Deckers, Nachtergaele and Spaargaren 1998, 49–52; Schwartz 2005, 290–298.
- 40 Lane 2004; Bescoby 2007; 2013; Bescoby, Barclay, and Andrews 2008.
- 41 All measurements of Reduced Level (RL) are in metres, relative to the Temporary Benchmark (TBM).
- 42 For the identification of manure deposits, see Bull and Evershed 2012; Forbes 2012; Poirier 2016.
- 43 These levels were determined by the LaMotte Basic NPK Soil Test Kit.
- 44 Kron 2015, 162.
- 45 A date to the single year of AD 1140, determined from the calibration curve, is exceedingly unlikely, as shown also by the one-sigma date range.
- 46 Korkuti 2003b, 255, Table V, figs 14 and 15.
- 47 Context 83, small find 5. See Chapter 23.
- 48 See Chapter 22.
- 49 Edwards 1975, Pl. 34, n. 746; Rotroff 1997, fig. 34, n. 467.
- 50 I thank Michael Galaty for this observation.
- 51 Zheku 1963.
- 52 See Gjipali 2018, 36.
- 53 See Shpuza 2014; 2017, for fortified Illyrian sites with somewhat similar masonry, particularly at Gajtan, that are dated, on the basis of masonry construction and historical considerations, from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period.
- 54 For Mycenaean cultural contact with Kerkyra (Corfu), see Sordinas 1969; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 11–13; with Italy and the eastern Adriatic coast, see Vagnetti 1982; Wardle 1993; Bejko 2002; Galaty 2007; Tomas 2010.
- 55 Galaty 2016. See also Papadopoulos 1995; Tartaron 2001, 2004, 2013; Bejko 2002; Lima 2013.
- 56 Kilian 1990, 447.
- 57 Tartaron 2017. Local imitations of Mycenaean kylikes and flint tools were found in an LBA apsidal house at Kyra near Ioannina: see Vasileiou 2011.
- 58 Lafe and Galaty 2009, 107–108.
- 59 Hammond 1967, 325–331; Lafe and Galaty 2009, 107–108.
- 60 Ceka 1983, 146–150.
- 61 Bejko 2002, 11–15.
- 62 Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 13.
- 63 Gjipali 2018, 37.
- 64 Ceka 2013, 50.
- 65 Hernandez 2017a, 256–262.
- 66 The site at Malathrea is also similar to the Hellenistic complexes at Vagalati and Qenurio: see Ceka 1976, 31–33, 39; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 194–97, 204–205, 253–254.
- 67 Mustilli 1940, 322; Ugolini 1942, 19–20; Çondi 1984; 2010, 21–58.

21 The Late Bronze Age Pottery from Mursi, Albania

Sarah Lima

Introduction

Nearly 800 prehistoric pottery sherds were examined from excavations at the hilltop site of Mursi, near Butrint, Albania, in 2010.¹ The ceramics, excavated from stratified deposits in Unit 1 (Area 1), include cooking, coarse, semi-fine, and fine wares dating between the 13th and 11th century BC (Fig. 20.4). Combined research strategies of stratigraphic excavation, soil analysis, and examination of pottery, lithics and other finds, in conjunction with AMS radiocarbon (C-14) and thermoluminescence (TL) dating, confirm that the site’s prehistoric occupation phases date to the Late Bronze Age (LBA: c. 1450–1070 BC), with some possible continued occupation into the beginning of the Early Iron Age (EIA: c. 1070–800 BC) (Table 21.1).²

This study reviews the deposition and preservation of Mursi’s LBA ceramics and presents a typology of five ceramic wares from the site, based on macroscopic fabric characteristics (inclusions, colour, firing, surface treatment) and formal qualities (vessel shape, function,

decoration). The LBA assemblages from Mursi are compared with ceramics from Cape Stillo and Kalivo, two nearby prehistoric sites within the Pavllas River Valley, which embraces the Vrina Plain from Butrint to Çuka e Aitoit and runs eastward beyond the prehistoric site of Vagalat at the foot of Mount Mile (Fig. 20.1).

Adjacent to the Straits of Corfu in the region of ancient Epirus, Mursi was situated at a crossroads during the LBA and EIA, poised between watery thoroughfares and a traversable river valley. The prehistoric Mursi assemblages offer a unique opportunity to examine LBA ceramics in southwestern Albania from stratified, radiocarbon-dated deposits. The proposed Pavllas River Valley’s ceramic ware typology, derived from analyses of fabric, form and decoration, and underpinned by Mursi’s firm stratigraphic dating, adds resolution to the timeline of LBA and EIA ceramic production and exchange in northern Epirus.

Deposition and Preservation

The stratified deposits (contexts) from Mursi’s Area 1 are 2, 12, 25, 29 and 44 (see Chapter 20: Fig. 20.17 and Plate 20.2). Wear and weathering features indicate that most ceramics come from secondary depositions, which include three phases of terrace manuring in the Late Bronze Age and an exposure/erosion phase after the site’s abandonment in the 12th–11th century BC. Contexts 29 and 44, dating to the 13th century BC, and Context 25, dating to the 13th–11th centuries BC, represent successive phases of manuring on the terraces of the LBA hilltop site (see Chapter 20). Context 12, associated with the final occupation of the site in the 12th–11th century BC, was formed through primary use followed by abandonment, with later debris sealing a complete LBA cooking pot found on a surface (lower interface). The uppermost stratum, Context 2, developed

Table 21.1. Chronology of Mursi Unit 1 (Area 1) based on C-14 and TL dating

Context	Context Description	Dates
2	Mixed deposit with historical material	Venetian or later
12	Abandonment; deposit above surface	12th–11th century BC
25	Terrace deposit of packed earth (possible third manuring phase)	13th–11th century BC
29	Terrace deposit (second manuring phase)	13th century BC
44	Terrace deposit (first manuring phase)	13th century BC

Table 21.2. Relative rankings of assemblage size, weight, sherd size, preservation and fabric density by context for ceramics from Mursi Area 1

Context	Context size ¹	Context weight ²	Sherd size ³	Preservation ⁴	Fabric diversity
2	4 (54 sherds, 6.8%)	4 (513g, 5.8%)	5 (9.5g avg)	1 - Surfaces glazed and polished, sherds thin walled, breaks fresh.	Many historical ceramics; few residual Type 5 LBA coarse wares.
12	1 (308 sherds, 38.6%)	1 (3560g, 39.9%)	2 (11.6g avg.)	4 - Surfaces scuffed and leached, breaks rounded except for cook pot 2, very few semi-fine wares.	Many Type 5 LBA cook wares; No fine wares; a few historical Type 2 sherds
25	5 (41 sherds, 5.1%)	5 (409g, 4.6%)	4 (10g avg.)	5 - Surfaces very scuffed and leached, breaks rounded. Few semi-fine and fine wares.	LBA semi-fine and fine Type 1, Type 2, and Type 3, in addition to Type 4 and Type 5 fragments.
29	3 (108 sherds, 13.6%)	3 (1367g, 15.3%)	1 (12.7g avg.)	3 - Surfaces mildly scuffed and leached, breaks fresher than Context 12. Thin-walled semi-fine and fine wares increase.	LBA Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 ware categories. Type 1 wares notably present.
44	2 (286 sherds, 35.9%)	2 (3063g, 34.4%)	3 (10.3 avg.)	2 - Surfaces less scuffed and leached than Context 29; breaks sharper. Thin-walled semi-fine and fine wares increase.	LBA Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 ware categories. Cook, coarse, semi-fine, and fine wares. KIII Type 1 wares and fragile Type 3 fine wares notably abundant.

¹Relative rankings were assigned based on sherd count and percentage out of total sherd count of 797 sherds for Mursi Unit 1. 1 = highest count, 5 = lowest count

²Relative rankings were assigned based on weight of sherds and comparative percentage out of total sherd weight of 8912 g from Mursi Unit 1). 1 = heaviest weight, 5 = lightest weight

³Relative rankings were assigned based on: A. comparative sizes of a median-sized sherd for each context, and B. average fragment weights from each context. These rankings were found to coincide and were combined into a single category. 1 = largest median sherds and heaviest average sherd, 5 = smallest median sherds and lightest average sherd

⁴Relative rankings were assigned by comparing qualitative observations about surface wear and breaks on sherds from each context in Unit 1 at Mursi. 1 = least weathered, 5 = most weathered

after the abandonment of the ancient site and contained Hellenistic and Venetian glazed pottery.

Observations made by excavators about each deposit were evaluated on the basis of the variety of wares present and by ranking preservation of ceramics from each context (Table 21.2). Mursi Unit 1 Contexts 2, 12, 25, 29 and 44 were ranked 1–5 in relation to one another, according to the following criteria:

A. context size: sherd counts and percentages of total sherds in Unit 1 (rank of 1 = highest count, rank of 5 = lowest count)

B. context weight: context weight and percentages of total weight in Unit 1 (rank of 1 = largest weight, rank of 5 = smallest weight)

C. sherd size: dimensions of medium-sized sherds and average sherd weight (rank of 1 = largest median sherd and heaviest average sherd, rank of 5 = smallest median sherd and lightest average sherd)

D. preservation: comparative observations about surface wear and breaks (rank of 1 = least weathered, rank of 5 = most weathered)

Context 2's preservation rank of 1, indicative of least wear, and its chronologically mixed ceramics are consistent with its proposed formation through erosion processes after site abandonment. Pottery from Context 12 is significantly more worn, with a preservation rank of 4. Its ware varieties show greater homogeneity than those in Context 2. Cooking wares comprise most of the deposit, and a few intrusive Hellenistic fragments were also recovered. The worn character of Context 12, together with the large size of the deposit, supports the identification of the layer as accumulated debris, formed after prolonged exposure above an LBA floor surface [Context 25]. Ceramics from Context 25 show considerable abrasion and fragmentation, with a preservation rank of 5. The fragments that were packed into the surface (top interface of Context 25) would have been

subjected to considerable wear from weathering processes during exposure and possible treading. With the exception of material associated with the surface (interface), the bulk of sherds from Context 25 came from secondary depositions associated with the last observable phase of manuring of the terraces. The size and preservation rank of Context 29 is 3, while that of Context 44 is 2. Ceramics from both show less abrasion than those from other deposits. This indicates less disturbance overall and less exposure to weathering before their secondary deposition (in manuring phases). The sherds in Contexts 29 and 44 also represent a more diverse assemblage of LBA wares than other contexts. The general trend is one of increasing ceramic diversity associated with earlier (deeper) deposits (discussed below).

On the basis of stratigraphy, preservation and C-14 dating, Contexts 44, 29, 25 and 12 present a clear record of LBA activity at the site spanning a period of 100 to 300 years. The site's pottery belongs to a tighter chronological sequence than has previously been observed at late prehistoric settlement sites in southwestern Albania and allows for broader comparisons with other nearby sites.

An LBA and EIA Ceramic Ware Typology for Mursi and the Pavllas River Valley

LBA and EIA ceramics from Mursi and the Pavllas River Valley have been classed into a five-group ware typology that shares commonalities with ceramic classification systems from other regions of northern and southern Epirus (central Albania, southwestern Albania, and northern Greece).³ This typology was developed over the course of five study seasons on Pavllas River Valley projects, not only at Mursi but also at Cape Stillo and Kalivo, two hilltop sites located c. 11 km apart (Fig. 20.1). At Cape Stillo, 3,046 sherds of pottery were collected in 2006 and 2007, of which 287 were identified as diagnostic prehistoric fragments and more than 2,500 fragments with prehistoric fabrics were analysed.⁴ Owing to its setting on a rocky seaside hilltop, however, archaeological deposits at Cape Stillo were eroded down to a shallow soil profile with no clear stratigraphic divisions. In contrast, the stratified soil profile was deeper and intact in Kalivo's 2 × 2 m test trenches excavated in 2004 and 2007, but the trenches yielded comparatively little LBA/EIA ceramic material: 354 total sherds were collected, of which 266 were prehistoric.⁵

Ceramics from Kalivo and Cape Stillo were studied in 2007 and 2009 and reexamined in 2011 and in 2012 alongside the Mursi Unit 1 assemblages. The 2007 study of Kalivo and Cape Stillo material resulted in preliminary identification of five Pavllas River Valley ware groups, with a number of subcategories.⁶ The 2009, 2011 and 2012 studies undertook more detailed analysis of fabric and form, with particular consideration given to size and shape of inclusions, surface treatments and association of fabrics and forms with Epirote comparanda.

Mursi's Area 1 ceramics were analysed with a 10× hand lens in 2011 according to their macroscopic fabric

characteristics. They were grouped based on surface treatment (consistency, firing), inclusions (content, quantity, size, shape, sorting), and core and surface colour. Unabridged descriptions of the ranges of colours and inclusions that characterise these groups are provided in the Appendix. Fabric groups were, in turn, sorted by functional categories (cooking, coarse, semi-fine and fine) based on vessel size, wall thickness, surface characteristics and decoration. All categorisations related to size (*i.e.* small, medium and large designations for diameter and wall thickness) were determined by establishing the inner quartile range of diameters and thicknesses for diagnostic pieces. Five Pavllas River Valley ware categories were identified, which have been observed in comparable proportions at Mursi and Cape Stillo, and in different proportions at Kalivo (Plate 21.1).

The five Pavllas River Valley wares are presented below with an overview of their distribution by context, a description of their fabric, a summary of their compositional percentages of cooking, coarse, semi-fine and fine wares, and a discussion of their formal and decorative qualities.⁷ Fine and semi-fine wares are presented first, followed by cooking and coarse wares. Potential connections to broader Epirote comparanda and classification schemes are noted where relevant. This typological presentation closes with an analysis of how the Pavllas River Valley ware categories may have functioned in concert during the LBA.

Pavllas River Valley Type 1: Burnished Black and Grey Ware

Distribution

Five per cent of the total sherds from Unit 1: no sherds present in Context 2; 3% in Context 12; 5% in Context 25; 11% in Context 29; and 6% in Context 44.

Description

Burnished Black and Grey Ware is a highly polished, well-fired and thin-walled semi-fine (95%) and fine (5%) ware with platy grey and black chert, fine subrounded white calcite, and micaceous sand inclusions. Surfaces are reddish-yellow, greyish-brown, and very dark grey. Cores are black, red, or fully oxidised. This fabric is distinguished by its dark grey or black colour and by its decoration, which commonly includes burnishing and internal and external incision (Fig. 21.1).

Burnished Black and Grey Ware is characterised by semi-fine and fine ware vessels in open shapes that generally have small or medium diameters and medium thickness. In some instances, bowl and cup body sherds, as well as handles, show indications of carination. The most common rim is outturned (*e.g.* Figs 21.2 and 21.3).⁸ There is at least one example of a widely flaring, possibly offset rim.⁹ The few handles are both vertical and horizontal, small and medium in diameter, with rare examples of spur forms.¹⁰ Decoration beyond burnishing is rare but includes incision and grooving.



Figure 21.1. Pavllas River Valley Burnished Black and Gray carinated fine ware body sherd and handle attachment zone from Mursi Unit 1, Context 29 (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.2. Outturned and tapered Burnished Black and Gray fine ware rim (0.58 cm th., 13 cm diam.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (illustrated in Fig. 21.3) (Photo by Sarah Lima)

Regional comparisons

On the basis of its range of shapes, forms, sizes and its numerous examples of burnished surface treatment, Pavllas Burnished Black and Gray Ware is consistent with Lofkënd's fine dark ware, as well as Epirote Handmade Burnished Wares and *Katnyopia III* (KIII) ceramics, used as table and serving wares during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.¹¹ It has been suggested that the forms of this ware followed Minyan (17th–16th century BC) or Urnfield (13th–12th century BC) prototypes, but Vasileiou has persuasively demonstrated there are enough cases of Handmade Burnished Wares made locally in disparate regions throughout the MBA and LBA for this style and its influences to have evolved independently in each region.¹² Although Handmade Burnished Wares have been found in Albania as early as 1700 BC, they are made and used for the duration of the LBA.¹³

Pavllas River Valley Type 2: Chalky Buff Ware

Distribution

Ten per cent of the total sherds from Unit 1: 50% in Context 2; 5% in Context 12; 17% in Context 25; 9% in Context 29; 8% in Context 44.

Description

Chalky Buff Ware is a powdery, low-fired thin and medium-walled coarse (17%), semi-fine (71%) and fine (12%) ware with occasional subrounded very fine micaceous sand and calcite inclusions. Surfaces are very pale brown, pale yellow and reddish-yellow with fully oxidised cores. Its fabric is distinguished by its bright reddish-yellow colour and is undecorated (Fig. 21.4).

Chalky Buff Ware displays more variety than any other Pavllas type in respect to ware categories and petrological characteristics. This fabric was used to make undecorated thin and medium-walled coarse, semi-fine and fine ware LBA vessels. This same fabric was also used in historical periods in the Pavllas River Valley for the production

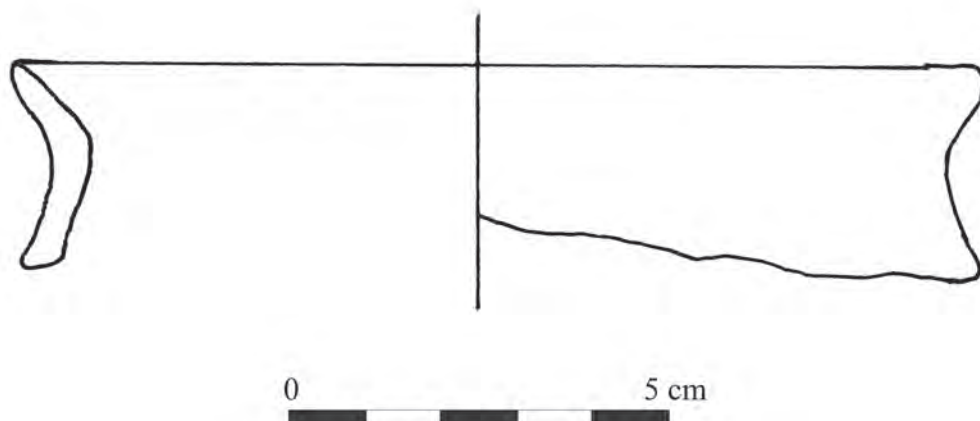


Figure 21.3. Illustration of outturned and tapered Burnished Black and Gray fine ware rim (0.58 cm th., 13 cm diam.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Fig. 21.2) (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

of low-fired tiles and high-fired coarse wares.¹⁴ Chalky Buff Ware ceramics degrade easily, a characteristic which can obfuscate their categorisation by form and which may through fragmentation skew their count (*e.g.* an anomalously high percentage of Chalky Buff Ware is found in the very weathered assemblage of Context 25; see the rounded edges of the base and handle in Figure 21.5 for examples of weathering).

Regional comparisons

Chalky Buff Ware fabrics from Mursi are similar in hue to the lightest fabrics of ‘fine light’ wares identified at Lofkënd in west central Albania and to the Matt-Painted

Wares (‘Devollian Wares’) found in settlement and burial contexts in southeastern Albania (*e.g.* at Maliq, Sovjan, Rehovë, Luaras and Kamenicë).¹⁵ They also are comparable to the fabrics of *Καθηγορία IV* (KIV) wares or Epirote Matt-Painted Wares from settlement and cemetery sites in northern Greece (*e.g.* at Kastritsa, Dodona, Krya, Liatovouni and Vitsa).¹⁶ Matt-Painted Wares are one of the most widely and thoroughly documented ceramic ware categories of late prehistoric Epirote ceramics because of their distinctive colour, forms, surface treatment and painting. As a result, they have been more widely studied than other ware categories.¹⁷ After decades of debate about the origins of the style and its purported role in ethnogenesis and cultural diffusion, recent analyses of different Matt-Painted examples have shown that these wares represent a common style, produced and expressed within local systems of circulation.¹⁸ Despite similarities in fabric with those at the aforementioned sites and even with prehistoric fabrics used in the Ionian Islands, no examples of Matt-Painted decoration have been recovered from the Pavllas River Valley. It is not impossible that Chalky Buff Ware represents evidence for some southwestern Albanian version of this broader style. It must be noted, however, that Pavllas Chalky Buff Ware lacks the distinctive traits of surface treatment (polishing and painting) that characterise KIV Matt-Painted Wares at other sites. There are not sufficient diagnostic links in either form or decoration to assert the presence of Matt-Painted Wares at Mursi or its nearby sites.



Figure 21.4. Pavllas River Valley Chalky Buff semi-fine ware body sherd from Mursi Unit 1 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

Pavllas River Valley Type 3: Powdery Orange Ware

Distribution

Six per cent of the total sherds from Unit 1: 28% in Context 2; 1% in Context 12; 12% in Context 25; 6% in both Contexts 29 and 44.



Figure 21.5. Hexagonal semi-fine base (?) or tile (2.1 cm th.) and fine handle section (right) in Pavllas River Valley Chalky Buff Ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

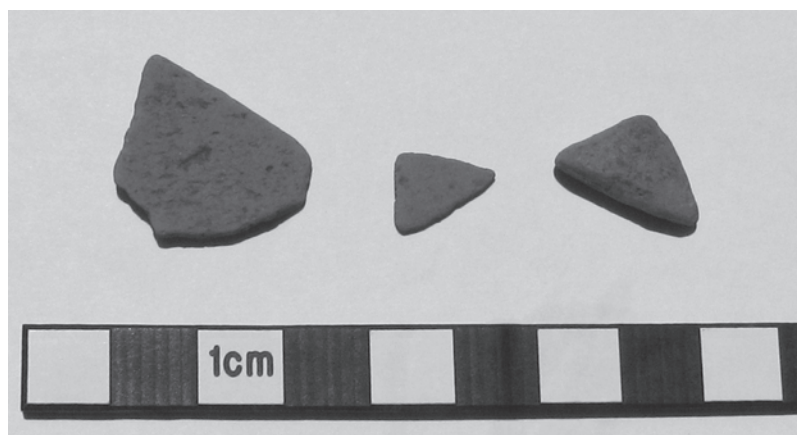


Figure 21.6. Pavllas River Valley Powdery Orange fine ware body sherds from Mursi Unit 1 (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.7. Outturned Pavllas River Valley Powdery Orange fine ware rim (0.51 cm th., 10 cm diam.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (illustrated in Fig. 21.8) (Photo by Sarah Lima)

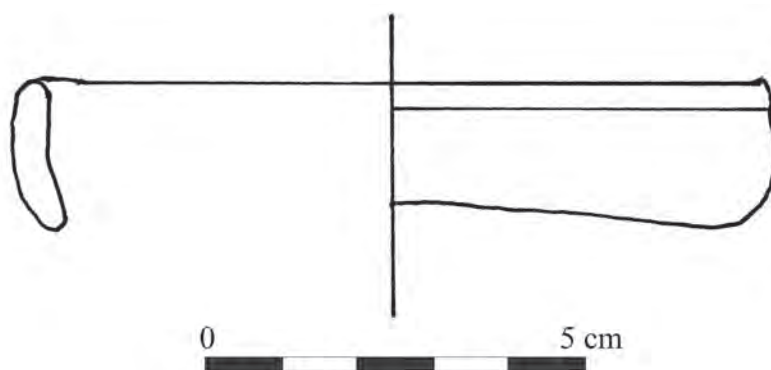


Figure 21.8. Outturned Pavllas River Valley Powdery Orange fine ware rim (0.51 cm th., 10 cm diam.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Fig. 21.7) (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

Description

Powdery Orange Ware is a low-fired coarse (6%), semi-fine (64%) and fine (30%) ware with dominant platy blue and grey chert, occasional subangular calcite, very fine subrounded micaceous sand, and (in coarse wares) mud pellets or grog inclusions. Surfaces are red, yellowish-red and strong brown. Cores are black or fully oxidised with surfaces. This fabric is distinguished by its light brownish-yellow colour and is undecorated (Fig. 21.6).

This fabric was used to make medium- and thin-walled vessels (1 cm or less), typically with small-diameter rims. While semi-fine wares predominate (64%), fine wares (about 30%) are well represented. Only a small percentage (6%) of the category is coarse ware, and those examples appear to be tiles.¹⁹ Functional categories include open table wares (e.g. small-diameter cups with flared rims and handleless bowls), as well as closed serving wares (e.g. jars or juglets).²⁰ The most common identifiable rim form is outturned (Figs 21.7, 21.8).²¹ There is at least one incurved example with no comparison elsewhere. Handles are frequently vertical, in oval or rounded forms.²²

Powdery Orange Ware ceramics show little evidence of surface treatment or decoration of any kind, apart from basic smoothing.

Regional comparisons

Powdery Orange Ware ceramics are only slightly more abundant than Burnished Black and Grey Wares in the total ceramic count from Unit 1. The fabric is employed in similar ways to Burnished Black and Grey Ware, for the production of small- and medium-sized dining vessels predominantly in semi-fine and fine wares. On the basis of these characteristics, as well as its comparable sizes, forms and functional ranges, Pavllas Powdery Orange Ware appears similar to orange fine wares from Sovjan and fine light wares from west central Albania, with the exception that Mursi's ware is not painted, as it is at Lofkënd.²³ The fabric and forms also compare closely with Epirote Orange-Red Wares, a distinctive category of dining and serving wares speculated to have originated and developed owing to intensified Mycenaean contact with Epirus between 1200 and 850 BC.²⁴ This category is not an imported ware, but



Figure 21.9. Pavllas River Valley Rough Red cooking ware rim from Mursi Unit 1, Context 25 (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.10. Black residue on Pavllas River Valley Rough Red coarse ware body sherd (0.83 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

instead develops in a similar manner to the broad class of Matt-Painted Wares circulating in the Balkans and Mediterranean during this period. It developed region by region through refinement of firing practices with local clays, and preferences for its functional use seem to have varied by site and by time period, with examples identified in coarse and semi-fine to fine fabric.²⁵ The presence of Powdery Orange Ware in the earliest prehistoric deposits at Mursi suggest that within the Pavllas River Valley, semi-fine and fine Orange-Red Wares were already locally developed and in use by the 13th century BC.²⁶

Pavllas River Valley Type 4: Rough Red Ware

Distribution

Twenty per cent of the total sherds from Unit 1: no sherds present in Context 2; 12% in Context 12; 27% in Context 25; 28% in both Contexts 29 and 44.

Description

Rough Red Ware is a lightly polished rough-surfaced moderately fired cooking (31%), coarse (57%) and semi-fine (12%) ware with dominant platy white and grey chert, occasional subrounded calcite or silicate, very fine micaceous or quartz sand, and (in semi-fine wares) rare mud pellets or grog inclusions. Surfaces are red or yellowish-red swirled with dark greenish-grey. Cores are very dark grey to dark greenish-grey, or fully oxidised with surfaces. This fabric is distinguished by its dense, rough surface texture and by the bright red shade of its oxidised clay (Fig. 21.9). Internal and external surfaces sometimes display signs of being coated with residue, perhaps seasoning accrued during the heating process (Fig. 21.10).²⁷ Decoration includes rare instances of internal and external incision. Cooking and coarse wares have rare examples of paddled decoration.

Rough Red Ware splits almost evenly into small- and large-sized groups, specifically vessels with rim diameters of 13 cm or less and rim diameters of 21 cm or more. Sherd thickness is uniformly medium-sized (0.5–1 cm), with only two thick-walled examples. There are 26 Rough Red Ware fragments that are open forms, while three are closed. Based on the high proportions of cooking and coarse wares, it is likely that this fabric was used in a utilitarian manner for cooking and storage, but also, in rarer instances, for small open semi-fine tableware forms (cups and bowls) with thin walls.

The most common rim form is outturned.²⁸ Incurved rims follow closely in number.²⁹ Horizontal oval handles and vertical strap handles of small diameter (less than 1 cm) are the most common forms, and vertical lug and horizontal bell handles represent the next largest categories (see all forms in Fig. 21.11).³⁰ Vertical oval, round and triangular forms of handles with small diameters were also identified.³¹ Rough Red Ware ceramics often have smoothed surfaces (not polished as Burnished Black and Grey Ware) and are frequently coated with a black substance on their interior and occasionally on their exterior (Fig. 21.10). These ceramics may have incised or plastic decoration such as paddling or impression.

Regional comparisons

Like many LBA and EIA coarse and cooking wares, Rough Red Ware was produced locally, but it shares common technical traits in fabric, surface treatment and forms with contemporary cooking wares in southeastern and west central Albania, as well as at sites in and near Ioannina Prefecture in Greece.³² Scholars working in Greek Epirus during the second half of the 20th century defined this category of hardy cook, coarse and semi-fine



Figure 21.11. (Clockwise from top left) Horseshoe, lug, horizontal bell, spined horizontal bell, and straight strap cooking ware handles in Pavllas River Valley Rough Red Ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 44 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

ceramics as *Κατηγορία II* (KII) wares and postulated that potters utilised the same clay sources, with different paste recipes and refinement methods, to produce both KII and KIII wares (mentioned previously in comparison with Pavllas Burnished Black and Grey Ware).³³ KII coarse and cooking wares continued over a long span of time in Epirus, with few changes in forms and decoration over a period spanning the Early Bronze Age (EBA) to LBA and EIA.³⁴ Both Pavllas Rough Red and Soapy Brown Wares (description to follow) share these characteristics.

Pavllas River Valley Type 5: Soapy Brown Ware

Distribution

Fifty-nine per cent of the total sherds from Unit 1: 22% in Context 2; 79% in Context 12; 39% in Context 25; 46% in Context 29; 52% in Context 44.

Description

Soapy Brown Ware is a lightly polished soapy-surfaced and well-fired cooking (35%), coarse (62%) and semi-fine (3%) ware with dominant platy grey, white and black chert, occasional very fine subrounded micaceous sand granules, and (in semi-fine wares) rare yellowish-red mud pellets or grog inclusions. Surfaces are red, yellowish-red, and yellowish or olive brown. Cores are usually very dark grey, black, and are rarely fully oxidised. This fabric is distinguished by its soapy surface texture (Fig. 21.12), but its colour and decoration may vary. Internal and external surfaces often display signs of being coated with residue, similar in character to the previously described Rough Red Ware examples. Decoration includes internal and external incision on cooking pots. A few fragments of cooking pots show evidence of painting, possibly with bitumen

(e.g. see Fig. 21.13). Decoration for coarse and semi-fine wares includes barbotine, cording, paddling, impression and incision (internal and external; single line and two parallel lines).

The most abundant of the five categories identified, Soapy Brown Ware appears to have been used for medium- and large-sized cooking and coarse ware vessels, with wall thicknesses of at least 0.5 cm and with a rim diameter of at least 13 cm. The prevalence of cooking wares in this fabric is consistent with the 165 Soapy Brown Ware fragments that were identified as open forms. The most common rim form is outturned (with many variants). Handmade Soapy Brown Ware Mursi Cooking Pot 2 is the site's largest preserved vessel, featuring a 31 cm diameter. Discovered with a nearly complete profile on the surface of Context 25 in Area 1, it is a heavy bowl with bell-shaped handles, interior smoothing for liquid tightness with some incision, and an outturned rim (Figs 21.14–17; Plates 21.2 and 21.3, and see Figs 20.28 and 20.29). The joining body sherd in Plate 21.2 may preserve a connection point for a leg rather than a handle, which would make the pot's form comparable to a *pyraunos* cooking vessel (discussed below). Smaller forms in Soapy Brown Ware are the thin-walled examples depicted in Figures 21.18, 21.19 (right sherd) and 21.20.³⁵ There are straight-rimmed forms³⁶ (Figs 21.19 (left sherd) and 21.21) and examples with incurved rims³⁷ (Fig. 21.18 (rightmost and second from left)). There are four examples of closed vessels and at least three carinated examples, which may have been vessels used for storage.³⁸ The most common form for handles is vertical oval, medium diameter (0.5–1.0 cm), followed by horizontal oval; these are followed by a second and less frequently represented group comprised of vertical strap, vertical lug and horizontal bell handles.³⁹

Soapy Brown Ware is decorated with the most diverse



Figure 21.12. Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown coarse ware body sherds from Mursi Unit 1, Context 29 (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.13. Smoothed and painted (bitumen?) Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware body sherd (interior view; 1.06 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 44 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

range of styles of the five Pavllas wares. Decorative elements include grooving, burnishing (rarely), painting or coating, and plastic techniques that include paddling, impression and barbotine. Incision is frequent. In addition to the examples that are proofed or seasoned, there are a few examples coated with bitumen, a process that may have served to seal vessels that contained liquids (see again Fig. 21.12).⁴⁰

Regional comparisons

As mentioned previously, both Soapy Brown and Rough Red Ware ceramics are comparable to LBA coarse and cooking ware styles in local production throughout broad

swaths of central and southern Albania and northern Greece. The form of Mursi Cooking Pot 2 shows similar characteristics in fabric and profile with *pyraunoi*. At Sovjan (Korça region), this type of cooking vessel becomes prevalent beginning in LBA level 5c3. Gori and Krapf point to the adoption of this form as a marker for the popularisation of new cooking practices in the Balkans during the LBA, and note shared traditions between Sovjan and central Macedonia.⁴¹ The fabric description and suite of decorative schemes for Soapy Brown Ware are consistent with Vasileiou's defined *Κεραμική Κατηγορίες* 2 and 3 – handmade coarse monochrome ware groups with plastic decoration and incised decoration. The association of this type with Epirote ceramic group “KII” – a class of cooking, coarse and semi-fine wares with a broad suite of formal and decorative characteristics in circulation between 1600 and 900 BC – was outlined above. These last two utilitarian Pavllas categories display some nuances of functional use and form, with more instances of Rough Red semi-fine wares and almost no examples of semi-fine wares in Soapy Brown fabric. Vessels in Rough Red Ware also have a more even distribution between large and small diameters in contrast to those in Soapy Brown Ware, which show a preponderance of medium and large diameters. Finally, Soapy Brown Ware vessels have a wider variety of decorative motifs than Rough Red Ware.

The Pavllas River Valley's five ware categories serve mostly complementary functions, with a few instances of overlap. While Soapy Brown and Rough Red Ware categories share similar functions with cooking and coarse wares for uses such as storage and food preparation, Powdery Orange and Burnished Black and Grey Wares appear to have been used for dining and serving. Chalky

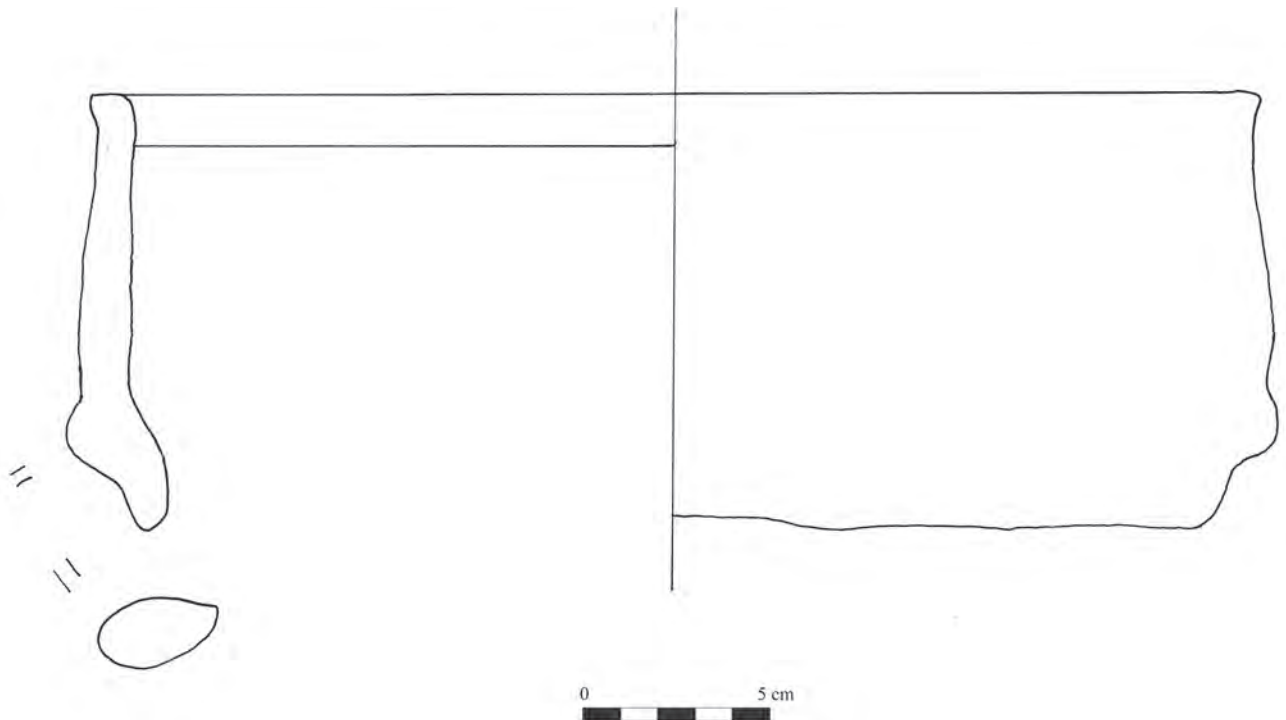


Figure 21.14. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, joining fragment #1: Outturned, flat diagonal lip rim and bell (?) handle (or leg?) attachment zone on slightly carinated body with internal incised line in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (31 cm diam., 1.31 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Plates 21.2 and 21.3) (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

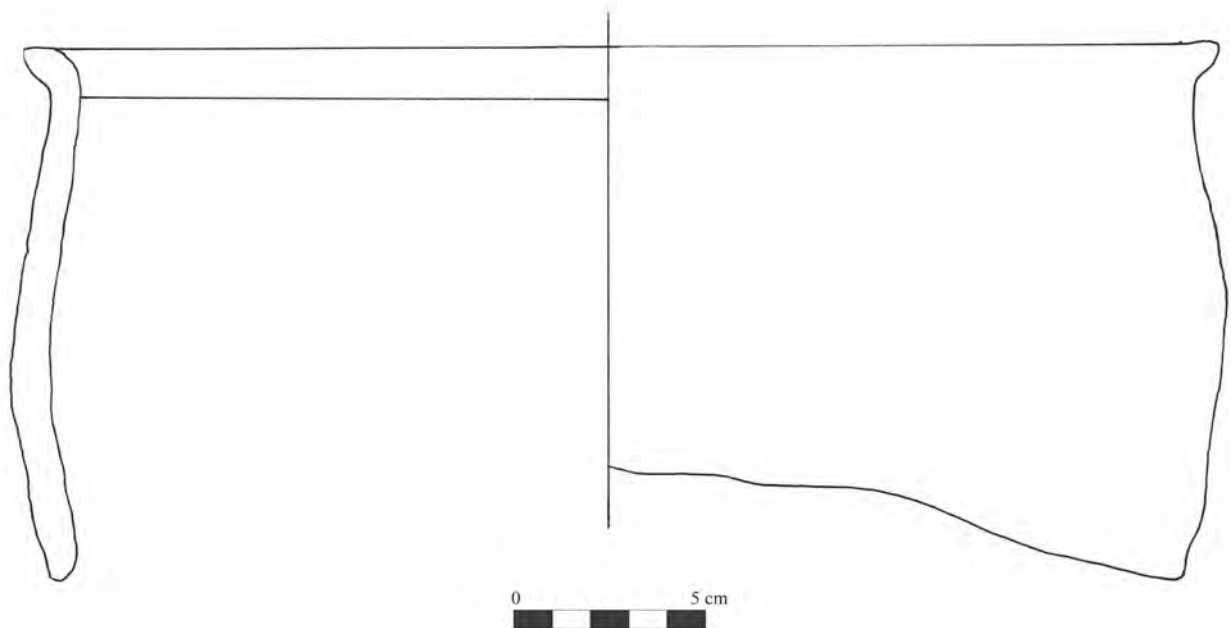


Figure 21.15. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, joining fragment #2: Outturned, flat diagonal lip rim on slight carinated body with internal incised line in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (31 cm diam., 1.31 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

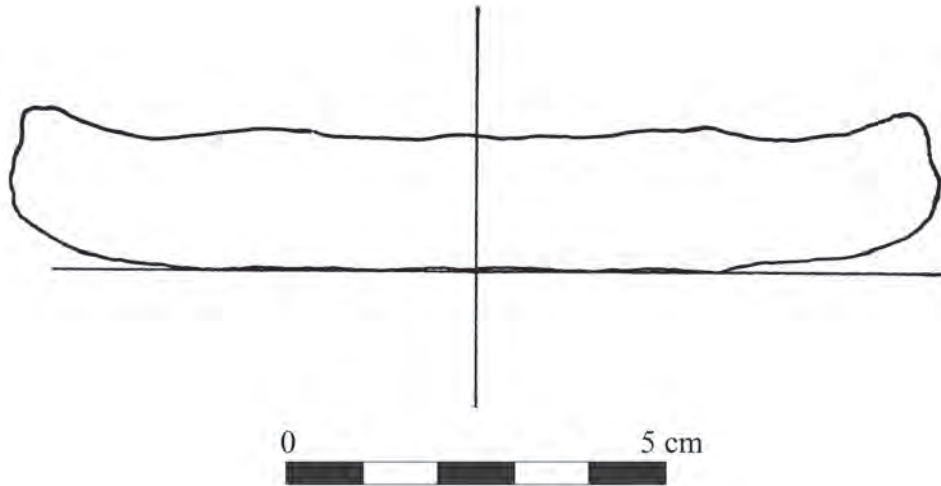


Figure 21.16. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, joining fragment #1: flat-bottomed base in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (slight curve) (12.2 cm diam., 1.84 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

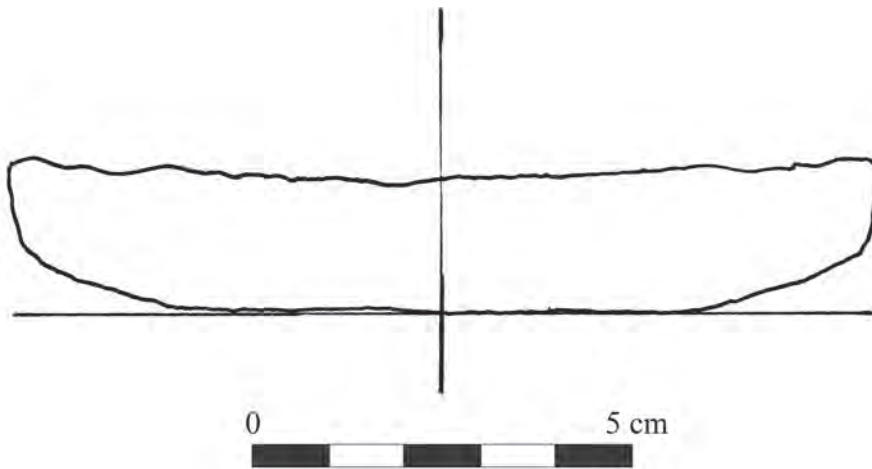


Figure 21.17. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, joining fragment #2: flat bottomed base in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (slight curve) (11.25 cm diam., 2.02 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Drawn by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.18. (From left to right) Flat and vertical (1.02 cm body th., 16 cm diam.), incurved, tapered and incised (0.75 cm body th., 18 cm diam.), outturned, tapered and incised (0.81 cm th., 12 cm diam), and incurved and flat incised (0.5 cm th.) rims in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 29 (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Figure 21.19. Straight, round-lipped rim with internal surface incision (0.8 cm th., 30 cm diam.; illustrated in Fig. 21.21)) and outturned, incised rim with burnt interior (0.4 cm th., 11 cm diam.; illustrated in Fig. 21.20) in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Photo by Sarah Lima)

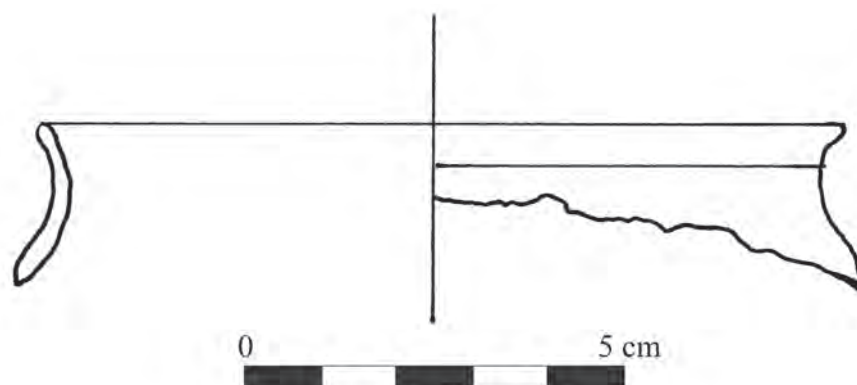


Figure 21.20. Outturned, incised rim with burnt interior (0.4 cm th., 11 cm diam.) in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Fig. 21.19, right sherd) (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

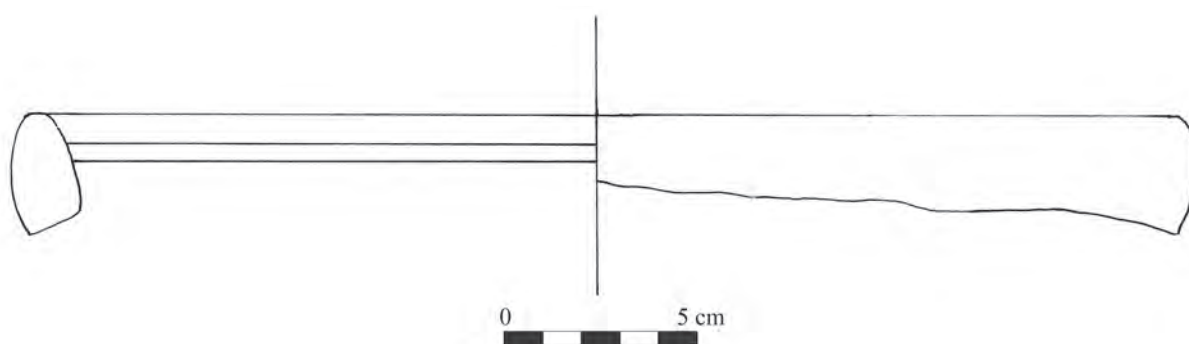
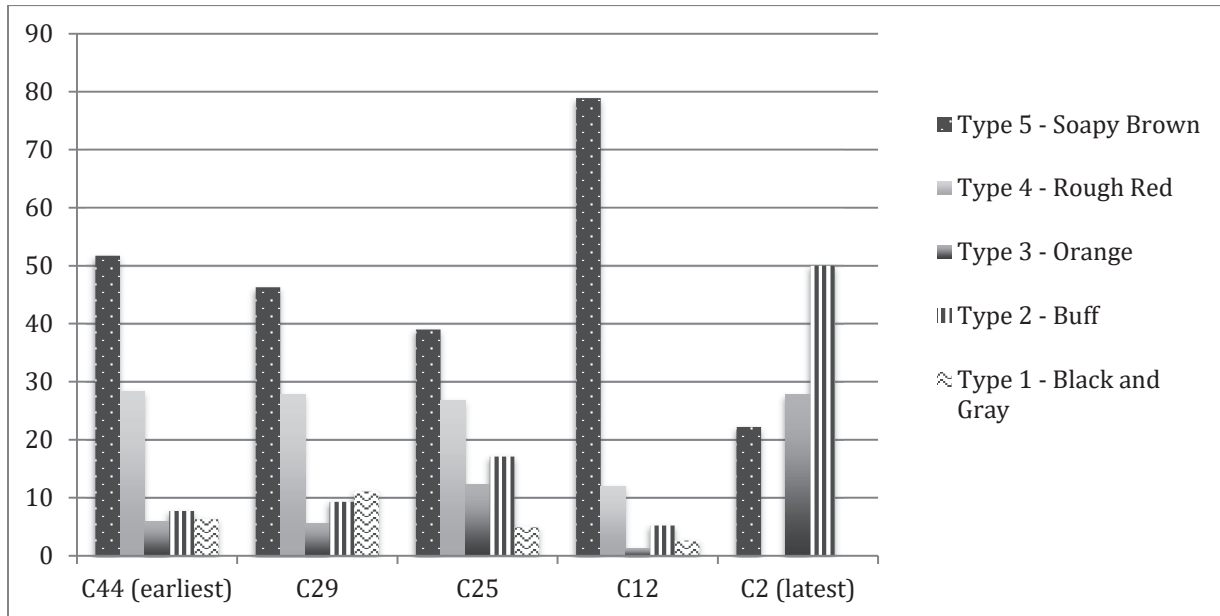


Figure 21.21. Straight, round-lipped rim with internal surface incision (0.8 cm th., 30 cm diam.; cf. Amore 2010, 349) in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (Fig. 21.19, left sherd) (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

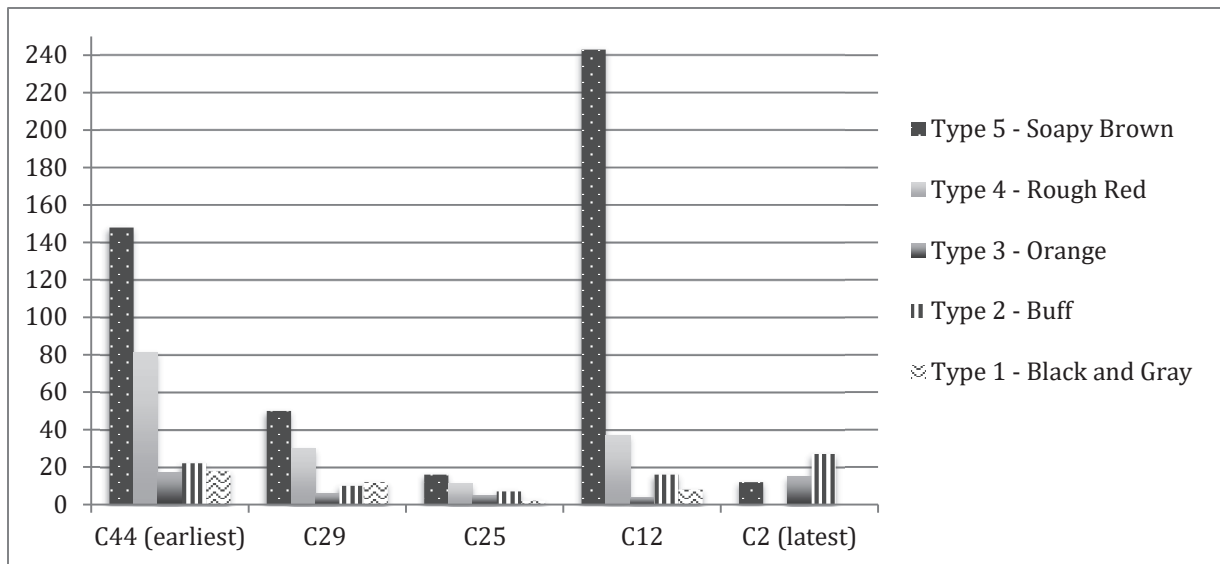
Buff and Powdery Orange Wares also show some evidence of use for tile production during the LBA and EIA, but the most frequent and best examples of their use for tiles date to Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval periods.⁴²

Stratigraphic Distributions of Ware Categories

This section examines Mursi's ware categories together with Area 1's stratigraphy, summarising counts and



Relative percentages of Pavllas River Valley Ware categories by context - Mursi Unit 1.



Counts of Pavllas River Valley Ware categories by context - Mursi Unit 1.

Figure 21.22. Relative percentages (top) versus counts (bottom) of Pavllas River Valley wares by context from Mursi Unit 1 (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

proportions for each Pavllas River Valley type over time. Proportions of each ware are evaluated for each of the five contexts. Figure 21.22 shows wares quantified by percentages and sherd counts by deposit.

In the earliest three deposits [44, 29, 25], it is possible to observe Pavllas Rough Red and Soapy Brown Wares and Pavllas Burnished Black and Grey Ware decreasing over time, whereas proportions of Chalky Buff Ware and

Powdery Orange Wares generally increase. Context 25 marks the horizon where this trajectory changes. Context 12 shows an increase in Soapy Brown Ware and decreases in Rough Red and Burnished Black and Grey Wares. Likewise, Context 2 appears markedly different from the four contexts below it, with a high presence of Chalky Buff Ware.

Patterns of use and abandonment are likely key

Table 21.3. Comparison of published dates for prehistoric Epirote ceramic ware categories (indicated by dark gray shading; after Tartaron 2004, 93, Table 5.1 and Vasileiou 2015a, 195–6) with ranges of Mursi C-14 dates linked to Pavllas River Valley ware categories (indicated by light gray shading; M=Mursi)

	Pre-1800 BC	1700 BC	1600 BC	1500 BC	1400 BC	1300 BC	1200 BC	1100 BC	1000 BC	900 BC	800 BC	Post-700 BC
Type 5 – Black and Gray Burnished Ware					M	M	M	M	M			
Type 4 – Rough Red Ware					M	M	M	M	M			
Epirote KII/KIII Wares												
Type 3 – Powdered Orange Ware					M	M	M	M	M			
Epirote Orange-Red Ware												
Type 2- Chalky Buff Ware					M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Epirote KIVa and b Matt-Painted Ware												
Type 1 – Black and Gray Burnished Ware					M	M	M	M	M			
Epirote KIII/Handmade Burnished Ware												

determinants for the character of each assemblage. The ceramics in Deposit 12 above Surface 25 probably derived from an area in which Soapy Brown coarse- and cooking-ware vessels were used predominantly, such as in a food preparation or storage area. This explanation is consistent with the lithic assemblages recovered from the site and the complete Cooking Pot 2 excavated on the interface below Context 12 [Surface 25] (see Chapter 20). Many lithics were blades and scrapers that could be used for the processing of animal products including hides. As Mursi was a watery region near Butrint Bay during the LBA, conditions were favorable for animal husbandry. The ceramics in Contexts 29 and 44, alternatively, comprised secondary deposits of ceramics (associated with manuring) that had perhaps originally been used in a serving-oriented context, with Burnished Black and Grey, Chalky Buff and Powdery Orange Wares representing a greater combined proportion within those assemblages.

In my previous section describing the Pavllas River Valley wares at Mursi, associations were made between Burnished Black and Grey, Powdery Orange, Rough Red and Soapy Brown Ware categories and other Epirote ceramic classification systems. It is instructive, therefore, to compare the stratigraphic sequences of wares at Mursi with seriations proposed for ceramic classification categories in other regions of northern Greece and southern Albania. In Table 21.3, the ranges of published dates for comparable ware categories are indicated with dark grey shading. The seriation for Mursi's Pavllas River Valley ware categories, based on stratigraphy and C-14 dates, is indicated with light grey shading and the letter "M." Mursi's seriation aligns with established chronological ranges for comparable Epirote ceramic classes, with some details worth highlighting. While Soapy Brown Ware was the most prevalent type of pottery in every context of Mursi's Unit 1 LBA stratigraphic sequence, we can observe that in the manuring contexts it was decreasing in proportion

to other classes by the time the site was abandoned in the 12th–11th century BC. If Burnished Black and Grey, Soapy Brown and Rough Red Wares represent subcategories of KIII/Burnished Black and Grey Wares and Epirote KII Wares, their similar decreasing proportions over time are consistent with the popularisation of other styles, such as Orange-Red Ware and Matt-Painted Wares, in northwestern Greece and southern Albania during the transition from LBA to EIA.⁴³ Most significantly, though, the C-14 dated stratigraphy at Mursi indicates that while Orange-Red Wares are thought to have been popularised during the 12th century BC, there is now evidence that these wares were already present in fine ware form in southwestern Albania in the 13th century BC.⁴⁴

LBA Ceramic Production and Circulation in the Pavllas River Valley

The following section considers the regional production and circulation of Pavllas River Valley pottery during the LBA and EIA. As noted previously, the Mursi ceramics, collected from radiocarbon dated LBA strata and classed according to the Pavllas River Valley typology, offer a valuable chronological framework for two comparable bodies of LBA ceramics collected from the nearby sites of Cape Stillo and Kalivo in 2004, 2006 and 2007. These collections were studied together in 2011 and 2012.

Figure 21.23 compares proportions of Pavllas River Valley ware categories recovered from Mursi, Cape Stillo and Kalivo. Pavllas coarse and cooking percentages of Rough Red and Soapy Brown wares vary by site. Soapy Brown "KII/KIII" Ware is dominant in all three locations, but it represents almost 80% of the total 354 ceramics collected from Kalivo, 72% of ceramics from Cape Stillo and 59% of ceramics from Mursi. However, when Rough Red Ware percentages are added to percentages of Soapy Brown Ware at Cape Stillo and Mursi, the total for these

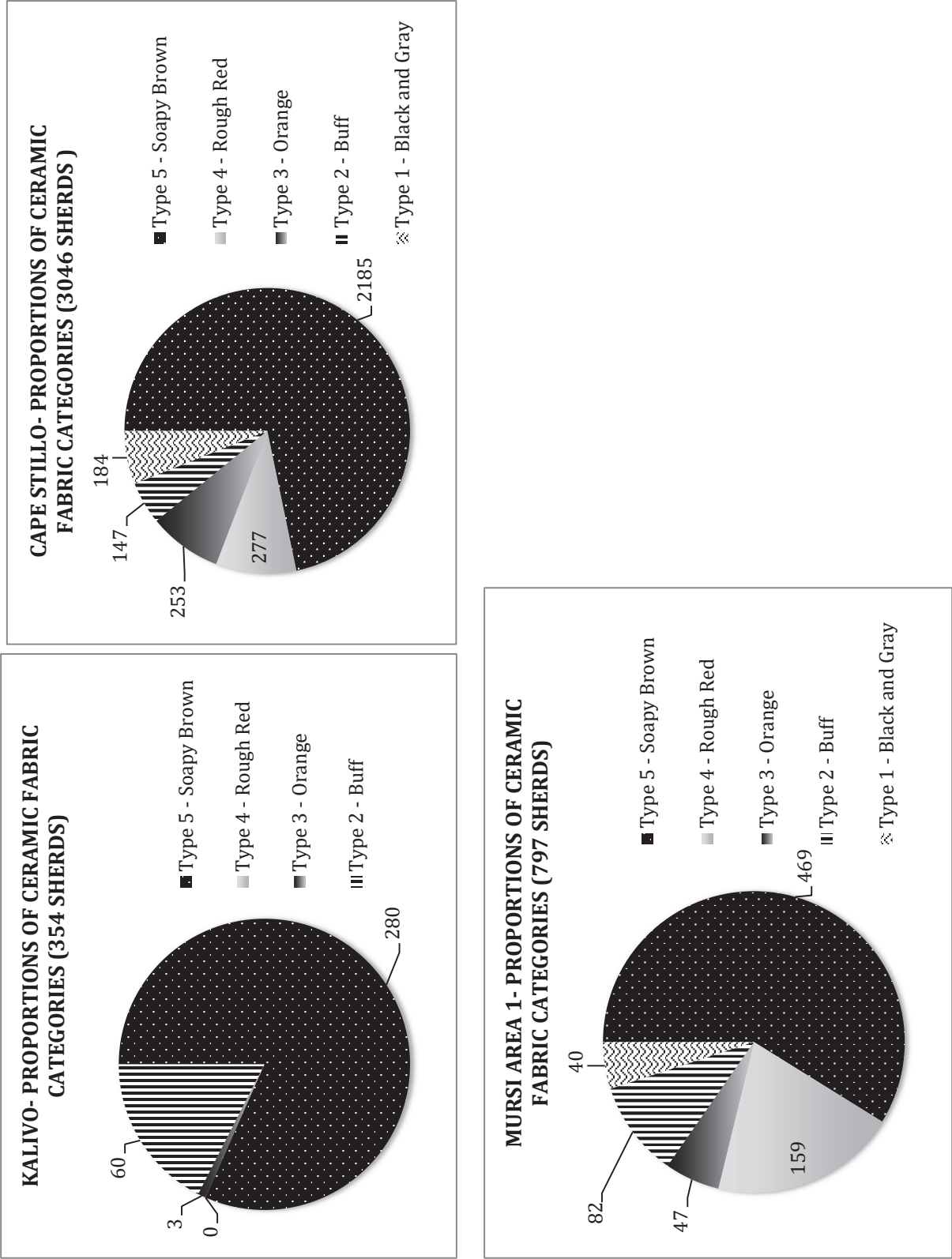


Figure 21.23. Comparison of proportions of Pavllas River Valley ware categories present at Mursi, Cape Stillo and Kalivo (Drawn by Sarah Lima)

cooking and coarse ware categories combined is similar to the percentage of Soapy Brown alone at Kalivo (where no Rough Red pottery was identified).

There are also disparities among proportions of semi-fine and fine ware categories by site. Cape Stillo and Mursi share similar proportions of Burnished Black and Grey, Chalky Buff and Powdery Orange Wares, but these semi-fine and fine ware categories are not found in comparable numbers at Kalivo (Fig. 21.23). Overall, Kalivo yielded few ceramics used in dining contexts, while Cape Stillo and Mursi show a more diverse suite of activities, ranging from food preparation and storage to eating and drinking.

The previous observations about differing proportions of wares among three local sites prompts several questions about ceramic production and use during the LBA and EIA in the Pavllas River Valley. Do these differences relate to site preservation, natural resources, potters' preferences, user preferences or other factors? What regional interactions best explain these trends?

The similar proportions of semi-fine and fine ware ceramics that were recovered from Mursi and Cape Stillo may relate to how these sites were occupied and used, or it may relate to their locations and resources, or both. All three sites would have been situated well for long-range communication and for local trade, although Cape Stillo may have been more strongly influenced by its seaside position than the sites of Kalivo and Mursi, which had greater access to inland sites (see Fig. 20.1). As has been demonstrated in the previous discussion of wares and their seriations at Mursi, all five categories of coarse, cooking, fine and semi-fine wares of the Pavllas River Valley point to southern Albanian sites' access to and participation in networks of communication via the Ionian coast and via Balkan River Valleys during the 13th and 12th centuries BC, but criteria of manufacture and fabric demonstrate that these ceramics are of local manufacture.⁴⁵

Ongoing analysis of ceramics from Mursi, Cape Stillo and Kalivo employing inductively coupled plasma mass spectroscopy (ICP-MS) is offering opportunities to identify more precisely where these wares were being produced as opposed to where they were recovered. Preliminary conclusions from ICP-MS compositional analysis completed by Michael Galaty and Jiyun Gu of the W. M. Keck Center for Instrumental and Biochemical Comparative Archaeology at Millsaps College in 2012 are presented herein, but fuller analysis is forthcoming.⁴⁶ Linking analysis of local clay sources to Mursi's secure AMS-radiocarbon-dated ceramics confirms speculations of interactions among the three sites during the Bronze Age, clarifies questions of whether ceramics are being locally made or imported from other places, and enriches our understanding of the fabrics identified in the process of defining the Pavllas typology's five wares.⁴⁷

The ICP-MS preliminary results suggest that specific wares and forms were produced and distributed via domestic modes of production, accommodating different preferences by site.⁴⁸ Testing has indicated, for example,

that Pavllas Rough Red Ware ceramics were manufactured from clays from Cape Stillo, where they were also recovered. It has also shown that some Rough Red Wares from both Cape Stillo and Mursi were made from clays from Kalivo. Rough Red Ware pottery (or clay) was brought from Kalivo to Cape Stillo and to Mursi at least as early as the 13th century BC, while not being retained for use at Kalivo itself, where assemblages consist almost entirely of Soapy Brown Wares, made from Kalivo clay.

Pavllas Burnished Black and Grey, Chalky Buff and Powdery Orange table wares were also shown to be made from Pavllas clays collected some distance from their findspots. Cape Stillo produced some of its own Burnished Black and Grey Wares from clay onsite, but it also brought in versions made from Kalivo clay. So far, Mursi's Burnished Black and Grey Wares appear to have been made exclusively from Kalivo clay, though clay and daub samples from Mursi were not tested in the initial ICP-MS study. Tests of Cape Stillo Chalky Buff Wares revealed one subgroup produced from local clays from Kalivo, while a second subgroup of Chalky Buff Ware samples from Cape Stillo and Mursi matched local clays from Butrint. Finally, Powdery Orange Wares were produced with clay from a variety of locations, with visible differences in their appearance and use by site. Examples from Cape Stillo, Mursi and Kalivo were made from local clays from Cape Stillo, Kalivo and Butrint. Kalivo's Powdery Orange pots were cooking wares with large inclusions, manufactured exclusively from Kalivo clay and showing similarities in surface treatment and decoration to coarse wares from Lofkënd (west central Albania).⁴⁹ These differed from the thin-walled Powdery Orange table wares with chalky surfaces and few inclusions that were produced at Kalivo and transported to Cape Stillo and to Mursi (Plate 21.4), which compare more closely to Orange-Red Wares from Greek Epirus.⁵⁰ The confirmed use of a Kalivo clay to produce qualitatively different variants of the same ware offers additional support to previous arguments that LBA potters deliberately altered steps in the production process to effect different outcomes in their ceramics that appealed to the tastes of different consumers.

Though it is difficult to determine the precise combination of potter and user that drove the production and circulation of ceramics in the Pavllas River Valley, it is clear that preferences for particular clay sources varied by site and that different sites played different roles in this exchange. Kalivo was a source for clay and for ceramics for a wide range of functional categories during the LBA, while Cape Stillo was both a source of clay and a recipient of ceramics made elsewhere. Mursi has only heretofore shown evidence for receiving ceramics during the LBA, but further testing would establish whether clay sources at or near the site were also being exploited. While such local exchanges might be expected in the case of small fine tableware vessels, it is interesting to note that this was also happening for larger KII/KIII coarse and cooking wares. In fact, almost all of the identified Rough Red Kalivo "exports" to Cape Stillo

were cooking wares, and Mursi Cooking Pot 2 recovered from Context 12 was also made from Kalivo clay, likely in the LBA *pyraunos* form found in contemporary contexts not only in southern and central Albania, but likely also in central Macedonia. The movement of cooking wares throughout the Pavllas River Valley may be explained by intermarriage among inhabitants of nearby sites.⁵¹ The popularisation of forms such as *pyraunoi* at sites throughout the Balkans, meanwhile, also suggests common culinary traditions and preferences that may have helped to spur early specialised ceramic production and consumption in the Pavllas River Valley. Cooking wares are crafted with features that permit them to endure handling and stress during repeated heating and cooling, and in the southeastern Aegean, they have been identified as early indicators of specialised ceramic production and consumption during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.⁵² Transportation of cooking pots and common styles of manufacture during the LBA demonstrate that people were interested enough in how their food was prepared to move large, bulky pottery from one site to another.

Mursi's C-14 dated LBA ceramics help to confirm the prehistoric dates of the Pavllas River Valley assemblages collected from Cape Stillo and Kalivo, which taken together represent a valuable regional set for examining the co-development of LBA and EIA ceramic ware categories in southwestern Albania. Their ongoing analysis using ICP-MS can offer a regional picture of site interactions and ceramic use through time. Nevertheless, southwestern Albania's chronology of ware production still lacks the chronological nuances of other regions of Epirus, such as southeastern Albania.⁵³ More rigorous microscopic petrological analyses of ceramics from southwestern Albania would help to show how production and preference patterns may have varied in the Pavllas River Valley over time. For example, closer studies of grog temper (*i.e.* crushed, reused ceramics; see the Appendix) in Pavllas Powdery Orange, Rough Red and Soapy Brown Ware ceramics might provide clues to the continuity of manufacture at specific sites, if clay sources for the region could also be further explored and microscopic analysis performed.

Mursi's ceramic material also offers new fixed points that enable comparison of the Pavllas River Valley typology to established timelines of ceramic production and exchange for Epirus in the LBA. The presence of Burnished Black and Grey Ware, as well as the fact that it is being made locally, is consistent with the chronological ranges and distribution for broadly distributed and defined Handmade Burnished Ware within Epirus.⁵⁴ The presence of Powdery Orange table wares in C-14-dated deposits from the 13th century BC confirm speculation that this ware is not exclusively a 12th-century ware, but that it was in circulation in earlier periods. The absence of Matt-Painted Wares in the Pavllas River Valley may indicate lack of participation in the same long-distance networks of communication and trade that are commonly observed in other Albanian regions, such as Korça and Fier, and in

such Greek regions as Ioannina.⁵⁵ Ultimately, it is hoped that the C-14-dated ceramic deposits from Mursi can help to establish the Pavllas River Valley typology as another body of material that can assist in piecing together decades of survey and rescue excavation results from prehistoric Epirote sites in order to understand, without reference to modern political borders, how sites on the edges of Mycenaean and Illyrian worlds interacted.

Appendix: Unabridged Fabric Descriptions for Mursi Wares

Type 1: Burnished Black and Grey Ware

Colour: Surfaces: reddish-yellow (5YR 6/8), greyish brown (2.5Y 5/2), and dark grey and very dark grey (5YR 4/1 and 2.5Y 3/1). Cores: light red (2.5YR 6/8), black (10YR 2/1 or 5Y 2.5/1), or oxidised (rare).

Inclusions: 3% well sorted and distributed, mean size 0.1, max 0.25, SRECT; dominant SA platy grey, white, and black micro- and meso-chert; occasional very fine SR micaceous sand; rare SA pink quartz; occasional micro SRECT calcite; very rare <1% circular planar and columnar horizontal micro- and meso-voids.

Firing and surface treatment: Hard and well fired, but some have non-oxidised, friable cores; thin walls; surfaces polished and often burnished, in some instances coated (significantly fewer inclusions on surface).

Decoration: Burnishing, internal and external incision, grooving.

Notes: The primary characteristics of Burnished Black and Grey Ware are thin walls, examples of carinated forms, platy chert and rounded sand inclusions, consistent firing, and brown or black burnished surfaces.

Type 2: Chalky Buff Ware

Colour: Surfaces: very pale brown (10YR 7/4–8/4), pale yellow (2.5Y 8/4), and reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6 or 7.5YR 6/6) with fully oxidised cores.

Inclusions: 1% well sorted and distributed, mean 0.01 cm, max 0.4 cm, SRECT and SR (percentage decreases to < 1% in semi-fine and fine wares, and size of inclusions and voids decreases); occasional very fine micaceous sand, meso-calcite/marl; 1% meso-columnar voids. Mud pellets are present in rare instances.

Firing and surface treatment: Coarse versions seem sun-baked or low-fired, while semi-fine and fine versions are well-fired; Powdery surface; signs of considerable weathering.

Decoration: None.

Notes: This category is poorly defined because of factors of preservation. There is variability in its core, surface colours, inclusions and ware categories. Criteria are more consistent in the coarse category than in the semi-fine/fine categories, but it lacks the painted surfaces of Matt-Painted Ware fabrics outside of the immediate

region. Untreated surfaces and uniform firing at high temps for historic examples are consistent qualities.

Type 3: Powdery Orange Ware

Colour: Surfaces: red (e.g. 2.5YR 5/8 red), yellowish-red (5YR 5/8) and strong brown (7.5YR 5/6); cores: black (5YR 2.5/1) or oxidised with surface (more common in semi-fine and fine wares).

Inclusions: 3% moderately sorted and distributed, mean size 0.05 cm, max 0.1 cm, SA (percentage decreases to <1% in semi-fine and fine wares, and size of inclusions and voids decreases); dominant meso SA blue and grey chert; occasional SA meso-calcite; rare very fine micro SR micaceous sand; rare small mud pellets; 4% micro-rounded vugh voids. Coarse versions of Powdery Orange Ware include frequent mud pellet or grog inclusions. Semi-fine and fine wares of Powdery Orange Ware show grog inclusions only occasionally.

Firing and surface treatment: Firing ranges from low to well, generally contingent on thickness; surfaces occasionally smoothed, but generally untreated and powdery; a few examples of lime scaling.

Decoration: None.

Notes: Colour is relatively consistent. Powdery surfaces and light blue and grey chert inclusions with calcite are distinguishing characteristics.

Type 4: Rough Red Ware

Colour: Surfaces: red (probably due to more intense firing – 10R 4/8–5/8, 2.5YR 5/6–5/8) or yellowish-red (e.g. 5YR 4/6–5/6) together with dark greenish-grey (2.5Y 4/1 or 4/1 GLEY1); cores: very dark grey to greenish-grey and dark greenish-grey (3/1–5/1 GLEY 1–2), or fully oxidised with surfaces. Frequently, colours are swirled.

Inclusions: 7% poorly to moderately sorted, moderately distributed, mean size 0.1 cm, max 0.5 cm; dominant SRECT and SA large platy grey and black chert; occasional SR calcite or silicate; occasional very fine SR micaceous sand or quartz; 3% micro- and meso-columnar voids. Chert appears in all ware categories of this fabric, and in some cases, there is bimodality that suggests intentional tempering. Sometimes sherds containing clay pellet/grog tempering are lighter in hue, closer to pink than red; the clay pellet/grog temper is especially regular in the semi-fine category.

Firing and surface treatment: Variations in the shades of pink/red appear to indicate differences in firing. Rough Red is not as friable as Soapy Brown Ware. Surfaces are smooth and rarely soapy in texture, but rough to touch; in the case of coarse and semi-fine categories, the surfaces can be powdery. Some calcification is evident on several sherds, as well as residue or coating.

Decoration: Cooking, coarse and semi-fine wares may be incised and rarely cooking and coarse wares are paddled.

Notes: There is an unusual, two-toned quality to the surface colour of Rough Red Ware. Inclusions are greater in number (15%) and more well sorted in semi-fine versions of this ware.

Type 5: Soapy Brown Ware

Colour: Surfaces: red (e.g. 2.5YR 4/8–5/6), yellowish- or olive brown (e.g. 10YR 3/6 or 2.5Y 5/4), and yellowish-red (e.g. 5YR 4/6); cores very dark grey to black (10YR 2/1–3/1, 2.5Y 2.5/1, or 7.5YR 2.5/1) or oxidised with surface.

Inclusions: Cooking and coarse wares: 5% poorly sorted and moderately distributed, mean size 0.1 cm, max 0.5 cm; dominant SA meso-grey, white, and black chert; occasional SR very fine and granule sized micaceous sand; 5% columnar horizontal micro-voids. Semi-fine wares: <1% well sorted and well distributed, mean size 0.1 cm, max 0.5 cm; dominant: very rare, very fine micaceous sand, very rare yellow-red clay micro-pellets, <1% planar voids.

Firing and surface treatment: Cooking wares are thoroughly fired, often burnt, and cores are friable. Coarse wares show more variability in colour, which may be attributed to different temperatures and duration of firing; semi-fine wares are well fired. Surfaces are soapy, lightly smoothed and sometimes polished, often with evidence of coating or residue.

Decoration: Mursi Cooking Pot 2 has examples of incision, and there are a few fragments of cooking pots that appear painted. Coarse wares have some examples of barbotine, cording, paddling, impression and incision (internal or external; a single line or two parallel lines).

Notes: Some examples have grog temper or mud pellets, increasingly more common in semi-fine versions. This feature is comparable to certain Rough Red Ware examples. The two wares are probably similar in use and production.

Notes

- 1 The Mursi Archaeological Research Project was directed by David Hernandez (University of Notre Dame) and Dhimitër Çondi (Albanian Institute of Archaeology). I wish to thank them for the opportunity to study the prehistoric pottery from the site and also Ilirian Gjipali, Shpresa Gjonecaj, Lorenc Bejko, Maria Grazia Amore, and Iris Pojani for their collaboration in the study of prehistoric Albania. Sarah Morris, Esmeralda Agolli, Seth Pevnick, Michael Galaty, Tobias Krapf, and Eleni Vasileiou provided generous aid and access to publications required for the completion of this work during the COVID-19 pandemic, and Jack Davis and Michael Galaty provided valuable review. My sincere thanks go also to the staff of the Butrint National Park for their long-term assistance and support.
- 2 In this study, the chronology adopted for the Late Bronze Age follows that of the mainland Helladic sequence. See Tartaron 2013, 3.
- 3 Recent research in Epirus has produced an expanding body

- of archaeological material to compare and contrast trends of ceramic technology and use. In particular, the thorough studies of regional pottery typologies developed and adopted by Seth Pevnick and Esmeralda Agolli (2014) at Lofkënd (west central Albania), by Tobias Krapf (2018) and Maja Gori (2015) at Sovjan (southeastern Albania), by Eleni Vasileiou (2015a) in Ioannina Prefecture (Greece), by Thomas Tartaron (2004) at Glykys Limin (northwestern Greece), and by Kenneth Wardle (1972; 1977) for northwestern Greece offer holistic treatments of fabric, form and decoration of LBA Epirote ceramics.
- 4 Gjipali 2011, 28–29; 2018, 36; Lima 2013.
 - 5 For Kalivo, see Chapter 13. Fragments of an LBA/EIA ceramic vessel were found in an unstratified deposit above bedrock inside a gate at Kalivo, and many of the ceramics from Cape Stillo are LBA in date. However, Kalivo's first phase of fortifications appear to date no earlier than the 5th century BC: see Hernandez 2017a, 245–250.
 - 6 Lima 2013, 35–42.
 - 7 Diagnostic sherds (nearly 300) represent about 35% of the total assemblage from Unit 1.
 - 8 Cf. Lofkënd dark fine biconical kantharos rim type 5 10/95 [P228] in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 234–235. For a slightly different example, see Tartaron 2004, fig. 103b.
 - 9 Cf. Lofkënd dark fine fragment 10/225 [P053] in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 237–238.
 - 10 Pavllas Burnished Black and Grey Ware fragments generally correspond to forms with high-swung handles in Albanian fine dark wares. Cf. Lofkënd dark fine kantharos type 3 10/93 [P223] in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, as well as those described within Sovjan's 5c3 (LBA) level in Krapf 2018, 73–75, pl. 1, Ca (kantharos). Other possible forms include dippers (e.g. Korkuti 1990, fig. 12 from nearby Çuka), and one-handled cups (e.g. Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 10/90 [P422], as well as a LHIIIb example from Elaphotopos in the Ioannina Museum: AMI 3282). Spur handle forms compare to Lofkënd dark fine fragment 10/33 [P080] in Pevnick and Agolli 2014 and to a 13th-century BC example from Apollonia, near to Lofkënd (Amore 2010, 598, 602, fig. 10.32).
 - 11 Cf. Lofkënd fine dark ware and forms as described by Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 228, 234–236. Wardle 1972, 208–209; Tartaron 2004, 77; Vasileiou 2015a, 96–97 (*Κεραμική Κατηγορία 3 Με επιέστη διακόσμηση*); 2015b (general characterisation of Handmade Burnished Ware).
 - 12 In support of Minyan prototypes, see Dakaris 1952, 370–373; Bejko 1994, 111; Tartaron 2004, 83. In support of Urnfield prototypes, see Vokotopoulou 1986, 356. For a full discussion of how *Κατηγορία III*'s fabric was defined, see Vasileiou 2015a, 18, 96–97. Enumerating instances of production of Handmade Burnished Wares by region, see Vasileiou 2015b.
 - 13 Tartaron 2004, 83–84.
 - 14 High-fired Chalky Buff Ware ceramic fragments with Hellenistic forms at Kalivo, as well as tiles with stamps from the nearby site of Cape Stillo, demonstrate that the fabric was used not only in the LBA but also in historical periods.
 - 15 Devollian Wares were identified and described by Frano Prendi (1974) and by Zhaneta Andrea (1985). Sovjan Matt-Painted Wares are discussed in Gori and Krapf 2015, 117–119; cf. 'fine light wares' at Lofkënd in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 227–228. Studies of Matt-Painted Wares (fine light wares) in comparison with proportions of fine dark wares in Korça and Kolonja tumuli (including Rehovë, Luaras, and Kamenicë) include Horejs 2007; Agolli 2014; 2016.
 - 16 Overviews of KIV Ware distribution at Greek Epirote sites are provided by Tartaron 2004, 84–89; Vasileiou 2015a, 18–19, 99–114 (*αμυρόχρομη διακόσμηση*). Early Kastritsa KIV ware is described by Dakaris 1951, 180–182. 'Boubousti Ware' (another alias for Matt-Painted Ware) from Vitsa is characterised by Vokotopoulou 1986, 155–258.
 - 17 As demonstrated by Agolli 2020, 27–28.
 - 18 Prendi (1974, 121) suggested that Matt-Painted Wares spread from north to south, and Vokotopoulou (1986, 364–366) argued for a spread from south to north. For examinations of Matt-Painted Wares as local expressions of a broad-ranged, collective style, see Tartaron 2004, 85–87; Horejs 2007; Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 241–242 (noting the style's presence during the 12th–11th centuries); Agolli 2020, 28.
 - 19 Tiles were not examined as diagnostics and were not included in counts and weights for diagnostic ceramics.
 - 20 It was difficult, in many cases, to distinguish whether rim sherds came from open form table wares such as small-diameter cups or from closed forms like jars or pouring vessels, because of small vessel diameters and untreated vessel surfaces.
 - 21 Cf. Tartaron 2004, 111, fig. 5.40 and 101e; Krapf 2018, 73–75, pl. 1, Ca (kantharos).
 - 22 See Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 232, Lofkënd stemmed goblet [P082].
 - 23 See descriptions for Lofkënd fine light ware in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 228, as well as those of Sovjan Orange Ware in Krapf 2018, 77–78 and table VII.
 - 24 For Epirote Orange Red Ware and its chronological associations, see Wardle 1972; 1977; Tartaron 2004, 88–89; Vasileiou 2015a, 97–99 (*Πορτοκαλέρυθρη κεραμική*).
 - 25 For similar observations at Sovjan, see Gori and Krapf 2015, 109–110; at sites in Ioannina Prefecture, Vasileiou 2015a, 223–225; and in northwestern Greece, Wardle 1977, 181.
 - 26 Mursi's date for Powdery Orange Ware is earlier than the chronologies proposed for Orange-Red Ware in southern Epirus by Tartaron (2004, 92–93, table 5.2) and Vasileiou (2015a, 195–196). However, Gori and Krapf (2015, 95, 109–110) note the presence of semi-fine Orange Ware in context 5c3 at Sovjan, dated by C-14 to 1603–1322 BC and observe continuity in the ware through later levels dating to the 11th century BC.
 - 27 It is believed that the residue in this case resulted from repeated heating processes, rather than from bitumen or black manganese, as observed at Lofkënd; see Pevnick and Agolli, 228–229.
 - 28 See, for example, Tartaron 2004, 171, figs 5.40, 101d, 101e, 103c; Gori and Krapf 2015, 112–113, figs 9.11 (large deep bowl), 9.13 (large deep bowl), and 9.14 (*pyraunos*); Krapf 2018, fig. 1, form Ma (deep bowl).
 - 29 See, for example, Tartaron 2004, fig. 101a.
 - 30 For the horseshoe handle, see Gori and Krapf 2015, 110, and also 108, fig. 8.2 (handle on s-shaped bowl). For the horizontal bell handle, see Gori and Krapf 2015, 100, 108, fig. 8.13 (deep large bowl); for the straight strap handle, see Gori and Krapf 2015, 100, 108, fig. 8.3 (*kantharos*). For the spined horizontal bell handle, see Korkuti 2003b, 255, table V, fig. 19 and Amore 2010, 349–350.
 - 31 See also Tartaron 2004, 107, fig. 5.29 (triangle profile);

- Gori and Krapf 2015, 106–108, 110, and 112, figs 7.10 (oval profile), 8.6 (triangle profile), and 9.3 (round profile, though Mursi examples do not have grooving).
- 32 See Vasileiou 2015a, 94–96 for a petrological and qualitative definition of *Κεραμική Κατηγορία* 2 and 3 at LBA sites from Ioannina Prefecture: coarse and semi-fine wares with monochrome fabric and predominantly plastic and incised decoration. Krapf (2018, 77) confirms the applicability of Vasileiou's categories to sites in southeastern Albania. See also Lofkënd's coarse wares described by Pevnick and Agolli (2014, 238–239), who identify fabric and decorative features similar to Vasileiou's.
 - 33 Tartaron (2004, 71–81) offers a thorough discussion of KII and KIII ceramics. For the view that KII and KIII were produced from the same clay source, see Wardle 1977, 181.
 - 34 Tartaron 2004, 92–93; Vasileiou 2015a, 204–205.
 - 35 Thin-walled examples from Figs 21.18, 21.19 and 21.20 compare to Tartaron 2004, fig. 103b; see also Gori and Krapf 2015, 110, 108, fig. 8.11 (s-shaped bowl); Krapf 2018, 73–75, pl. 1, Ca (s-profile kantharos).
 - 36 See Krapf 2018, 73–75, pl. 1, Jt (shallow bowl); Tartaron 2004, fig. 101i; Amore 2010, 349.
 - 37 See Tartaron 2004, fig. 101a.
 - 38 In general, there were few identifiable closed forms from Area 1. This underrepresentation may indicate that the proportionality of open versus closed vessels is not statistically meaningful at Mursi.
 - 39 For horizontal oval, see Tartaron 2004, fig. 5.25. For vertical strap, horizontal bell, and vertical lug handles, see Amore 2010, 349–350.
 - 40 See Morris 2006, 101–102.
 - 41 Gori and Krapf (2015, 111–113) note that *pyraunoi* begin to accompany traditional jars and large bowl forms and suggest that they were adopted from styles circulating in the southwestern Balkans, believing that a larger distribution existed throughout Albania and Greece than presently thought. Pevnick and Agolli (2014, 235) identified a few forms at Lofkënd.
 - 42 Stratified LBA fragments in Chalky Buff and Powdery Orange Wares are represented by low-fired or sunbaked chunks of raw clay that survive as friable, powdery pieces.
 - 43 As observed by Agolli (2014, 121–124) and Gori and Krapf (2015, 115), but as also recorded within Greek Epirus by Wardle (1972; 1977, 181), who speculates that the ware was the product of a more standardized process of preparation and firing than previous semi-fine KII wares in the region. Cf. also Vasileiou (2015a, 228–229; 2015b, 101), who remarks that Handmade Burnished Ware, likely a broadly defined and distributed Greek Epirote equivalent to Pavllas Burnished Black and Grey Ware, appears in the 13th century BC and is no longer present after approximately 1200 BC.
 - 44 As noted previously, Gori and Krapf (2015, 95, 109–110) observed Orange Ware fabrics in well-stratified Late Bronze Age 5c3 occupation levels at the southeastern Albanian site of Sovjan (1603–1322 BC), beginning with more coarse ware forms and then appearing in semi-fine and fine wares with subsequent LBA and EIA levels. Agolli (2014, 121–125) dates the emergence of fine light ware, which resembles semi-fine versions of Pavllas Powdery Orange Ware but which has a more polished surface treatment, to the very end of the Late Bronze Age. Vasileiou 2015a, 195 notes the presence of Orange-Red Wares in Greek Epirus in LHIIC or slightly thereafter, appearing at such sites as Dodona, Krya and Liatovouni. For additional impressions of Orange-Red Ware at Dodona, see Wardle 1972, 204–205; 1977, 180–181. For descriptions of the ware from Krya, see Douzougli and Zachos 1994, 13 (designated as Category 3). For discussion of Orange-Red Ware's Iron Age appearance at the cemetery of Vitsa, see Vokotopoulou 1986, 362.
 - 45 Concerning modes of long-range versus short-range contacts and networks of communication, see Campbell 1964, 7–10; Douzougli 1996, 43, fig. 2; Tartaron and Zachos 1999, 63, 71–72; Douzougli and Zachos 2002; Tartaron 2004, 154, 157, 171, 206, 210; Horejs 2007; Galaty, Bey and Ward 2014, 14; Galaty *et al.* 2013; Agolli 2014, 211–212; Vasileiou 2015a, 226–228.
 - 46 I thank Emily Glass for her help during clay prospection, Jiyan Gu for performing the ICP-MS analysis for this study, and Michael Galaty for his analysis of the element groups and for the enthusiasm and encouragement he has provided as a collaborator in the chemical analysis component of this project. Additional thanks go to Tim Ward, head of the Keck Center. I thank the University of Cincinnati's Department of Classics for a Cedric Boulter Award in 2012 in support of this research. Contributors to the forthcoming study will be Machal Gradoz, Michael Galaty, Ilirian Gjipali and David Hernandez.
 - 47 Samples of clay were collected from Kalivo, Cape Stillo and Butrint in 2011, and were tested and clustered with diagnostic ceramics and unfired controls (e.g. daub, mudbrick) from each site. Clay prospecting was not completed at the site of Mursi. For full outline of sample collection and analysis, see Galaty, Bey and Ward 2014.
 - 48 Models for how this could have occurred vary. The argument of Vasileiou (2015, 228) for deliberate selection of particular technical applications of potters in Ioannina Prefecture during the LBA and EIA may apply in the Pavllas River Valley, as does also the suggestion by Agolli (2016, 323) that variance in ceramic styles in tumuli of Korça and Kolonja during the LBA and EIA likely occurred due to exogamy and movement of women, as primary producers and users of ceramics at the household level.
 - 49 See the coarse sherd with plastic decoration in Lima 2013, 35, fig. 3.4 and 10/311 [P360] in Pevnick and Agolli 2014, 237–238.
 - 50 As described by Vasileiou (2015a, 195), who summarizes descriptions from several sites and in depth by Wardle (1972, 204), who describes a fine, bright orange fabric from Dodona with few inclusions and either fully oxidised or grey cores that leaves powder on the excavator's hands.
 - 51 For arguments for KII/KIII serving as household wares only, see Wardle 1972, 208; Tartaron 2004, 73–74. Exogamy has been examined ethnographically in northern Albania by the Shala Valley Project in Mustafa and Young 2008, 92, but it remains to be explored in southwestern Albania, see Galaty, Bey and Ward 2014, 18–19 with preliminary conclusions on this issue. Concerning southeastern Albanian exchange of ceramic styles through intermarriage, see Agolli 2014, 212; 2016, 323.
 - 52 See the analysis of Lindblom, Gauss and Kiriati 2012, 229 of Minoan cooking wares imported to Kolonna, Aegina, during the Middle Bronze Age.
 - 53 In addition to a survey of Korça basin by Bejko forthcoming, the region features comparatively extensive studies of LBA and EIA settlement sites. For Sovjan, see Lera, Prendi

and Touchais 1996; Prendi, Lera and Touchais 2000; Lera and Touchais 2001; 2002; Lera, Touchais and Oberweiler 2008; Lera, Oberweiler and Touchais 2008; Gori and Krapf 2015; Krapf 2018. For cemetery assemblages, see Bejko forthcoming for Kamenicë; Aliu 2012 for Rehovë; Aliu 2004 for Luaras.

54 Vasileiou 2015b.

55 Agolli (2014, 161–162; 2016) considers networks of influence by examining proportions of formal and decorative conventions in fine light and fine dark pottery from 49 Albanian sites and concludes that Korça significantly influenced numerous sites in south central and southeastern Albania during the LBA and EIA. Ceramics from the site

of Pazhok (central Albania), in turn, showed conventions of style and form that seemed to follow northern sites. Meanwhile, at the west central Albanian site of Lofkënd, Pevnick and Agolli (2014, 245–256) note that fine light ceramics appear influenced by Korça, whereas fine dark ceramics seem influenced by sites from northern Albania. Gori and Krapf (2015, 95) note a surge of connections that accompany the advent of Matt-Painted Wares at Sovjan in the last part of the LBA, including *pyraunoi* forms and Mycenaean imports. Vasileiou proposes that a burgeoning connection with the social practices of Mycenaean traders during the 11th century BC accelerated the development of Matt-Painted Wares and Orange-Red Wares in Epirus.

22 The Hellenistic Pottery from Mursi, Albania

Nadia Aleotti

Introduction

The Hellenistic pottery examined in this study was recovered from three excavated trenches at the hilltop site of Mursi (Albania) in 2010 (see Table 22.1, with sherd counts).¹ Many of the potsherds are fragmentary and in poor condition, which, in a number of cases, prevents the identification of shapes related to known typologies. On account of this, the assemblage was separated into diagnostic (identifiable parts of vessels, especially rims, from which it is possible to recognise types with associated dates) and non-diagnostic fragments. The majority of fragments could only be assigned to the Hellenistic period generally. Nevertheless, the recovered diagnostic fragments provide valuable information related to Hellenistic pottery at Mursi and aspects of the occupation of the site.

Despite the fragmentary condition of the pottery, almost all excavated contexts show the presence of different classes of Hellenistic pottery, which include black-glazed pottery, amphoras, and common and coarse wares, attesting to a secure Hellenistic occupation of the site. Even in the case of non-diagnostic fragments with unidentifiable forms, many can be assigned to the Hellenistic period on the basis of their technical features, which belong to well-known classes in other sites in northern Epirus.

Ceramic Identification and Analysis

Black-glazed pottery may be considered a ‘fossil guide’ for Hellenistic regional ceramics. They are present in the majority of excavated contexts at Mursi. On the basis of their technical features and shapes, virtually all the Mursi fragments in this category belong to a local production that is well attested at major sites in the region, particularly at Butrint and Phoinike.² Only one wall fragment found in Context 10 (Unit 3, Area 2) shows different features that suggest an Attic provenance.³ It comes from the fill of a robbing pit made in the 3rd-2nd century BC,

containing mixed pottery with late glazed pottery and no other diagnostic fragments. This find suggests that Attic imports were able to reach minor sites, like Mursi, in the Hellenistic period.

One of the most interesting assemblages came from Context 3 (Unit 5, Area 2), a deposit which sealed a goat-path or road after the site’s abandonment (see Chapter 20: Fig. 20.41). On the basis of several shapes and classes, the

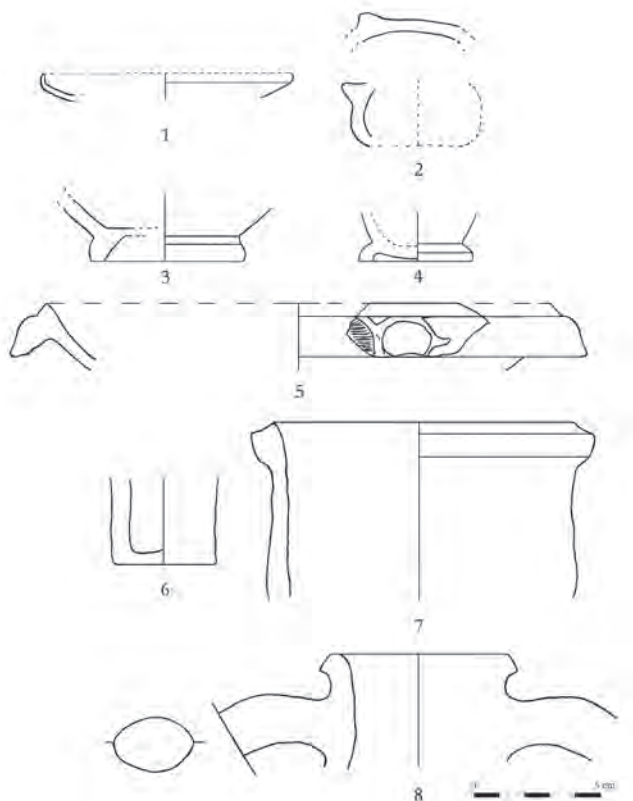


Figure 22.1. Hellenistic pottery from Context 3 (Unit 5, Area 2) (Drawn by Nadia Aleotti)

Table 22.1. Pottery data with counts from excavations at Mursi in 2010

Context	Area	Pre-Hellenistic	Black glazed	Lamps	Common ware	Coarse ware	Amphora	Dolia	Glazed pottery (post-Roman)
3	6		1 rim of plate 1 ring base of cup 1 ring base of a skyphos 5 ring bases 4 walls	1 wall fragment with a little handle	1 rim 1 flat-bottom 2 bases 4 handles 19 walls	1 rim of Hellenistic mortar, with "piecrust handles" 1 rim of little based amphora 1 rim 26 walls	1 rim of Hellenistic Corinthian type B	3 walls	3
4	2		1 rim 1 wall 1 wall		1 base 20 walls 1 handle 10 walls	1 handle 7 walls 4 walls			1 base 1 wall 3 rims 2 handles 1 wall 1 rim
5	2						1 handle 1 wall	2 walls	
10	2		1 Attic wall		1 rim 1 handle 6 walls	5 walls	2 walls		
15	2				1 handle 2 walls 7 walls	4 walls		1 rim	
19	2					8 walls			
20	2				1 handle 5 walls 1 wall 2 bases 5 walls	1 handle 10 walls 1 wall 10 walls			
24	2		1 rim of kantharos				1 wall		
27	2		2 ring bases of the same kantharos				10 walls	1 wall	
28	2				1 handle 11 walls	2 handles 12 walls	2 chipped rim of the same amphora 4 walls		
30	2	2 walls	1 handle of kantharos		4 walls	1 handles 11 walls	1 handle		
31	2		1 rim of cup? 2 bases 2 walls 1 wall		9 walls	4 rims 30 walls	3 walls		
34	2				9 walls	2 rims 1 handle 36 walls	18 walls	1 rim 1 base 13 walls	

Context	Area	Pre-Hellenistic	Black glazed	Lamps	Common ware	Coarse ware	Amphora	Dolia	Glazed pottery (post-Roman)
35	2				2 walls	2 handles 9 walls			
37	2		9 walls		4 rims 3 handles 21 walls	1 rim of Hellenistic mortar, with "piecrust handles" 2 rims 1 base 56 walls 5 rims 41 walls			
38	2				1 rim 10 walls 4 walls 5 walls		4 walls		
43	2								
45	2	6 walls	2 walls			1 handle 3 walls 4 rims 1 base 1 handle 28 walls 2 handles 10 walls	13 walls		
46	2		4 walls		3 rims 3 bases 1 handle 21 walls 1 rim 11 walls				
47	2				8 walls 1 wall	2 walls 1 rim 4 walls 3 walls 1 rim 1 base 4 handles 53 walls 1 wall			
53	2		1 wall						
62	2	6 walls							
64	2	2 walls					2 walls		
69	2		1 ribbed wall						
73	2	1 handle			1 rim 11 walls		2 walls		
74	2								
75	2	3 rims 69 walls	1 base 4 walls		4 bases 13 walls	4 rims 1 handle 2 walls 2 walls 1 handle 9 walls 1 wall			
77	2	10 walls			2 walls 5 walls			9 walls?	
78	2	7 walls							
79	2		1 rim of cup						
81	2		1 rim 1 wall of amphoriskos		3 walls				
83	2				1 wall 5 walls				
84	2	1 rim 1 handle 19 walls							
88	2	1 rim 1 rim 2 walls				1 rim 4 walls		2 walls	

Context	Area	Pre-Hellenistic	Black glazed	Lamps	Common ware	Coarse ware	Amphora	Dolia	Glazed pottery (post-Roman)
92	2	14 walls			8 walls	1 rim 9 walls			
95	2	3 walls			1 wall				
97	2	5 rims 2 handles 32 walls	1 wall		1 rim 1 handle of jug 7 walls 3 rims	2 rims 25 walls			
101	2	2 rims 22 walls	1 bottom and 1 wall of a kantharos			1 rim 1 handle 2 walls	1 wall		
22	7				4 walls	2 handles 2 walls 11 walls			
33	7				1 rim 8 walls 18 walls		2 walls		
54	7					2 handles 1 wall	2 walls	4 walls	
55	7						1 walls		



Figure 22.2. Flat base of a miniature amphora from Context 3 (Unit 5, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)

ceramics date to the 3rd to early 2nd century BC. This date is suggested mainly by a black-glazed plate, a mortar, and a rim of Hellenistic Corinthian type B amphora. A little rim with traces of black glaze belongs to a plate with rolled rim (Fig. 22.1 n.1) that is well attested as a local/regional production from the mid-3rd to early 2nd century BC.⁴ The same date can be suggested for a typical Hellenistic mortar with piecrust handles (Fig. 22.1 n.5)⁵ as well as for a rim from a Corinthian type B amphora (Fig. 22.1 n.7). Because of its vertical profile, the rim can be assigned to a 3rd century BC variant of the proposed Butrint local production of this Hellenistic amphora type.⁶ In addition, a small black-glazed ring base of a bowl (Fig. 22.1 n.3) and a fragment of a lamp with traces of black glaze (Fig. 22.1 n.2) date to this same period, while another ring base of a *skyphos* (Fig. 22.1 n.4) might even be earlier, dating to the late 4th to early 3rd century BC.⁷ The rim of a coarse amphora remains enigmatic (Fig. 22.1 n.8); it consists of the local coarse chert fabric but its type is unique, with no known comparable example. Finally, a small flat bottom might belong to a miniature amphora used as an oil container (Figs 22.1 n.6 and 22.2).⁸

No other single context produced such a range of diagnostic Hellenistic fragments, but diagnostic forms were recognised also in at least six other contexts. Beginning with the black-glazed pottery, the most abundant type is the Hellenistic *kantharos*, which is well attested in two variants of local/regional production and found at Mursi in Contexts 27, 30, and 101 in Area 2. The ribbed wall from Context 101 (Figs 22.3 n.1 and 22.4) and the fragmented high-moulded base from Context 27 (Fig. 22.3 n.2) belong to a *kyma kantharos*, dated to the 3rd century BC.⁹ The small strip handle from Context 30 (Fig. 22.3 n.3) belongs to another regional variant that continues into the 2nd century BC¹⁰, while the little rim from Context 27 (Fig. 22.3 n.4) can belong to either aforementioned *kantharos*

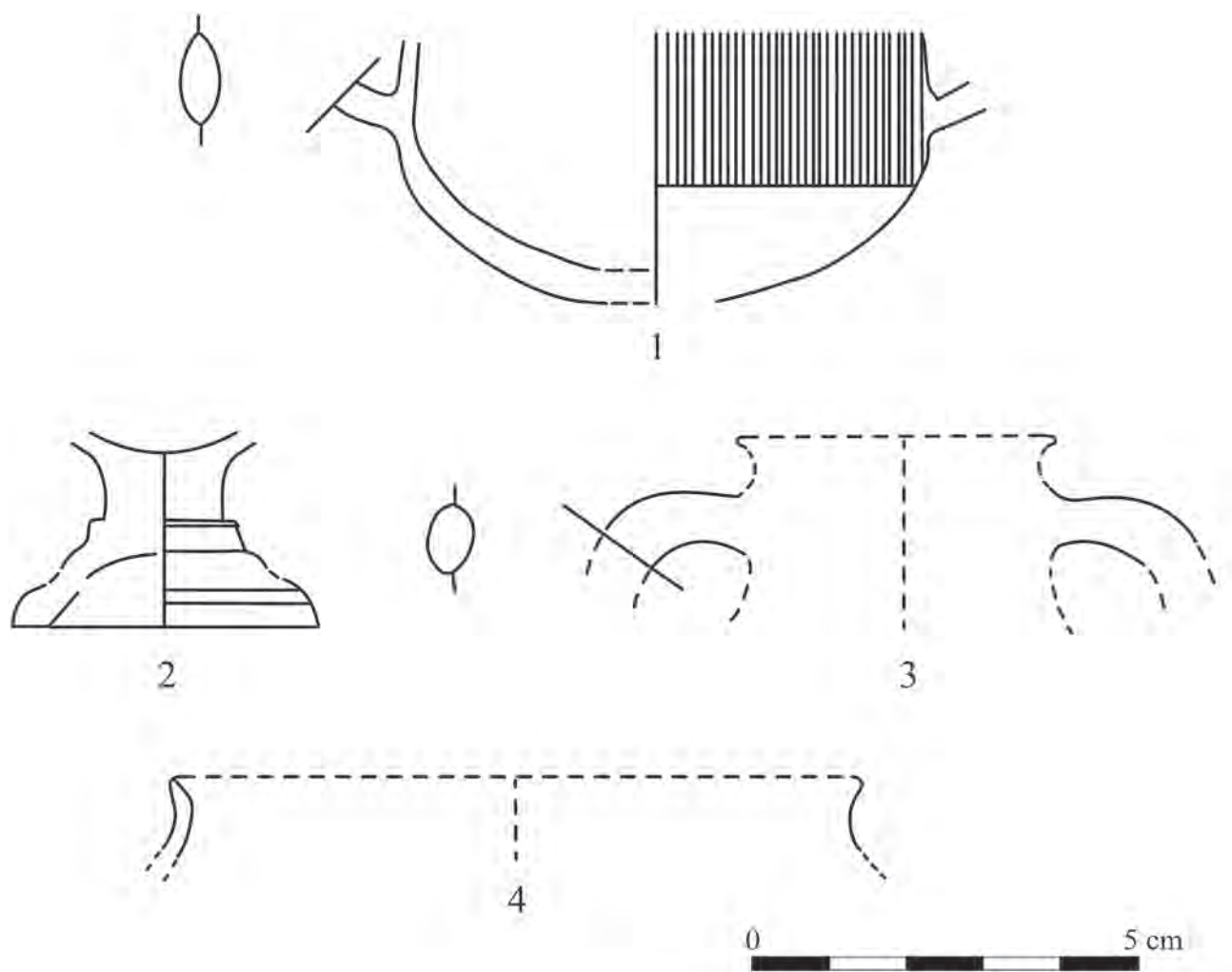


Figure 22.3. Black-glazed kantharoi from Mursi (Drawn by Nadia Aleotti)

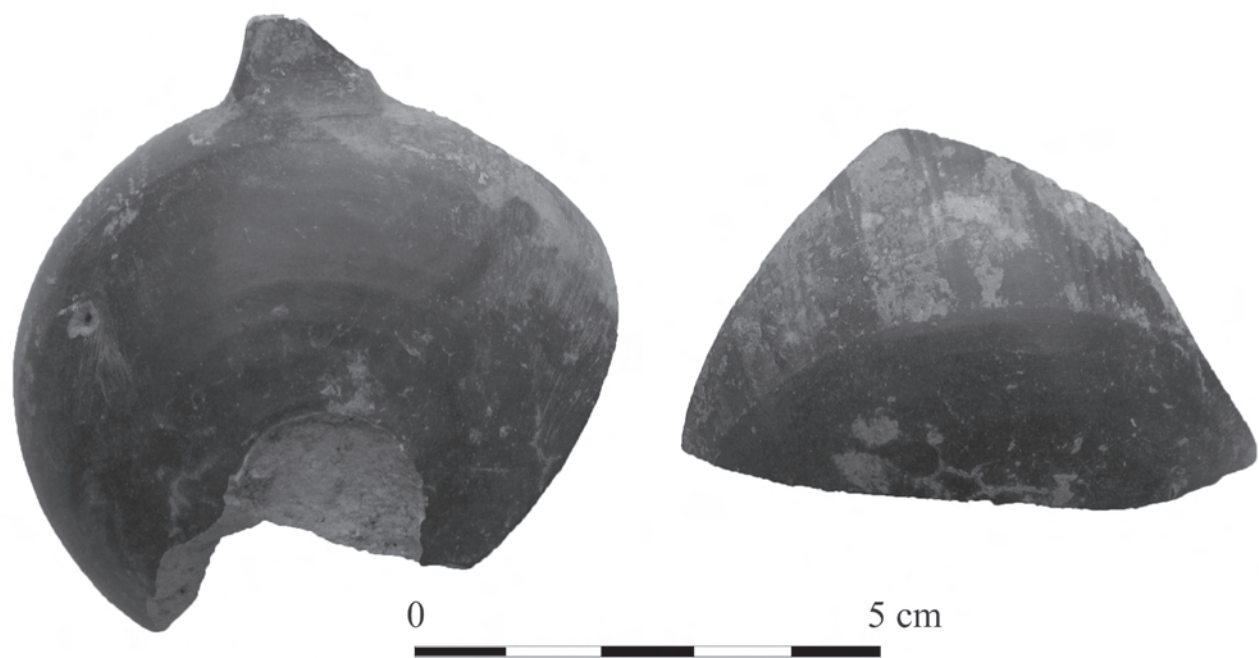


Figure 22.4. Black-glazed kantharos from Context 101 (Unit 2, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)



Figure 22.5. Fragment of a black-glazed amphoriskos with plastic handle from Context 81 (Unit 3, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)

variant. Other diagnostic black-glazed fragments include the plastic handle on a wall fragment from Context 81 in Area 2 (Fig. 22.5), which is an early Hellenistic small *amphoriskos*¹¹, and a rim cup from Context 79 in Area 2 (Fig. 22.6 n.2), dated to the 3rd century BC.¹² The final identifiable types are a second Hellenistic mortar with piecrust handle (Figs 22.6 n.1 and 22.7) from Context 37 in Area 2 and a flat base of a miniature amphora (Figs 22.6 n.3 and 22.8) from Context 75 in Area 2, both similar to those from Context 3.

Fragments of *dolia* were found in many contexts (Contexts 6, 15, 34, 78, 88 in Area 2; Context 54 in Area 7; see Table 22.1) and attest to the storage of goods that are probably linked to the agricultural activities in which the rural site was involved. Finally, two conical loom weights with suspending hole were recovered from burial fills, Contexts 88 (Fig. 22.9, height c. 8 cm) and 97 (broken in the upper part), both from Area 2. The intact loom weight was found in an adult female burial whereas the broken

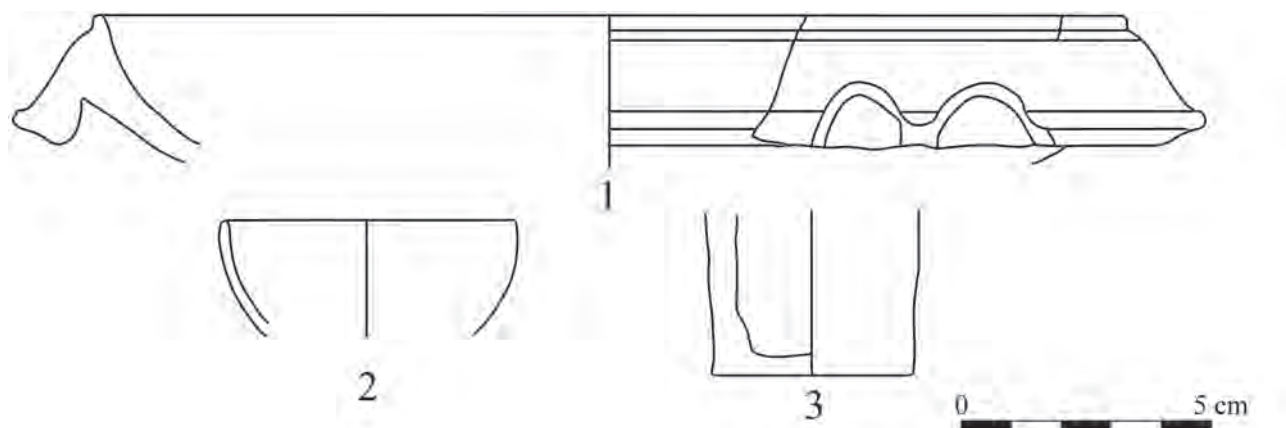


Figure 22.6. Mortar rim, black-glazed cup and flat base of miniature amphora from Mursi (Drawn by Nadia Aleotti)

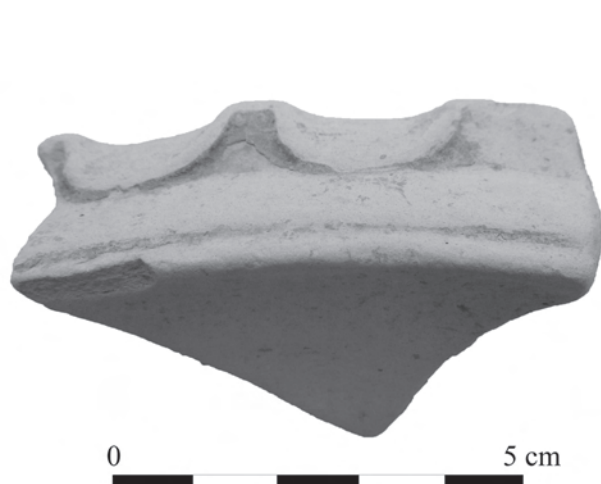


Figure 22.7. Mortar rim from Context 37 (Unit 2, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)



Figure 22.8. Flat base of a miniature amphora from Context 3 (Unit 5, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)



Figure 22.9. Conical loom weight from female burial, Context 88 (Unit 3, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)

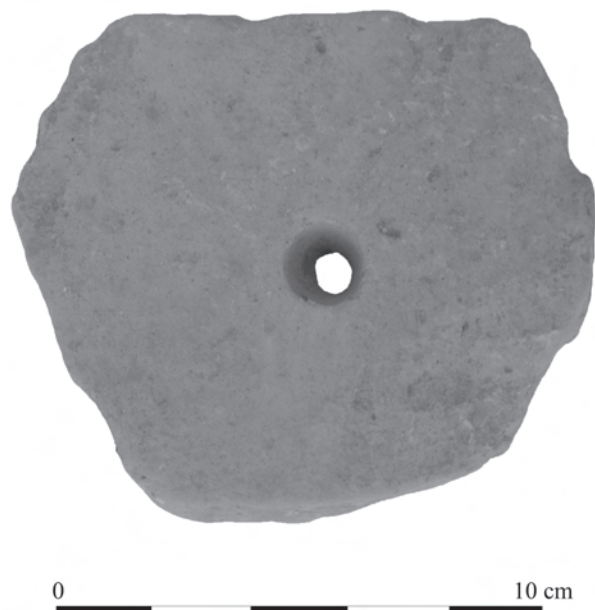


Figure 22.10. Weight from Context 47 (Unit 2, Area 2) (Photo by Nadia Aleotti)

loom weight was found in an adult male burial. A third possible weight is a clay fragment (perhaps a tile) with a central hole, which seems intentionally cut and shaped, from Context 47 in Area 2 (Fig. 22.10). This object was found in the early Hellenistic robbing fill of the LBA fortification/retaining wall.

Conclusion

The study of Hellenistic ceramics from Mursi reveals a number of features related to the historical occupation of the site. All identifiable forms can be dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, whereas no pottery from the 1st century BC and onward was found, thereby excluding any Roman occupation of the site, which judging from the pottery alone was abandoned before the 1st century BC. At the other end of the spectrum, a number of early deposits contained not only Hellenistic material but also non-wheel-turned pottery associated with an earlier occupation of the site in the Late Bronze Age (see Chapters 20 and 21).

In respect to the Hellenistic phases, materials such as *dolia* suggest that the use of the site involved storage of goods, which were linked to the agricultural exploitation of the surrounding territory, as befitted a rural site like Mursi. On the other hand, however, the broad presence of black-glazed fine-ware pottery directly comparable to that found at the major urban sites of the region, particularly at Butrint and Phoinike, suggests that the site operated in a dimension that was greater than that of a rural agricultural site alone.

The occupants at Mursi shared in the refined tastes normally associated with urban elite, that is to say, in the consumption of wine according to the traditions of the *symposium*. In this respect, it is interesting to compare the Hellenistic pottery from Mursi to that from Matomara, which is a similar rural site in the region near Phoinike. Although Matomara was shown to be intimately connected to the agricultural exploitation of Phoinike's territory, excavations at the site recovered large amounts of local/regional black-glazed pottery, including a 5th-century BC Attic import.¹³ The discovery of an imported Attic fragment at Mursi shows that the taste for refined tableware was widespread, encompassing not only the urban centres of Epirote *koina* but also the smaller towns and sites in the hinterland in this peripheral region of ancient Greece.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank David Hernandez (University of Notre Dame) and Dhimitër Çondi (Albanian Institute of Archaeology) for the opportunity to study the Hellenistic pottery from Mursi and for their kind collaboration in this project.
- 2 Because of technical and morphological similarities of black-glazed pottery from many different sites in the region and the absence of identifiable kilns, no secure production centres have been identified. For this reason, the term 'local production' means 'regional production'. For this definition

and for the main features of local production of black-glazed pottery, see Gamberini 2016, 42–43 (this includes technical features, mainly fine dusty clay from beige to light orange/pink with matt diluted glaze from dark grey to dark brown glaze).

- 3 The Attic origin is suggested on the basis of its macroscopic technical features (without archaeometric analyses): fine pinkish fabric (5 YR 7/6 reddish-yellow) with lustrous compact black glaze (10YR 2/1 black).
- 4 Gamberini 2016, 100–101.
- 5 Rotroff 2006, 100–102. The same mortar is attested at Phoinike; see Gamberini 2018, 720, pl. 5, n. 6.
- 6 The elongation of the neck and the vertical bifid rim are typical of the 3rd century BC variant of the local production suggested for Butrint, see Aleotti and Bolzoni 2018 for a preliminary study of Hellenistic Corinthian type B amphoras from 2011–2014 Butrint Roman Forum Excavation Project. The hypothesis of a Butrint local production of this amphora type was presented by the author in a lecture entitled ‘Hellenistic “Corinthian Type B” amphoras from Butrint (southern Albania): Reconsidering their typology and role in the regional Hellenistic economy’ at the 4th International

Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period Conference in Athens, 11–14 November 2019.

- 7 The *skyphos* can be compared to the Attic Type A from the Athenian agora: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 84–85. This variant is not attested in the principal regional study of black-glazed pottery, in which *skyphoi* (Corinthian type and with ribbed wall) are dated to the late 4th–early 3rd century BC: Gamberini 2016, 62–64. Considering that no other diagnostic fragments from the contexts examined at Mursi date earlier than the 3rd century BC, the date of this *skyphos* is likely no earlier than the late 4th–early 3rd century BC.
- 8 See miniature amphoras from the Athenian Agora, mostly Rhodian imports: Rotroff 2006, 160–161. Fragments from Mursi cannot be assigned to the same category of imports because of differing technical features and shape. Nevertheless, a similar function (oil container) is likely.
- 9 Gamberini 2016, 54–57.
- 10 For *kantharoi* with ‘ear shaped handles’, see Gamberini 2016, 58–62.
- 11 Gamberini 2016, 121–123, n. 371.
- 12 For a comparison, see Bereti 1998, Tav. III, n. 31.
- 13 Aleotti 2012.

23 The Coins from Mursi, Albania: The Discovery of a New Chaonian Issue

William S. Bubelis and Elena Baldi

Two bronze coins were discovered during the excavations of the hilltop site at Mursi, near Butrint, in 2010. One is a new coin type issued by the *koinon* of the Chaonians, whose territory extended to Butrint (*Bouthrotos*) and the site at Mursi from its capital at Phoinike in the 3rd century BC.

1. Korkyra (Kerkyra/ Corcyra), 400-300 BC (Fig. 23.1)

Small Find 5; Context 83

Bronze (AE)

Obverse: Amphora, with letters K O

Reverse: Bunch of grapes; [] Λ

3.6 g; 17 mm diameter; 3 mm thickness; axis 3:00

The coin shows, on the obverse, an amphora with the letter K to its left and O to its right, and, on the reverse, a bunch of grapes with stalk. The type dates to the 4th century BC and is one of the two main productions of the mint in Kerkyra (Korkyra).¹ Similar examples have been recovered from previous excavations at Butrint, Phoinike and in nearby areas of northwestern Greece, attesting to the commercial relationship between the island of Kerkyra and Epirus.



Figure 23.1. Bronze coin minted by Korkyra (Kerkyra), 400–300 BC (Photo by David Hernandez)

2. Koinon of the Chaonians (Khaones),

c. 250–210 BC (Fig. 23.2)

Small Find 11; Context 97

Bronze (AE)

Obverse: Head of Artemis, facing right; quiver behind neck

Reverse: Laurel wreath surrounding horizontal thunderbolt, with letters X above and A below

1.9 g; 15 mm diameter; 3 mm thickness; axis 11:00

This coin represents the discovery coin of a previously unknown issue struck by the Epirote *ethnos* of the Chaonians (Khaones). The identification rests upon the unique presence of the letters *khi* and *alpha*, which constitute the abbreviated *ethnikon Kha(onôn)*, in conjunction with types that the Chaonian as well as other Epirote mints had already employed for a century.

With regard to the obverse type, Artemis had already appeared on an extremely rare issue of similar small bronzes struck by the Chaonians in the early to mid-4th century BC (c. 360–330 BC) presumably at Phoinike.² These early Chaonian coins are represented by five bronze denominations, two of which feature Artemis on the obverse.³ The reverse of one depicts the thunderbolt but not the wreath, while the other bears an eagle perched to the right on a thunderbolt with *khi* and *alpha* in ligature. Two types do employ the wreath: Athena/*khi-alpha* monogram in wreath⁴ and *khi-alpha* monogram in wreath/eagle standing right on thunderbolt.⁵ The other early bronze issue of the Chaonians (bull right/eagle standing right on thunderbolt, *khi-alpha* monogram⁶) may have been struck slightly later (c. 330 BC), displaying on its reverse the

thunderbolt, as does this coin from Mursi. Notwithstanding the iconographic and stylistic connections with these earlier coins, given that the Mursi coin shows the thunderbolt between the *khi* and *alpha*, it is unique among all known coins of the Chaonians and represents a new, previously unpublished series that was minted much later (see below). The style of the Mursi coin also appears to differ from these earlier coins, even with respect to the image of Artemis on the obverse, insofar as it displays the goddess with a more erect posture in her neck and head than on the earlier coins, while its reverse elements are more compact and well-defined than on the 4th-century coins.

Of special note are bronzes struck by the Epirote Symmarchy (330–234 BC) and subsequently by the Epirote Republic (234–168 BC) that feature Artemis as an obverse type along with a reverse bearing a laurel wreath surrounding either a quiver⁷ (c. 250–235 BC) or a spearhead⁸ (c. 234–168 BC), along with an abbreviated *ethnikon*.

The reverse type of wreath with thunderbolt is typical of the bronzes of Kassopia (c. 215–195?) (oak wreath, and with eagle on the silver drakhmai⁹), and had already appeared in Molossian bronzes of the 4th century BC (c. 360–325 BC).¹⁰ The thunderbolt within wreath (almost always of oak) also appeared on various silver and bronze denominations minted by the Epirote Symmarchy¹¹ and Epirote Republic.¹²

It should be noted that in the years immediately before the destruction of the Epirote Republic in 168 BC, the Chaonians struck a final issue of bronze coins¹³ (e.g. bull to right, with *khi-alpha* monogram/three ears of grain



Figure 23.2. Bronze coin minted by the koinon of the Chaonians, c. 250–210 BC (Photo by David Hernandez)

within ivy wreath). In terms of general style, quality of engraving, and fabric, the Mursi coin is far more similar to the earlier Chaonian coins than to the final ones, which are more akin to the relatively crude bronzes of the Athamanes¹⁴ (c. 168–146 BC or later) and nearby Epirote civic mints struck after 168 BC (e.g. the thunderbolt and oak-wreath bronzes of Pandosia,¹⁵ c. 168–148? BC).

The regional numismatic comparanda support a date in the 3rd century BC. Some further chronological precision may be possible at this juncture in light of the coin's archaeological context. The coin was found in an adult male inhumation burial, together with a small ritual deposit that included a black glazed *kantharos*, dated to the 3rd century BC (see Chapter 22: Figs 22.3 n.1 and Fig. 22.4). A charcoal sample from the burial fill was submitted for AMS radiocarbon C-14 dating, yielding a two-sigma (95% probability) date of 390–210 BC (see Chapter 20: Fig. 20.38). On the basis of the chronology of coins bearing Artemis as an obverse type, of coins bearing the thunderbolt and *khi-alpha* monogram in a wreath on the reverse, and the radiocarbon dating, the combined evidence suggests that the Mursi coin dates to c. 250–210 BC.

While the abundant Epirote Artemis coins provide no more than a loose confirmation of the chronology proposed here, the strong iconographic parallel they do provide suggests that it was in the context of Epirote political structures and events that the Chaonians decided to mint the coin and that, while it continues themes from 4th-century Chaonian coins, this coin displays an iconography that betokens the larger Epirote political structures to which the Chaonians belonged. However, given that the Mursi coin is at once unique and exhibits little to no wear, it is improbable that the Chaonians minted it in order to meet a need for low-denomination bronze coinage. The relatively abundant coins of the Epirote Symmarchy and

Republic, along with coins from various civic mints like Kerkyra and still others further afield, ought to have fully supplied common need for small change. It is likely also that the Chaonians employed the services of die-cutters and minters outside their immediate region, perhaps in unique circumstances. It is noteworthy that the coin itself is, by definition, the product of an entity capable of acting under its own sovereignty, in which case the coin may possess wider historical importance as evidence for the political claims of the Chaonians at a time or in circumstances that did not permit them to exercise those claims any further. We cannot assume, therefore, that the Chaonians issued this coin with the full knowledge and approval of their fellow Epirotes, but further research may elucidate the precise historical context of the Mursi coin.

Notes

- 1 Gardner 1963, 123 n. 146 ff.; Breitenstein and Schwabacher 1943, nos 165, 167; Gjongecaj 2005, 171–172, nos 258, 274. See also Fig. 20.35 for a one-sigma radiocarbon date (68% probability) of Deposit 83 to 390–360 BC.
- 2 Gjongecaj 2011, 133–134, table 9, n. 5; 2013, n. 192.
- 3 Gjongecaj 2011, 134, table 9.
- 4 Gjongecaj 2013, nos 1–4.
- 5 Gjongecaj 2013, nos 5–6.
- 6 Gjongecaj 2013, nos 8–12.
- 7 Franke 1961, nos 102–103.
- 8 Franke 1961, nos 391–397, 629–638.
- 9 Franke 1961, nos 69–83.
- 10 Franke 1961, nos 24–73.
- 11 Franke 1961, nos 1–55, 59–62, 70–95.
- 12 Franke 1961, nos 320–397, 639–654.
- 13 Gjongecaj 2005, 171, n. 231; 2007, 172, 175; 2011, 134–138; 2013, nos 13–20.
- 14 Franke 1961, nos 1–26.
- 15 Franke 1961, nos 1–16.

24 Pan at Butrint

David Hernandez, Richard Hodges, Selim Islami and Louise Schofield

Introduction

This chapter examines the archaeological and literary evidence for the worship of Pan at Butrint (*Bouthrotos*; *Buthrotum*). In 1981, a bronze statuette of Pan was discovered on Mount Mile in the environs of Butrint (Figs 24.1 and 24.2).¹ As one of the most finely crafted depictions of Pan in bronze known from the ancient world, it was immediately recognised as an exceptional work of art by archaeologists and political authorities alike in the isolated Communist nation of Albania. The find was placed in the National Archaeological Museum in Tirana.² In 1986, a national commemorative stamp was issued imprinted with the image of the figure (Fig. 24.3). The statuette was never formally published, but an account was written by the late Albanian archaeologist Selim Islami who retrieved the statuette after its chance discovery by the Albanian military (an adapted version of his account is presented below).³ According to local witnesses, soldiers found the statuette while installing an anti-aircraft gun emplacement near the long-abandoned Ottoman village of old Mursi, which overlooked the Vrina Plain and the Straits of Corfu.⁴ Reportedly, ruins of some ancient building and pottery were found as well, suggesting perhaps, in view of the setting, that a sanctuary of Pan stood there in antiquity. Over the years, archaeologists have found evidence to show that a sanctuary of Pan was also present in the ancient urban centre of Butrint. The significance of this sanctuary is demonstrated by a passage in the *Moralia* written by the Greek writer Plutarch under the Roman Empire that indirectly mentions Butrint in a well-known story concerning the death of Pan.

The Theriomorphic God

The worship of Pan (Πάν) was thought to have originated in the mountainous lands of Arcadia in the Peloponnese, in a

pastoral landscape similar to that of Epirus in northwestern Greece.⁵ The god's name is believed to come from the Arcadian Doric Πάων, which derives from an early Greek (Mycenaean) word for shepherd.⁶ Pan was, above all, a god of nature in all its forms, a god who lived in beautiful and wild countryside, who inhabited the shadows of woods and forests and haunted the pastures and the uplands of hills and mountains. He was, in essence, a personification of the life led by the human and mythical dwellers in such a landscape, and lived his life amongst them, with nymphs, herdsmen, and flocks as his constant companions. Although shrines were sometimes built to him in cities, his sanctuaries were more often to be found in wild and isolated places, on mountainsides, in grottos and in caves.⁷

Pan was a theriomorphic god, part goat and part human. In ancient art and literature, he was depicted typically in two distinct ways.⁸ One was more bestial, with goat-legs, large horns, cloven hooves, hairy body, thick beard and goat-like face. The other, as represented in the Pan statuette from Butrint, was more human, with goat legs and small horns to identify him. It is possible that the differences in type reflect diverse aspects of his character and worship.⁹ He was typically portrayed hunting, dancing, playing music or in pursuit of sex. In some cases, he was depicted, like Priapos, ithyphallic, as the protector of shepherds and herds and as a symbol of fertility and the robustness of the natural world. As a symbol of rural rather than urban life, Pan was closely associated with Dionysus and was often shown among his retinue, as seen, for example, on the famous Roman Dionysian wall paintings of the 1st century BC in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii. This conception of Pan is found in the earliest references to the god. In the Homeric Hymn dedicated to him (7th–6th centuries BC), Dionysus is said to have given Pan his name, as a pun on the word 'all' (πάντες) because the newborn infant was a delight to *all* the gods.¹⁰ In the hymn, Pan is described

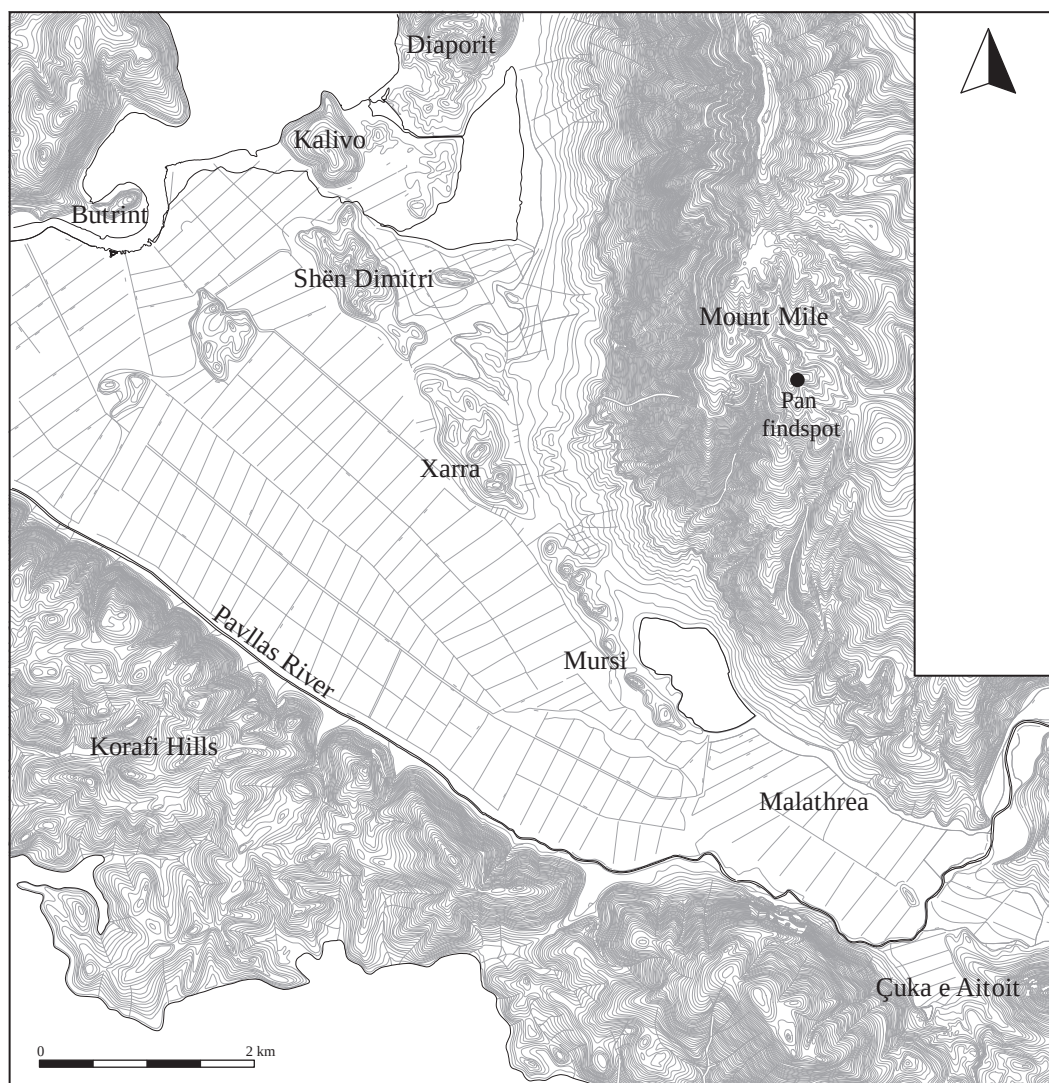


Figure 24.1. Findspot of the Pan statuette on Mount Mile, Butrint (Drawn by Sarah Leppard)

as the son of Hermes and the Arcadian princess Dryope. While most accounts accept Hermes as his father, there were different traditions concerning the god's mother.¹¹ Herodotus, writing in the 5th century BC, discusses Pan's origins:

'Among the Greeks, the youngest of the gods are considered to be Hercules, Dionysus, and Pan... Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Hercules son of Alcmena about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for the Greeks believe that Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) came after the Trojan war, about eight hundred years before me.'¹²

In his commentary to the *Aeneid*, Servius reports that Hermes took the form of a goat to rape Penelope while Odysseus was trying to return to Ithaca.¹³ The same author records another ancient tradition in which Odysseus

returned home only to find Pan among his household gods and learned that the goat-god was the offspring of Penelope and all 108 suitors.¹⁴

From Pan's Arcadian heartland, his worship spread to Athens and Attica in the early 5th century BC. Herodotus also recounts that the Athenian messenger Phidippides, who had been sent to Sparta to ask for help against the first Persian invasion, informed the Athenians upon his return that he met Pan on Mt. Parthenion above Tegea.¹⁵ Pan reportedly asked Phidippides why the Athenians paid him no attention since he supported them. According to Herodotus, 'the Athenians believed that these things were true.' After the victory at Marathon, the Athenians built a shrine to Pan in a cave on the northwestern slopes of the Acropolis in Athens and held animal sacrifices and torch-races every year in his honor.¹⁶ This cave was identified in 1896-1897, and the excavations found a fine rock-cut relief of Pan playing his pipes (*syrinx*) to nymphs.¹⁷ Pan was thought to have aided the Athenians in their victory,



Figure 24.2. Pan statuette (BF archive)

and a statue was erected to him at Marathon.¹⁸ Shortly thereafter, Pan and the nymphs began to be worshipped in caves throughout Attica, including one at Oinoe near Marathon. There are no representations of Pan known so far that predate this spread of his cult to Athens, but it seems probable that his goat-like nature was already established from the time he was first worshipped in Arcadia. Once his worship had taken root among the Athenians, it spread quickly to other areas of Greece and to Epirus as well.¹⁹ As his worship expanded, Pan retained his quintessential character as a god of nature, and this was reflected in the places at which he was worshipped.

The Pan Statuette (Figs 24.4–24.8)

(adapted from an archaeological report written by Selim Islami)

The statuette was found in the vicinity of Fshati i Vjetër, 'The Old Village', on Mount Mile, about 2 km from the cave near Shën Marina.²⁰ It was an unstratified find, discovered during the digging of a trench, which exposed the ruins of an ancient building. Walls of stone and mortar



Figure 24.3. Albanian national stamp with the image of the Pan statuette, issued in 1986 (BF archive)



Figure 24.4. Pan statuette (front view) (BF archive)



Figure 24.5. Pan statuette (three-quarter's view) (BF archive)



Figure 24.6. Pan statuette (back view) (BF archive)

structures and of two square cisterns with waterproof mortar were situated at the same location. The ruins belong to a small, ancient site; the current data is insufficient to define its nature and date.

The statuette is of particular quality, with a good surface-shine, standing to a height of 17 cm. It is broken below the knee, but otherwise in an excellent state of preservation. Pan is depicted as a mature bearded man with slightly coarsened features, a strong, muscular body, rough hair, pointed animal ears, and dewlaps hanging from either side of his chin. His eyes are wide and staring and his mouth slightly open. His face is shown with human features; the horns are discreetly rendered and the ears small.

From the waist up he is essentially human, though from the waist down he has the characteristic goat-legs, which would have ended in cloven hooves had they been preserved. He is shown naked, ithyphallic, and wearing the pelt of a wild cat (identified as a lynx in the Homeric

Hymn which describes him), knotted at his right shoulder and slung over his left arm. His torso is twisted slightly, with his left leg in front of his right, giving the figure movement and grace, and the smooth musculature of his upper body is complemented and contrasted by the swirls on his goat-legs and on his lynx pelt, both of which share the same patterning.

The statuette is delicately modelled, with a noble expression and harmonious proportions and movements. In his left arm Pan is carrying a *lagabolon*, one of his chief attributes. The *lagabolon*, which was both shepherd's crook and throwing stick, reflects one of the dualities of his nature, namely that he was simultaneously a shepherd (and hence a protector of animals) and a hunter. His right arm is raised and in his hand he holds an *alabastron*, from which he is pouring oil onto his erect phallus, a pose far more commonly adopted by another fertility god, Priapos, with whom Pan is sometimes iconographically associated.



Figure 24.7. *Pan statuette (left-side view) (BF archive)*



Figure 24.8. *Pan statuette (right-side view) (BF archive)*

In his role as a nature god, Pan was associated with such orgiastic rituals and as a participant in the feasts associated with the Dionysian mysteries, serving to ensure the fertility of the herds and the harvest.²¹ Close comparanda, in which Priapos is portrayed in such a pose, include a bronze in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples and another in Lyon.²²

On the basis of style and iconography, it appears to be an early Hellenistic original, probably of the 3rd century BC, although the possibility that it was an early Roman copy cannot be ruled out.

The statuette's findspot on Mount Mile and the alluvial plain below it represent the pastoral and agricultural areas of Butrint, rich in wide meadows and fertile lands. At

the centre of the plain stood Çuka e Aitoit, the purported ancient city of Kestrine. The worship of Pan in this region formed part of a larger devotion to nature. Cybele, too, was worshipped here. The natural environment, with its rich pastures and fertile lands, formed the common link to both deities. Cybele was the goddess of 'Mother Earth' and of every living creature who brought fertility to land; Pan was the protector of pastures, springs and shepherds and ensured the fertility of animals.

The Sanctuary of Pan at Butrint

Pan was worshipped in the urban centre of the ancient city (Fig. 24.9). Albanian excavations at the western end of

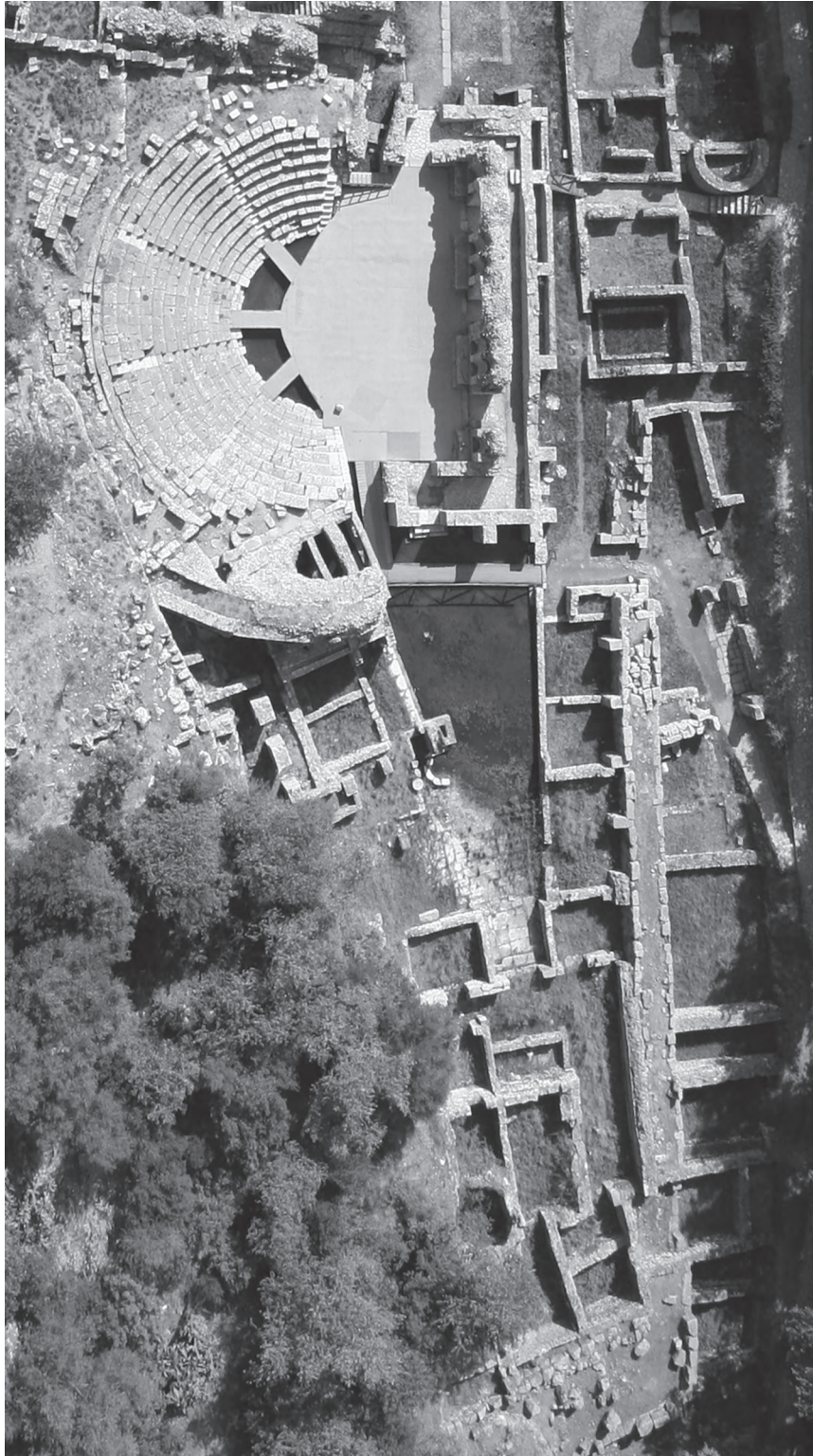


Figure 24.9. Aerial photograph of the W Courtyard and Theatre at Butrint (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)



Figure 24.10. The Albanian archaeological team in 1966, showing Dhimosten Budina (back row second from the left), as well as Damian Komata (left of Budina), Aleksandra Mano (woman on the right), and Kosta Lako (bottom row second from the left) (BF archive)



Figure 24.11. Inscribed stele or boundary stone from the sanctuary of Pan (Photo by David Hernandez)

Butrint in 1964-1966, under the direction of Dhimosten Budina, unearthed an intact stone base, bearing a Greek inscription (Figs 24.10 and 24.11):

Πανὶ τελε|τάρχῃ Κασσι|ανός²³

Dating to the 1st century BC, the inscription records a dedication to Pan by a Roman named Cassianus (Cassius), who is described as the head priest (τελετάρχης) of the mystery cult of the god.²⁴ This dedication served as a rough stele or boundary stone in a sanctuary to Pan. Previously, Ugolini had discovered a small stone pedestal at Butrint that bore the following Greek inscription:

Πάσαι | Κασσιανός²⁵

The inscription is a dedication to Pasa (Πᾶσα), the female consort of Pan, made by the same Cassianus. The pedestal originally would have supported a statue of Pasa and represents another offering by the head priest of the mystery cult.

The findspot of the stele or boundary stone dedicated by Cassianus indicates that the sanctuary of Pan was situated somewhere in the W Courtyard (c. 25 × 20 m; Fig. 24.12). The courtyard's most prominent building was dedicated to the imperial cult (W Building; 12 × 21 m), which featured in front of its doors a monumental three-line inscription in gilded bronze letters (*litterae auratae*) on the pavement of the courtyard. Dating between 27 and 7 BC, the inscription names two freedman (*liberti*), Quintus Caecilius Eumanus and Gnaeus Domitius Eros, from the most prominent families of the Augustan colony, who hold the title *Augustales* (priests of Augustus), members of the wealthy freedmen associations that emerged in the western provinces and Roman colonies of the empire in

the time of Augustus.²⁶ The two benefactors paid for the pavement and probably the imperial cult building as their honorary gift to gain admission into the association of the *Augustales*.

The courtyard was a sacred space, built adjacent to the Asklepieion; the Shrine of Asklepios and the Theatre occupied its northeastern corner.²⁷ The worship of Pan may have centred around a small building in the courtyard that functioned as a *Compitum*, a crossroads shrine built on the western side of the Shrine of Asklepios at the intersection where the street through the Asklepieion Gate met a colonnaded walkway to the Roman forum.²⁸ The *Compitum* consists of two symmetrical *cellae* or shrines, which were approached by two steps. A limestone column *in situ* and circular attachment holes for others show that a single *pronaos* (porch) fronted the two *cellae*. An elevated platform on the western side of the shrines provided side access to the *pronaos*. Two dedicatory monuments, forming part of the *Compitum*, remain *in situ*; both are integrated into the southern wall of the platform facing the courtyard (Figs 24.13 and 24.14)

On the western side is a large marble drum (72 cm diam., 50 cm h.) bearing a Latin inscription (Fig. 24.15):

*A(ulus) Granius/ mag(ister) vici/ Lar(ibus) Vic(inalibus) sacr(um)*²⁹

It is an altar dedicated by the *magister vici*, Aulus Granius, to the *Lares Compitales*, which were the old ancestral neighborhood deities from Republican Rome. *Magistri vici* oversaw the cult of the Compital Lares.³⁰

The second monument, on the eastern side, is a rectangular pedestal (90 × 38 × 42 cm) bearing a Latin inscription (Fig. 24.16):

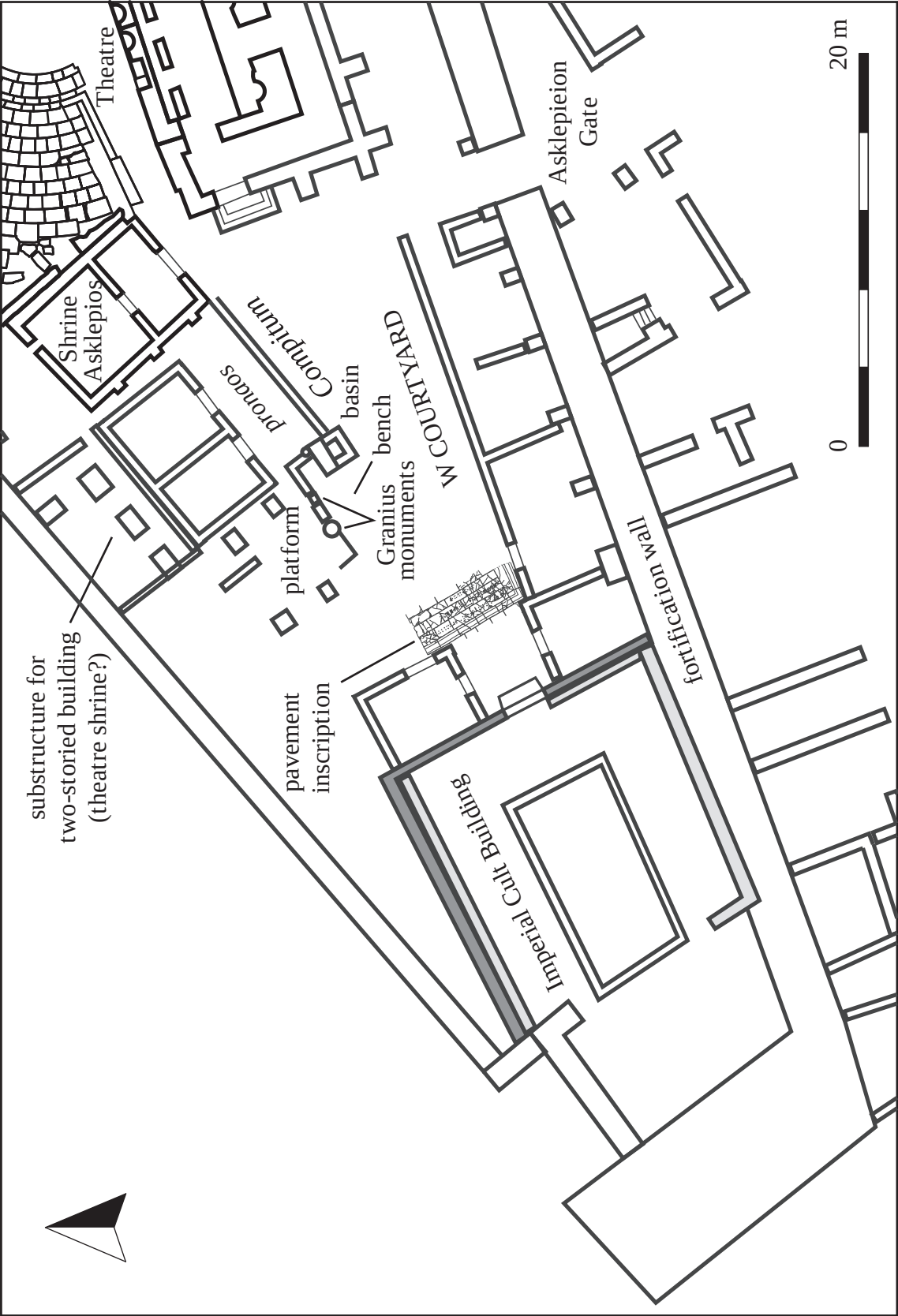


Figure 24.12. Plan of the W Courtyard showing the Comptum and adjacent structures (Drawn by David Hernandez)

[A(ulus) Gr]anius/ mag(ister) vici/ Statae Matri/ Sacr(um)³¹

The same *magister vici*, Aulus Granius, dedicated the pedestal, together with a statue, to the titular deity of



Figure 24.13. Albanian archaeologist recording ceramics and monuments discovered in the W Courtyard in 1964; two marble monuments (on the left) dedicated by Aulus Granius and the brick Roman water basin (on the right) (BF archive)

Stata Mater, who served ‘to put a stop’ (*stata*) to urban fires.³² The pedestal would have supported a statue of the goddess, as a similar one did on the pavement of the forum in Rome.³³ A semi-circular limestone base *in situ* is located in front of Granius’ two monuments (Fig. 24.17). This was the base of an honorific bench where the *magister vici* presided annually over the *Compitalia*, in which sacrifices were made to the *Lares Compitales* at the crossroads. A brick water basin lies between this bench and the steps leading up to the shrines. The basin, built onto the two steps, has the form of a small *aedicula* with a rear niche. All these structures form part of the Compital shrine.

The epigraphic evidence and architecture of this complex bears similarity to the *Compitum* in the Piazza dei Lari at Ostia (Fig. 24.18).³⁴ The *Compitum* at Ostia consists of a round marble altar adjacent to a basin and a building with two shrines (*cellae*). The round altar bears the following Latin inscription:

mag(ister) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / Laribus / vicin(alibus) / aram marmoream³⁵

The altar is of Julio-Claudian date and was dedicated by the *magister vici* from his own money to the *Lares Compitales* at the crossroads. It features a relief that shows Hercules



Figure 24.14. The Compitum, showing the platform with round altar and pedestal of Aulus Granius, honorific bench, and water basin, looking northeast (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 24.15. Marble altar dedicated by Aulus Granius to the Lares Compitales (Photo by David Hernandez)



Figure 24.16. 1964 photograph of the inscription on the marble pedestal dedicated by Aulus Granius, to Stata Mater (BF archive)

with a sacrificial pig and Pan leading the *Lar Vicinalis* to an altar (Fig. 24.19). A *thyrsus*, the pine-tipped staff of Dionysus, leans against a tree nearby. In this scene, the three youngest gods mentioned by Herodotus – Hercules, Dionysus, and Pan – are represented together at the crossroads shrine at Ostia. In similar fashion, the *Compitum* of Buthrotum was probably dedicated to Hercules and Pan as well, under the umbra of Dionysus in the adjacent Theatre.



Figure 24.17. 1966 photograph of the marble semi-circular base for an honorific seat discovered in situ in front of Granius' two monuments (BF archive)

The Death of Pan

News of a divine revelation – the death of Great Pan – spread to Rome during the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37). The matter was taken seriously, at least officially. The emperor convened scholars, summoned witnesses, and ordered an investigation. The announcement of this unprecedented death of a god was said to have occurred at Butrint. Plutarch, writing at the end of the 1st century AD, describes the affair:

‘The father of Aemilianus the orator, to whom some of you have listened, was Epitherses, who lived in our town and was my teacher in grammar. He said that once upon a time in making a voyage to Italy he embarked on a ship carrying freight and many passengers. It was already evening when, near the Echinades Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship drifted near Paxi. Almost everybody was awake, and a good many had not finished their after-dinner wine. Suddenly from the island of Paxi was heard the voice of someone loudly calling Thamus, so that all were amazed. Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, not known by name even to many on board. Twice he was called and made no reply, but the third time he answered; and the caller, raising his voice, said, “When you come opposite to Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead.” On hearing this, all, said Epitherses, were astounded and reasoned among themselves whether it were better to carry out the order or to refuse to meddle and let the matter go. Under the circumstances Thamus made up his mind that if there should be a breeze, he would sail past and keep quiet, but with no wind and a smooth sea about the place he would announce what he had heard. So, when he came opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: “Great Pan is dead.” Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement. As many persons

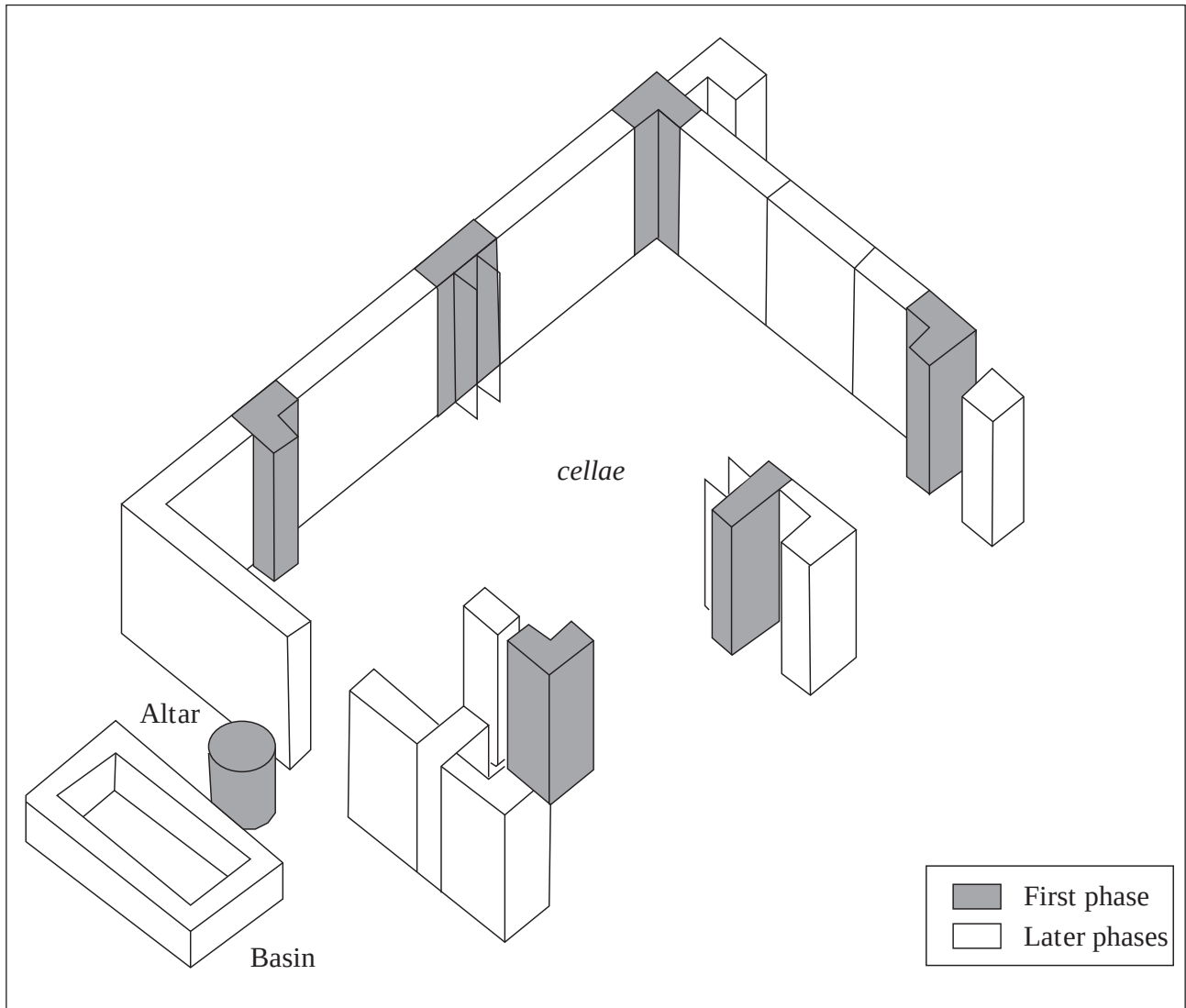


Figure 24.18. Axonometric drawing of the Compitum in the Piazza dei Lari at Ostia (Drawn by David Hernandez, after Bakker 1994, fig. 17).



Figure 24.19. Marble altar in the Compitum at Ostia, showing Pan (Courtesy of Camelia Boban)

were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelope.³⁶

Although often misunderstood, the geography of the passage is clear.³⁷ The ominous event reportedly began near the Echinades Islands, which are situated off the coast of western Greece in the Ionian Sea. One of the major islands in this group is Ithaca, the legendary home of Odysseus and Penelope. As noted by Tiberius' scholars, Penelope was considered to be the mother of Pan, and the god was thought to have been born there, a view which had been held

by Herodotus among others. The ship's captain Thamus and the passengers on board heard the mysterious voice as the ship drifted to Paxi (Paxos), which is the smallest (76 km²) of the Ionian Islands, located just south of Kerkyra (Corfu) opposite Epirus. Legend had it that Poseidon, god of the sea, created the little island by striking Kerkyra with his trident. In describing the coastline of Epirus in his *Geography*, Strabo, who was a contemporary of Tiberius, remarks that the seaport of Buthrotum was known to sailors as *Pelodes* (Πηλώδης/Παλωδης), the 'clay harbour' on the Ionian Sea.³⁸ These geographical markers represent the typical path sailors took from Greece, before crossing the Straits of Otranto on route to Italy. Plutarch's account suggests that the pronouncement of the death of Pan was directed to what must have been a well-known sanctuary of Pan at Buthrotum, where the god's devotees were thought to have lamented his demise.

This story is all the more intriguing because Tiberius is also known to have received the news of the death of another purported god, Christ in Judea.³⁹ The parallelism between Pan and Christ in this account did not go unnoticed by early Christians, who thought that Pan's name was a metaphor for *all* pagan gods. Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, who recorded Constantine's account of his Christian vision before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, interpreted the death of Pan as the death of *all* pagan gods at the hands of Christ upon his death and salvation of the world.⁴⁰ In time, Pan became the prototype for the image of the devil.

Discussion

Throughout antiquity, life in Epirus was intimately tied to pastoralism and animal husbandry. The region was controlled by pastoral-centred tribal groups (*ethne*) until its incorporation into the Roman Empire. By the Late Republic, Roman *nobiles* and *negotiatores*, such as Titus Pomponius Atticus at Buthrotum and Lucius Cossinius in Thesprotia, owned substantial lands and established lucrative villas in Epirus for the specialised breeding of animals.⁴¹ It is within this pastoral landscape that Pan was worshiped at Butrint.

In Butrint's hinterland, a fine bronze statuette of Pan was found on Mount Mile. The goat-footed figure is depicted with human features in the form of a dancing man anointing his erect phallus. This is an apotropaic symbol associated with happiness, prosperity, and fertility. It is probable that the statuette came from a rural sanctuary of Pan who was typically worshipped in caves and grottos to ensure the welfare of shepherds and flocks.

The discovery of an inscribed boundary stone to Pan dedicated by the head priest of the cult Cassianus, as well as his dedication of a statue to Pan's female companion, Pasa, reveals that a sanctuary of Pan existed in the ancient urban centre of Butrint, probably in the W Courtyard where the boundary stone was found. It is possible that the shrine to Pan was associated with the *Compitum*

(crossroads shrine) on the courtyard's northern side, which consisted of two *cellae* or shrine rooms. The *Compitum* of Buthrotum is similar to that at Ostia in the Piazza dei Lari in respect to its layout, architectural features and epigraphic evidence. The two deities, Hercules and Pan, depicted on the altar at Ostia may reveal the identities of the two deities worshiped at the *Compitum*. The altar at Ostia also includes an allusion to Dionysus by the image of the *thyrsus*. As described by Herodotus, these three deities were thought to be the youngest generation of gods. Pan, Hercules and Dionysus were likewise honored in the northeastern corner of the W Courtyard at Buthrotum, at the *Compitum* and Theatre.

The mysterious story reported by Plutarch in the *Moralia* concerning the death of Pan makes an indirect reference to the sanctuary of Pan at Butrint. Incited by a divine voice, a captain was said to have announced the death of Pan from his ship across from *Palodes* and to have received an immediate reply of lamentation and bewilderment, evidently from the god's devotees at his sanctuary at Buthrotum.

Notes

- 1 The provenience of the statuette has been erroneously claimed to be Çuka e Aitoit, e.g. Quantin 2005, 70.
- 2 National Archaeological Museum no. 13836; Eggebrecht 1988, no. 300.
- 3 See Islami 2008, 329–336, for his original account in Albanian.
- 4 Old Mursi on Mount Mile is a different site than the modern village of Mursi (Fig. 24.1).
- 5 Bonnefoy 1991, 202–208.
- 6 Holzhausen 2006.
- 7 Jost 1985, 459.
- 8 Hübinger 1992; Boardman 1997.
- 9 A catalogue of depictions from Arcadia and a discussion of the two types and their significance can be found in Jost 1985, 464–467.
- 10 Homeric Hymn 19, 46. A résumé of the main legends on the birth and parentage of Pan is given in Jost 1985, 460–464. For the etymology of his name, see Herbig 1949, 15–16.
- 11 Pindar (fr. 100) reports that the parents of Pan were Apollo and Penelope.
- 12 Herodotus 2.145.
- 13 Servius *Aeneid* 2.44.
- 14 See also Katz 1991, 77.
- 15 Herodotus 6.105; cf. Pausanias 8.54.6–7.
- 16 Mastrapas 2013.
- 17 The worship of Pan is often associated with a cult of the nymphs. At a sanctuary at Akakesion, a Hellenistic sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias and discovered and drawn by Edward Dodwell, there was a stone relief depicting nymphs and Pans. Similarly, a mountain sanctuary was dedicated to Pan and the Korykian nymphs at the Korykian Cave, not far from Delphi on the slopes of Mt Parnassos; this sanctuary was also visited by Pausanias. For further information, see Herbig 1949, 17.
- 18 Camp 2001, 50–51.
- 19 Farnell 1977, 431–434.
- 20 For the cave of Shën Marina, see Francis and Vulpi 2005,

- 24–26; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 197. The cave is located at the southern slope of Mount Mile, on the side of Bogazi Gorge, c. 10 km southeast of Butrint. The archaeological site dates from the Middle Palaeolithic period.
- 21 Johns 1982, 42–56.
- 22 For the Naples statuette (National Museum, RP 27732), see Johns 1982, fig 32. For the statuette in Lyon, see Boucher 1973, no. 166.
- 23 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 38.518; 55.634. See Cabanes 1988; Quantin 2005; Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007, 178 no. 182.
- 24 The word τελετάρχης literally means the founder or master (ἀρχή) of initiation rites (τελετή).
- 25 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 38.519. Ugolini 1942, 209; Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007, 178 no. 183.
- 26 For the pavement inscription, see Hernandez 2017b, 43–47. For the institution of the *Augustales*, see Laird 2015.
- 27 Melfi 2007, 20–23.
- 28 Hernandez 2017b, 47–55. *Compita* were situated at cross-roads, town squares and streets; see Stek 2009, 204.
- 29 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1987.904; Deniaux 2007, 34; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 196–197, no. 275; Ehmig and Haensch 2012, 578–579 (LIA 244). Deniaux translates VIC in the third line as genitive *vici*. However, the adjective *vicinalibus* is more likely. Dedications to *Laribus Vicinalibus* have been found at Ostia (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.4298 = *L'Année Épigraphique* 1945.56) and Otricoli; see Pietrangeli 1941.
- 30 Beard, North and Price 1998, 139, 184–187; Lott 2004, 174. In 7 BC, Augustus reorganized the administrative divisions of Rome into 14 *regiones*, which were further subdivided into 265 *vici*. Each *vici* (ward) was administered by 4 *magistri vici*, who were typically freedmen or slaves, to oversee the *Lares Augusti*, which after the Augustan reform replaced the old *Lares Compitales*.
- 31 Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 190–191, no. 265. Ehmig and Haensch 2012, 580–582 (LIA 245).
- 32 Next to the *Lares Augusti*, *Stata Mater* was the most popular Compital dedication in Rome. Under Augustus, the cult of *Stata Mater* was transferred from the Forum Romanum to the *vici*; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.801 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 3305, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.802. See also Richardson 1992, 368; Lott 2004, 3, 187. In the Augustan colony of Patras in Achaia, a statue to *Stata Mater* was also erected, in this case by a *duovir*: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.500. Aulus Granius appears on another inscription from Buthrotum wherein he is referred to as “scribe” (*scriba*) to oversee a collection of money for the plebs (*collatio plebis*): *L'Année Épigraphique* 2004.1341 = *L'Année Épigraphique* 2005.1405; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 209–210. This inscription was dedicated to the *genius coloniae* by the members of the *collegium iuvenum Buthrotorum*. The members of the college included four freedmen (L. Turranius Attalus, L. Licinius Philotecnus, Mn. Otacilius Eum[en]ius, and C. Plaetorius Philippus) and three Roman citizens (P. Dastidius Rufus, Q. Caecilius Sosibius, and A. Granius).
- 33 The other face of this monument bears a Greek inscription, which shows that the Roman colony appropriated an earlier statue dedicated by “Lyciscos, son of Lycos, of Bouthrotos to the god.” The god here is unnamed: see Cabanes 1986, 151; Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007, 177 no. 180.
- 34 Bakker 1994, 118–124, 243–246.
- 35 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.4298.
- 36 Plutarch *Moralia. De Defectu Oraculorum* 17 (translated by Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 5, 1936).
- 37 Irwin (1961, 159) identifies *Palodes* as “an island not far distant (from Paxos).” Borgeaud (1983, 258 n. 11, 273) was skeptical of *Palodes*’ association with Butrint. Ugolini (1937, 80–81) and Holzhausen (2006) correctly identify *Palodes* as Butrint harbour.
- 38 Strabo 7.7.5: ‘...Buthrotum, which is at the mouth of what is called Pelodes harbour, is situated on a place that forms a peninsula and has foreign settlers comprised of Romans.’ Differences in Greek dialects account for the alternate spelling of the word: *Pelodes*/*Palodes*.
- 39 Irwin 1961; Borgeaud 1983; Boardman 1997, 40–43.
- 40 Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5.17–18. See Borgeaud 1983, 266; Coggan 1992.
- 41 For Atticus, see Deniaux 1987. Cicero (*Epistulae ad Familiares* 13.23) and Varro (*De Re Rustica* 2.10.11) write of Lucius Cossinius who was a Roman equestrian with major landholdings in Epirus. A luxurious villa, excavated at Agios Donatos in Thesprotia, is believed to have belonged to him or another wealthy Roman: see Forsén and Tikkala 2011, 18. Cicero (*Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.13.1) and Varro (*De Re Rustica* 2.1.2, 2.2.1, 2.5.1, 2.5.10) refer to the men who operated large-scale pastoral and cattle ranches in Epirus as *Epirotici* and *Synepirotae*.

CONCLUSION

25 Beyond Butrint: Dominion, Territory, Environment and the Corrupting Sea

David Hernandez and Richard Hodges

Beginning with the explorations of British student S. S. Clarke (Chapter 1), archaeological investigations in the Pavllas River Valley since the 1920s provide us with an opportunity to reflect on the diachronic role of Butrint in relation to its fluvial corridor. Surveys beyond Butrint have revealed a rich palimpsest of archaeological sites of all periods. To begin with, the fortified sites of Kalivo (Chapters 2–3 and 12–13), Çuka e Aitoit (Chapters 4–11) and Mursi (Chapters 20–23) show multi-period occupation phases related to the use and organisation of Butrint's hinterland from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period. The *villa maritima* at Diaporit (Chapter 19), the small Roman fishing site at Alinura Bay (Chapter 14), the possible Roman villa at the Customs House (Chapter 15) and the *villa suburbana* on the Vrina Plain (Chapter 17) reveal among other things profound territorial, economic and social alterations and the redefinition of Butrint's landscape under the Roman Empire, as well as subsequent transformations in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which include the establishment of a late 5th-century church at Diaporit (Chapter 19) and later the construction of Late Antique/Medieval fortifications at Çuka e Aitoit (Chapter 7). The unique bronze statuette of Pan (Chapter 24) discovered on Mount Mile represents a vestige of the god's worship at Butrint, both in the countryside and urban centre where a sanctuary to Pan was built. The final occupation phases of Butrint are associated with substantial ecological changes culminating in the Venetian and Ottoman periods, conditions which brought about the construction of the Triangular Fortress (Chapter 16) and the establishment of new settlements such as that at Zarópulo (Chapter 18) in the wake of Butrint's abandonment.

The Pavllas River Valley was the *chora* of the ancient city, providing above all the economic foundation for its agricultural production. The reference to the alluvial plain

in the earliest historical record of Butrint highlights its regional importance and value since early antiquity. When listing the coastal sites of Epirus c. 500 BC, Hekataios of Miletos mentions the bay (κόλπος) called Kiraios (Κιραῖος) and its plain (πεδῖον) in Chaonia, a reference to Butrint Bay and the Pavllas River Valley.¹ These topographical markers, beyond Butrint, express the city's longstanding natural resources of wealth on land and sea, as well as in its lagoon.

In what follows, we advance new interpretations of fortified sites, particularly Kalivo, Mursi and Çuka e Aitoit, and explore four overarching questions that arise from the studies in this volume. How did Butrint organise and utilise its territory diachronically? Did the spatial arrangement and land-use patterns of the hinterland constitute a dendritic network emanating from Butrint's urban nucleus or was the hinterland ever independent and detachable from it? To what degree were Butrint and its dominion influenced by the sea and its inland lagoon? And finally, was Butrint always a Mediterranean place by virtue of its position as a coastal port or was it at times isolated, locked in a perennial struggle with its neighbours for land, resources, security and supremacy?

The Pavllas River Valley

‘La zona è ora interamente priva di abitanti fissi; le rare persone che vi si possono incontrare sono di passaggio e, anziché disturbare la solenne quiete del luogo, finiscono invece col diventarne un complemento romantico, a motive del loro genere di vita e della singolarità del loro abbigliamento’.²

In 1959, the young Neritan Ceka first visited Butrint, while excavating on the Albanian-Soviet project at Çuka



Figure 25.1. The Pavllas River Valley, looking north to Kalivo (Photo by Brian Donovan/BF archive)

e Aitoit. He arrived at the Vivari Channel by lorry, having taken the unsurfaced road from Shkallë, by way of Mursi, Xarra and Vrina and swam across to the site (Fig. 25.1).³ In effect, Ceka followed the inland route up the Pavllas River Valley that Clarke had walked in May 1923. Clarke, though, opted not to take a boat or swim to Butrint and instead walked northwards around Lake Butrint to Phoinike (Chapter 1). The following year, 1924, Luigi Maria Ugolini first visited the area in search of *Buthrotum*, the legendary kingdom of the Trojan exiles Helenus and Andromache. After spending a night encamped with Vlach shepherds at Diaporit, whom he felt imbued the landscape with romantic charm (quoted above), Ugolini ascended the hill of Kalivo and was content to discover ‘an ancient fortified city, hitherto completely unknown’ (Chapter 2).⁴ As Clarke and Ugolini recorded, and Ceka described to us, this was an empty, liminal landscape.⁵

Butrint, as an abandoned ruin close to the end of a typical Mediterranean valley, was irrevocably altered, as it happened, in the very year Ceka first visited the site. In May 1959, in honour of the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev’s visit to Albania, the regional archaeologist Dhimosten Budina (Appendix) was charged with overseeing the construction of the first road from Saranda to Butrint.⁶ No longer was it necessary to come to this frontier site by way of the inland road to Konispol, turning west at Shkallë. The direct road down from Saranda past Ksamil effectively made Butrint once again a Mediterranean place. Initially, the new road was principally used by foreign Communist invitees⁷ and subsequently refurbished after 1991 for new visitors mostly from Corfu. Since the making of this road, few travellers have approached Butrint from the east, as Ceka did. Ceka’s visit invites us to think of Butrint’s Mediterranean valley from two directions, the Ionian Sea and the Epirote interior.

The Pavllas River descends from the mountains not far



Figure 25.2. The Pavllas River Valley in the 1970s (BF archive)

from Shkallë, enters the valley through the Bogazi Gorge close to Çuka e Aitoit, and today runs along the southern side of the valley and marshes to the Straits of Corfu. The course through the valley is modern. Ugolini records on his map, made in the 1930s, a different alignment of the river through the centre of the valley that cut across the Vrina Plain to meet the Vivari Channel at the Ottoman Triangular Fortress opposite Butrint.⁸ The alluvial plain was created over centuries by a process of soil deposition from overbank flooding of the Pavllas River.⁹ The changing course of the river through the valley followed the well-known dynamics of floodplain evolution over time.¹⁰ This all changed in the 1960s, when the river was re-routed just beyond Çuka e Aitoit and canalised as part of extensive agricultural reclamation works (Fig. 25.2).¹¹

Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Periods

The small surface scatters of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic material, such as those found at Çuka e Aitoit (Chapter 9) and Shën Dimitri (Chapter 15), indicate the presence of mobile groups occupying caves and outcrops in the deep and expansive embayment on the coast of the Ionian Sea. A few exceptional Palaeolithic limestone tools found at Çuka e Aitoit have been dated to the Lower Palaeolithic (c. 200,000 years ago) when early hominids spread through Europe (Chapter 9, 3a and 3b). In 1939, Luigi Cardini discovered the first open-air Palaeolithic site in the southern Balkan Peninsula at Xarra.¹² Among the hundreds of lithics found at the site, some were Mousterian-Levallois tools of Neanderthal manufacture dating to the Middle Palaeolithic, while most others dated to the Upper Palaeolithic.¹³ Cardini also identified and excavated a prehistoric cave at Shën Marina, located at the southern slope of Mount Mile, on the northern side of Bogazi Gorge, c. 10 km southeast of Butrint.¹⁴ The cave contained lithics, animal bones and other prehistoric artifacts dating from the Middle Palaeolithic. Recent investigations undertaken by the German Albanian Palaeolithic (GAP) Project discovered a Middle and Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic site at Shën Mitri near Xarra.¹⁵ It is clear from this research that all Palaeolithic and Mesolithic finds from the Butrint region and throughout Albania, while numerous, derive from later Holocene post-glacial deposits; as yet no Palaeolithic or Mesolithic artifacts have been found *in situ*.¹⁶ It is possible that the reason for this lies in climatic changes, particularly rising sea levels and cold episodes, which brought wetter conditions and higher rates of erosion.

The seasonal land-use patterns of these Palaeolithic groups with those occupying Konispol cave in the Upper Palaeolithic have yet to be established.¹⁷ The complete absence of evidence for the Neolithic in the hinterland of Butrint is also intriguing. It is in sharp contrast to the rich evidence for Early Neolithic occupation found in the excavations of Konispol cave.¹⁸ Here, signs of dense occupation were spread across the western and central chambers of the cave. Excavated evidence was discovered for a variety of food processing, storage and stabling activities that lasted until at least the Middle Neolithic period. The distinctive character of the Neolithic material suggests its absence in the surveys of the coastal area is due to the nature of the settlement pattern which was highly focussed at certain points in the landscape. In other words, the absence of Neolithic material from excavated sites with Bronze Age ceramics at Butrint, Cape Stillo, Kalivo and Mursi as well as Çuka e Aitoit is remarkable and telling. It indicates very sparse Neolithic occupation along the coast with greater emphasis, instead, upon inland valley niches as revealed by archaeological surveys in Thesprotia.¹⁹ This negative evidence suggests that the Pavllas River Valley and Butrint's coastline remained largely unoccupied until the later 2nd millennium BC.

The Late Bronze Age (LBA)

While substantial LBA ceramics have been found at Butrint, Kalivo, Shën Dimitri, Cape Stillo and Mursi, few contemporary architectural remains have been discovered, and these are often of ambiguous date and purpose.²⁰ A prevailing characteristic of the proposed LBA sites is their siting on hilltops, overlooking the alluvial valley for agricultural exploitation and strategic pathways to control territorial communications.

Mycenaean wares have not been found in any of the LBA sites identified in the Butrint region or in northern Epirus. This circumstance diverges from southern Epirus, where Mycenaean traded goods have been found.²¹ The presence of fortified sites with Mycenaean-type masonry at Ephyra and Kastriza in Glykys Limin and the widespread presence of imported Mycenaean pottery at 40 sites throughout southern Epirus have demonstrated that the southern regions of Epirus were intimately tied to the broader trans-Ionian and trans-Adriatic maritime trade networks that ran from Greece to Italy and up the eastern Adriatic.²² Glykys Limin was evidently a vital Mycenaean anchorage on this trade route. The LBA sites of southern Epirus are thought to have supplied raw materials, particularly metal ores, and exotic, prestige goods from the Epirote interior to the Mycenaean trade network.²³

At some point in the later 2nd millennium BC, the Butrint region was reoccupied by communities from the Epirote interior. One reason for this colonisation may have been warmer conditions after c. 2000 BC that encouraged the exploitation of this coastal estuary.²⁴ Another reason may have been the changing configurations of Lake Butrint after c. 1500 BC when it began to resemble a lagoon as opposed to the embayment of earlier prehistory. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that other proposals have been suggested. In his study of Konispol cave, Joseph Schuldenrein ponders the causes of substantial soil movement and landscape changes in later prehistory and speculates that 'flushing of allogenic sediment (slope derived *'terra rossa'*) accelerated in the last 4000 years, perhaps as a result of increased grazing, shepherding and deforestation of the slopes outside the cave'.²⁵ This proposition has been taken by Morellón and his colleagues to explain the changing character of Lake Butrint in the Late Bronze Age as follows:

'The sedimentary sequence of Lake Butrint has recorded the progressive isolation of this hydrological system from the Ionian Sea, from an open bay to a restricted lagoon during the last ~4500 cal yrs as a result of the complex interplay of tectonics, climate and human activities. Shallow-marine, oxic conditions represented by massive bioturbated silts with Scaphopoda occurred until 1620 BC, when the first evidences of isolation from the sea and oxygen-depleted conditions were recorded. This transitional period terminates around 1515–1450 BC, when multiple mass wasting events lead to the accumulation of 24 massive, homogeneous, up to 17

cm thick homogeneous layers. The M – 6.8 earthquake recorded in Corfu after 1500 BC, responsible for a strong tsunami affecting the Greek Ionian Sea coast, might have been one of the potential trigger mechanisms for these events.²⁶

In this interpretation the environmental changes to Lake Butrint would seem nearly to coincide with the Late Bronze Age colonisation of the Pavllas River Valley. The radiocarbon-based dating of ceramics from the excavated site at Mursi (Chapters 20 and 21) suggests that the colonisation occurred immediately after the lagoon formed.

The archaeological evidence from Kalivo, Mursi and Cape Stillo tends to indicate that this colonisation comprised a mixture of partially enclosed and unenclosed hilltop sites similar to those found around Glykys Limin and in the Thesprotia surveys.²⁷ Most were located close to the water's edge. If the limited excavations at Mursi serve as a guide, during its earliest occupation, the low sand dune was terraced on its eastern slopes and a large fortification/retaining wall was built. The construction of this enclosure wall was well conceived. The wall was made of limestone blocks of unknown provenience. The stone was not quarried at Shkallë, which supplied most of the stone that was used in pre-Roman construction in the region.²⁸ Considerable labour, expense and organisation were required to quarry and transport the massive stones up the hill and construct the wall. This effort is in contrast to regional LBA sites where stone material for walls was scarped directly from their respective hilltops.²⁹

The Pavllas River Valley ceramic assemblages (Chapter 21) generally possess inland Epirote characteristics as opposed to the southern Ionian traditions found in southwest Epirus, Kefalonia and the sites associated with Pylos in the westernmost Peloponnese.³⁰ Moreover, as in Thesprotia, it is possible that these largely indistinctive coarse wares outlived the Bronze Age and continued to be made and used in the Early Iron Age.³¹ In light of the architecture and the types of ceramics and lithics found, the hilltop site at Mursi appears to have served as a settlement engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, flintknapping, pottery production, defense and possibly fishing. Given the distinctive monumentality and strategic position of Mursi, it may have belonged to a larger tribal group dominant around Kalivo and may have emerged in response to a close Mycenaean presence both on land and sea, perhaps for both trade and regional defense. As Sarah Lima explains, the ICP-MS results suggest that local pottery (Pavllas Rough Red Ware) production involved an exchange system wherein Cape Stillo and Mursi received wares from Kalivo, but not *vice versa*, even when local production of these same wares existed at Cape Stillo and Mursi. The land-use pattern that emerges is one centred at Kalivo where sites like Mursi might have represented a type of defensive or tribal frontier settlement.

The Mursi fortification wall was built in the 13th century BC, on a sand dune near the water's edge of Butrint Bay where the Pavllas River emptied into the

Ionian Sea. According to the pollen study undertaken by Morellón and his colleagues, the formation of the lagoon may have been the catalyst for the indigenous colonisation of the Pavllas River Valley. However, the 13th century BC also corresponds to the Late Helladic IIIB period that witnessed the expansion of Mycenaean material culture and settlements, some thought to be Mycenaean 'colonies' in southern Italy, southern Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly.³²

An important question, therefore, is how northern Epirus (southern Albania) was affected and responded to the robust trade activity traversing its coastline, from southern Epirus and the Ionian Islands up to Italy and the eastern Adriatic. Weapons and prestige goods, particularly swords, spearheads and jewellery, found in LBA tumuli and burials along the Albanian coast reveal elite contacts with Mycenaean maritime trade networks.³³ While the lack of Mycenaean imported pottery in northern Epirus appears to suggest limited cultural diffusion, the indigenous community that built and occupied the fortified site at Mursi did possess the wealth and means to communicate and exchange with Mycenaean traders. Given the proximity of the site to the Mycenaean frontier zone in central Epirus, the possibility that the fortified site was built in response to Mycenaean expansion is compelling. The idea of a potential and indirect entanglement between northern and southern Epirus may also be supported by the abandonment of the LBA site at Mursi, radiocarbon dated to the 12th or 11th century BC, during the post-palatial Late Helladic IIIC period that saw the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. In other words, the rise and fall of the LBA indigenous sites in the Pavllas River Valley are synchronous with those of the Mycenaean civilization. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether the LBA occupation of the Pavllas River Valley may be attributed to local favourable environmental conditions associated with the formation of the lagoon or to external cultural influences from the broader Mycenaean world or some combination of both.

Archaic to Hellenistic Periods

Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit have attracted a good deal of attention and discussion with some debate about the chronology of their prominent fortifications.³⁴ Presently, Kalivo is arguably the more intriguing of these two sites associated in some enigmatic way with the early evolution of Butrint. Apart from the fortifications, the discovery of Bronze Age ceramics (Chapter 21) in some number here raises important questions. Later ceramics from the Hellenistic and Roman periods were found on Kalivo but were few by comparison. How are we to make sense, then, of Kalivo's material culture and its purpose in relation to Butrint and the Pavllas River Valley?

Before considering this question, it is apposite to dwell upon the recent research undertaken by the Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project for the Archaic and early Hellenistic periods at Butrint.³⁵ The phasing of the site is summarised in Table 25.1. The occupation model is based

Table 25.1. Occupation chronology for Butrint (after Hernandez 2017a, 230, Table 2)

Period	Dates BC	Description
Bronze Age	1300–1050	Limited activity
Iron Age	1050–750	Possible abandonment
	750–700	Limited activity
	700–650	Abandonment
Archaic	650–600	Origin of settlement (Korkyraian)
	600–525	Continuous occupation
	525–500	Small <i>polis</i> Construction of Temple of Athena Polias
Classical	500–475	Construction of fortification wall F-1
	475–350	Abandonment
Hellenistic	350–300	Resettlement (Chaonian) Small <i>polis</i> Construction of fortification walls F-2 and F-3

upon the stratigraphic sequence and associated material culture of the Archaic to Hellenistic levels excavated below the Roman forum in the ancient urban centre of Butrint. These excavations provide an important window into the previously obscure early history of the city.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, Butrint lay within the *peraia* of Kerkyra (ancient *Korkyra*; modern Corfu), the Corinthian colony founded in 734/3 BC. The island's mainland territory extended from the Dema wall, just north of Butrint, to Parga (Pyrgos), just south of the Thesprotian capital Gitana. The enclave, not unlike the later Venetian enclave of the 17th century AD, likely extended inland to Çuka e Aitoit. In this model, Butrint was a small hilltop emporium. Its fortifications encompassed an area of less than 2 ha with encircling walls measuring 600 m in length. The summit of the acropolis was dominated by a major temple dedicated to Athena Polias, dating to the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Its architectural design was influenced by the contemporary Kardaki temple on Kerkyra, where many of the pioneering temple designs that combined Ionic and Doric features, the so-called 'Ionian Sea style', originated.³⁶ The temple was oriented not towards Kerkyra but towards an inland landmark, namely, Çuka e Aitoit across the Pavllas River Valley. The small *polis* of Butrint served as an emporium for exchange between Kerkyraians and Epirotes. The excavated ceramics, which include Attic imports, vividly illustrate the emporium's connection to Kerkyra's maritime trading network.³⁷ The imported ceramics affirm that Butrint flourished as a seaport between c. 650–475 BC. However, other than these imported ceramics, the distinctive fortifications and the temple, the evidence for other Archaic period structures is meagre, a circumstance which, apart from the lack of

sepulchral finds, is not altogether different from well-known Archaic sites at Kerkyra, Apollonia, Epidamnos, Ambracia, Anaktorion and Leukas. Presently, the excavated evidence, as we have seen, from Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit is too limited to challenge or significantly add to this model. On the other hand, how is the Archaic Greek material culture at Butrint to be explained other than as a by-product of colonial urbanism and of a gateway community intended to obtain mainland Epirote resources for Kerkyra?

The next phase of Butrint's history emerges in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, when Kerkyra lost its *peraia*. After a period of abandonment (c. 475–350 BC) at Butrint, the ceramic evidence shows the re-emergence of the settlement in the second half of the 4th century BC at about the same time as Phoinike and Çuka e Aitoit arose as inland tribal urban centres. Large numbers of imported Corinthian Type B amphorae, in addition to black-glazed lekythoi and unguentaria, and an Athenian lekane, as well as a local production of Corinthian Type B amphorae, define Butrint's new phase of Mediterranean trade connections.³⁸

The context for the town's revival shortly after the mid-4th century BC was the growing power of the Epirote tribes. The northern part of the earlier Kerkyraian *peraia* was annexed by the Chaonians, and the southern part by the Thesprotians. Butrint became a southern centre for Chaonia, under the tribal capital of Phoinike. The influence of Macedonia (Philip II) and Molossia (Alexander I) spread across Epirus before the end of the century. Kerkyra was later bequeathed as a dowry to King Pyrrhus of Molossia in 295 BC in his marriage to Lanassa.³⁹ With kinship ties to Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus governed one of the most powerful kingdoms in the Mediterranean at the time, famously coming to the defense of the Greek cities of southern Italy against Rome. Pyrrhus founded cities, such as Antigonea and Berenice, constructed immense fortifications throughout Epirus, and built numerous urban monuments, including the theatres at Dodona and Phoinike. Butrint now fell under the dominion of Pyrrhus, to whom is ascribed the expansion of the town and perhaps the building of its theatre.⁴⁰

Kalivo

The fortified hilltop site of Kalivo is generally overlooked in scholarship owing to its enigmatic role in relation to Butrint (Fig. 25.3). The name of the hill is believed to derive from the Vlach *kaliva*, meaning shepherd's hut and campsite.⁴¹ It is related to the modern Greek word for hut, *καλύβα*. Transhumant Vlach pastoralists, who occupied the site in the winter months during their seasonal migration from mountain villages, may have given the site its modern name.

Kalivo holds commanding views of the Pavllas River Valley and the whole of Lake Butrint. Environmental studies of the lake suggest that before the end of the Hellenistic period the hill was an isthmus of sorts with water on three sides and, in particular, a wide stretch of



Figure 25.3. Aerial view of Kalivo, looking towards Butrint (Photo by Alket Islami/BF archive)

water on its northern, unfortified flank (much like the arrangement today).⁴² Given its proximity to Butrint, Ugolini saw Kalivo as a ‘second acropolis’ (*seconda acropolis*) (Chapter 3), noting that it held a privileged position in the landscape that was higher, better fortified and offered more commanding views of the lagoon and valley than Butrint. As a prehistorian who was devoted to Classical scholarship and mined ancient literary sources for topographical information, he describes coming to an impasse. He felt confident that Vergil’s third book of the *Aeneid* described Butrint as a ‘little Troy’ (*parva Troia*).⁴³ However, he could not reconcile this account with the nearly contemporary writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who noted the following:

‘The presence of the Trojans at Buthrotum is proved by a hill called Troy, where they encamped at that time [when the city was founded].’⁴⁴

The young Ugolini pondered whether it was Butrint or Kalivo that was called Troy in Epirus.

The large numbers of prehistoric sherds at Kalivo indicate a settlement of some size and substance in the Late Bronze Age. The precise date of its cyclopean and polygonal walls with their well-made narrow gates remains a matter of conjecture.⁴⁵ The fortification wall shows at least two principal phases of construction. The earliest masonry is represented by a series of regularly spaced large

boulders and smaller stones occupying their intermedial space; this wall was later replaced with one of well-crafted polygonal masonry that featured three gates (Chapter 12). The frequency of LBA ceramics at the site points to one possible date. In its simplicity, the early wall might also seem to resemble the LBA enclosures found at Cape Stillo and Mursi (Chapter 20).⁴⁶ Nicholas Hammond reports that necklace beads were recovered from Kalivo, dating to the 6th century BC, which points to another possible date. However, studies of wall typology and regional comparanda suggest that these walls date to the Classical period, roughly contemporary with the earliest known fortification circuit at Butrint built in the early 5th century BC.⁴⁷

The better-preserved polygonal walls and gates appear to belong to the Hellenistic (Chaonian) period.⁴⁸ Several forts with walls and gates strongly resembling Kalivo were discovered in archaeological surveys in the neighbouring region of Thesprotia. In his study of two Thesprotian fortresses, Mikko Suha found a similar gateway design – involving thresholds – at Agios Donatos and Elea that resemble the detailing discovered during the excavations of the southern gate at Kalivo (Chapter 13).⁴⁹ The similarities are striking. Suha proposes that both these Thesprotian fortresses date to the expansionist period of Pyrrhus in the earlier 3rd century BC, which is likely when Kalivo’s second fortification was built.

These fortifications are in places imposing. The walls,



Figure 25.4. The southern gate at Kalivo looking towards Çuka e Aitoit, with James Whitley, Director of British School at Athens, 2005 (BF archive)

probably erected in more than one construction campaign, did not extend to the steep-faced northern side overlooking the lagoon, a feature that was not atypical of Greek fortified sites.⁵⁰ Ugolini remarked that the circuit should not be interpreted as incomplete or unfinished, believing that the fortification walls were never intended to be connected and were employed only where natural defences were insufficient (Chapter 3). Access into the enclosure was by three gates, two on the eastern, landward side and one in the southern segment (Figs 12.1 and 25.4). Satellite imagery shows that the western fortification extended some 230 m further along the whole of the western side for distance of c. 580 m (Chapter 12).

Kalivo's enceinte embraces a surface area of c. 23 ha. It is remarkable that the enclosed area would have been over fifteen times the size of the fortified acropolis of Butrint (c. 1.5 ha) in the 5th century BC and almost four times that of the entire fortified headland of Butrint (c. 6 ha) in the 3rd century BC (Fig. 25.5). It also eclipsed the fortified acropoleis of Çuka e Aitoit (c. 5 ha) and Phoinike (c. 10 ha).⁵¹ In fact, Kalivo was by far the largest fortified site in the entire region, second only to the entire fortified area of the Chaonian capital, Phoinike, where the fortifications of the acropolis and lower city enclose an area of c. 50 ha.

Despite the size and grandeur of its fortifications,

archaeological surveys and excavations discovered that the fortified hill with its few narrow gates never sustained any major settlement. In their assessments of the hill, Ugolini and Budina did not record any internal structures. Surveys in 1995, 1996 and 2001, followed by excavations in 2004, by the Butrint Foundation identified a number of simple structures on the summit, particularly within a stone-wall enclosure, which featured remains from small 2×2 m rooms to larger buildings (Chapters 12 and 13). The intramural structures, however, are perplexing. They do not appear to represent the remains of an urban settlement. As Crowson observed, the interrupted building lines and the lack of tumbled masonry surrounding the buildings suggest that the original walls were probably very low and/or not constructed entirely of stone. In the initial 1995–1996 surveys, these intermural structures within the enclosure were interpreted as insubstantial Vlach shepherds' huts, sheep-folds, and milking pens, an interpretation that Crowson casts doubt upon (Chapter 12).⁵² The scale of the fortifications, the absence of ancient settlement remains and the paucity of Classical and Hellenistic pottery are puzzling.

Two hypotheses might explain the strange character of Kalivo. It is possible that in the earlier Bronze or Archaic Greek periods, as well as in the Hellenistic period, it was a place for the seasonal corralling of large herds of either cattle or sheep. According to the ancient sources, stock-raising had always been a distinctive economic characteristic of Epirus. From the time of Hesiod⁵³ down to the Roman Empire, historical accounts of Epirus repeatedly refer to pastoralism and animal husbandry as the principal source of livelihood in the region. Later, Cicero⁵⁴ and Varro⁵⁵ describe the *Epirotici* and *Synepirotae* as the collective names of wealthy Romans who controlled large-scale pastoral and cattle ranches (*latifundia*) in Epirus. A principal interest of these Italian stock breeders was the production of quality goods (wool, racehorses, cows) for export to Italy to meet the new consumer demands of the time.⁵⁶ Julius Caesar, reflecting on his campaigns in the region, dismissed Epirus as harsh (*aspera*) and mountainous (*montuosa*), but noted that while cereals were scarce, the region produced a plentiful supply of cattle (*pecus*).⁵⁷ Evidently, in his war against Pompey, Caesar's troops survived on meat and a native root called *chara*.⁵⁸

Do Kalivo's encircling walls belong to episodes when livestock was exported from the valley? Certainly, the construction of such a large enclosure for holding animals would seem to be the work of a community with an explicit purpose. It would have been an entirely different strategy to corralling animals at dispersed ranches as was the case in modern Vlach households. Neritan Ceka interpreted the LBA fortified sites as corrals serving to protect livestock from wild animals and bandits at night.⁵⁹ The size and scale of the fortifications at Kalivo, larger than the fortified acropolis of Butrint by a magnitude of fifteen, begs for another explanation.

We believe a more compelling hypothesis is that Kalivo functioned as a fortified military camp and defensive

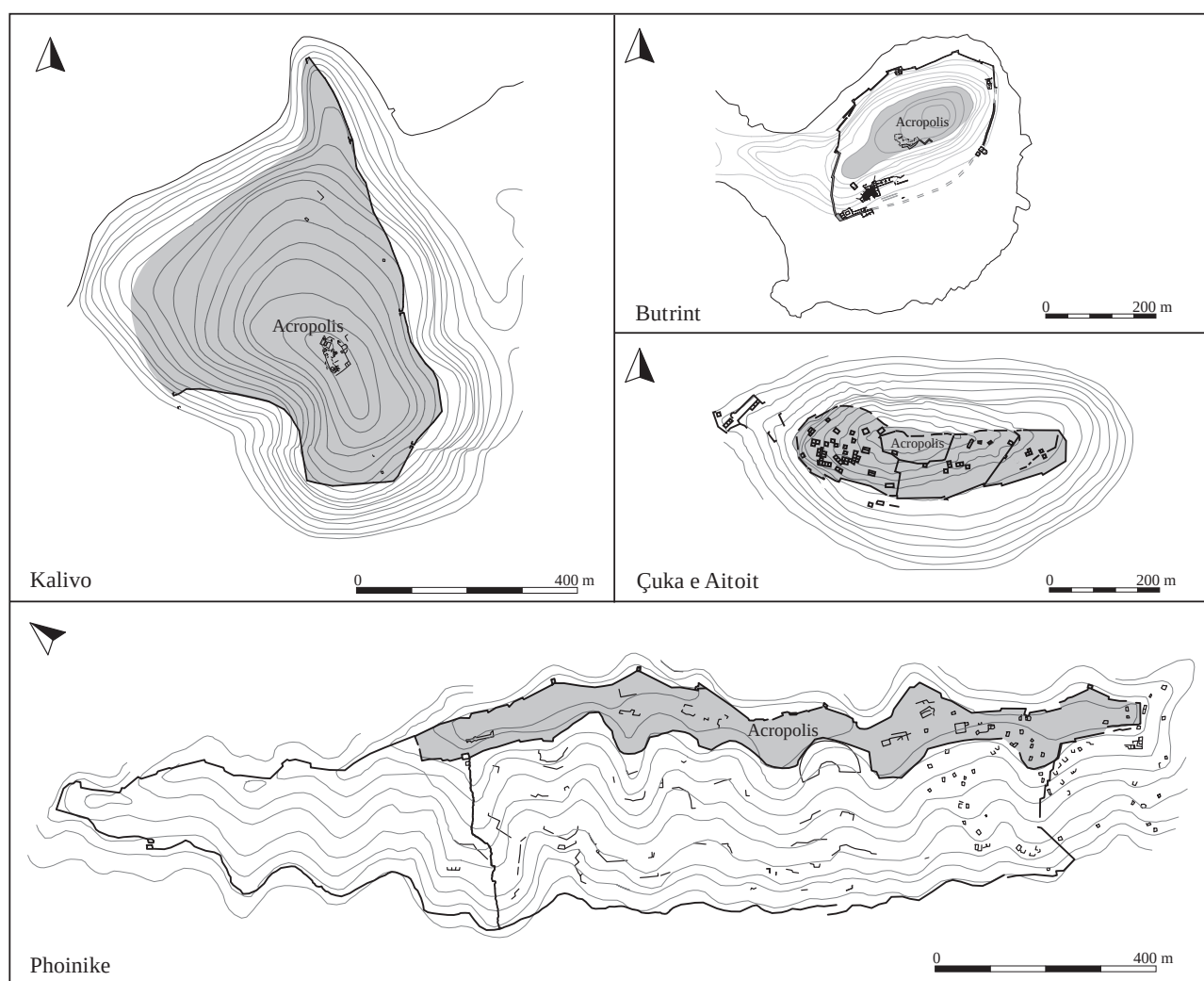


Figure 25.5. Acropolis plans of Kalivo, Butrint, Çuka e Aitoit and Phoinike, comparing the surface areas enclosed by fortifications (Drawn by Sarah Leppard)

refuge for the city's inhabitants during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. In the time of Augustus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus considered the hill to be the site of an ancient encampment, one that had been established by Butrint's Trojan founders. As discussed previously, the earliest phase of Kalivo's fortifications appear to date to the early 5th century BC, judging from the evidence of its wall typology, the discovery of imported Attic pottery at the site (Chapter 13) and the occupation sequence at Butrint.⁶⁰ The fortifications would have been built by Kerkyra at about the time when the Dema wall and the fortifications of Butrint were constructed. A reference to these defences appears to have been made by Thucydides, when describing the *stasis* (civil strife) on Kerkyra in 427 BC that emerged shortly after the start of the Peloponnesian War.⁶¹ In this conflict, the oligarchic faction (*oligoi*), supported by Greek Corinthians and Epirote Chaonians, contended with the island's democratic faction (*demos*) allied to Athens.⁶² Thucydides (3.85) reports that 500 Kerkyraian oligarchs seized the forts (*τείχη*) on the mainland (*peraiā*) and

occupied them as a base to attack the revolutionary citizens on the island. The word *τείχη* used by Thucydides is the plural form of *τείχος*, which means fort or the walls of a Greek military camp.⁶³ Kalivo was evidently the largest fortified site in Kerkyra's *peraiā*.

The focus of the Butrint Foundation's surveys and excavation within the fortifications was the unique walled enclosure (discussed above) on the southern summit of the hill, measuring c. 70 × 40 m and built of cut limestone. Numerous close-built structures were identified which originally would have consisted of a superstructure of either mud-brick or wood built above low stone walls. These buildings could have served as living quarters, shelters, barracks or other installations associated with a fortified military camp. Among the structures surveyed, the most significant was judged to be a rectangular building (c. 8 × 5 m) on the northern end of the enclosure (Chapter 13). It was built of cut stones and boulders that were similar to those comprising the fortification wall. Excavation of the building yielded Hellenistic pottery and numerous floor-

and roof-tile fragments, including a large complete tegula. Owing to its substantial build and commanding position, the building was interpreted as a key observation and communication point that served as the principal defence of the northern side of the hill. Indeed, its position afforded commanding views across the expanse of Lake Butrint and along the Vivari Channel, beyond Butrint, towards the Straits of Corfu (Kerkyra).

Historical sources record that Kerkyra had a substantial army in the Archaic and Classical periods and that the Epirote tribes also had substantial armies in the Hellenistic period. It is of some interest that the fortifications at Butrint and its hinterland were constructed immediately before Butrint was abandoned c. 475 BC. The rising power of the Epirote tribes, in this case the Chaonians, may have provided the impetus for their construction, perhaps as a last defense of Kerkyra's *peraia*. When the oligarchic faction occupied these defenses in 427 BC, Thucydides notes that they were supported by the Chaonians, who must have been in control of the mainland after Butrint's abandonment and Kerkyra's loss of its *peraia*. The rebuilding of Kalivo's walls and reuse of the encampment would coincide with the militarisation of Epirus under King Pyrrhus, who at the time fielded one of the strongest and most effective Hellenistic professional armies in the Mediterranean.⁶⁴ The Greek cities of south Italy (Magna Graecia) expected Pyrrhus to draw upon a large, well-trained, amply equipped and ready army from Epirus to lead its war against Rome. As Hammond observed: 'It is tantalizing that so much is known of the conflicts of Pyrrhus with Rome and with other states, but so little of his activities in Illyria and Epirus'.⁶⁵ Kalivo and its contemporary fortified sites in Chaonia likely represent some of the military structures associated with Pyrrhus's professional army in Epirus.

In many ways, Kalivo may be compared to Koroni, the fortified hilltop site in the territory of the *deme* Prasiai in Attica. As James R. McCredie notes in the introduction to his seminal study of *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, 'The results of these excavations not only conclusively showed that Koroni was *not* the site of the *deme*-centre of Prasiai, but provided solid evidence for a little-studied and almost unknown kind of site – a foreign military camp in Attica, and one whose construction could be dated to within a few years'.⁶⁶ The site of Koroni had walls that 'enclosed an area large enough for a considerable force' and featured six gates, of which three were posterns of 1 m width and three were narrow gates between 1.0 to 1.5 m wide.⁶⁷ The gates at Kalivo are also notably narrow; two are less than 2 m wide and only one is near a regular width at 4 m. The fortified camp at Koroni was built in support of Athens by Ptolemy II of Egypt. It must be noted here that Ptolemy II was not only a contemporary of Pyrrhus but also had an intriguing relationship with the king on account of his father Ptolemy I's long-standing alliance with Pyrrhus.⁶⁸ Pyrrhus's wife Antigone, queen of Epirus, was the daughter of Berenice, queen of Egypt and first wife of Ptolemy I.

The interpretation of Kalivo as a Classical and later

Hellenistic military encampment and refuge attached to the urban centre of Butrint conforms to the general framework of Greek territorial defenses. In this respect, Butrint was no different than the typical *polis*. As Rune Frederiksen observes: 'In Classical and Hellenistic Greece the walls of a polis-town, the urban centre of the polis, were often one constituent part only of a complex system of fortifications of the same polis-state, which included networks of forts and towers spreading out to the most remote corners of the territory'.⁶⁹ Recent research at Phoinike has shown that the defense of the city began with the defense of its territory.⁷⁰ In the case of Butrint, the fortified military camp of Kalivo would have served as the nexus of its territorial forts, particularly at Mursi, Malathrea, the Dema wall and, as we shall see below, Çuka e Aitoit (Fig 25.6). It is also important to note here that the fortification of Phoinike's acropolis, enclosing c. 10 ha, was considered insufficient for the city's defenses, which also enclosed more than 50 ha with the lower city. Judging from Butrint's comparatively small size in respect to Epirote sites and the large territory it controlled over the Pavllas River Valley, the fortified acropolis of *Bouthrotos*, with its sanctuary of Athena Polias, was simply not large enough to accommodate Butrint's population as a defensive refuge. It would seem that the expansive fortified site of Kalivo fulfilled that purpose. With the absence of a bridge across the Vivari Channel, it is conceivable that the fortified headland of Butrint offered refuge for inhabitants on the Ksamil Peninsula, whereas Kalivo afforded protection to those who dwelt across the channel in the Pavllas River Valley.

Çuka e Aitoit (Mount Aetòs)

The fortified site of Çuka e Aitoit occupies a prominent and distinctive hill situated at the opposite southern end of the Pavllas River Valley. At about 500 m above sea level, the acropolis is enclosed all around with an enceinte that measures more than 1100 m in length and encompasses c. 5 ha. As discussed previously, there are good grounds for supposing a relationship between this conical hilltop and the orientation of the Archaic temple of Athena on the acropolis at Butrint.⁷¹ Owing to the commanding position of the site, which controlled the southern part of the valley, the most pressing question concerns the historical relationship between Çuka e Aitoit and Butrint.

Bronze Age pottery has not been found here, and while some scholars attribute its fine polygonal walls and gates to Archaic Greek origins, as at Kalivo the similarities of certain architectural details with Butrint and Phoinike, as well as with the Thesprotian forts in the Kokytos Valley studied by Suha, are compelling and suggest a later date, sometime between the mid-4th and mid-3rd century BC.⁷² This would place the foundation of the site at about the time when Mursi was reoccupied and rebuilt to serve as a fortified complex (Chapter 20). On the basis of Islami's excavated evidence and regional comparanda of the polygonal masonry, including the Thesprotian analogies,

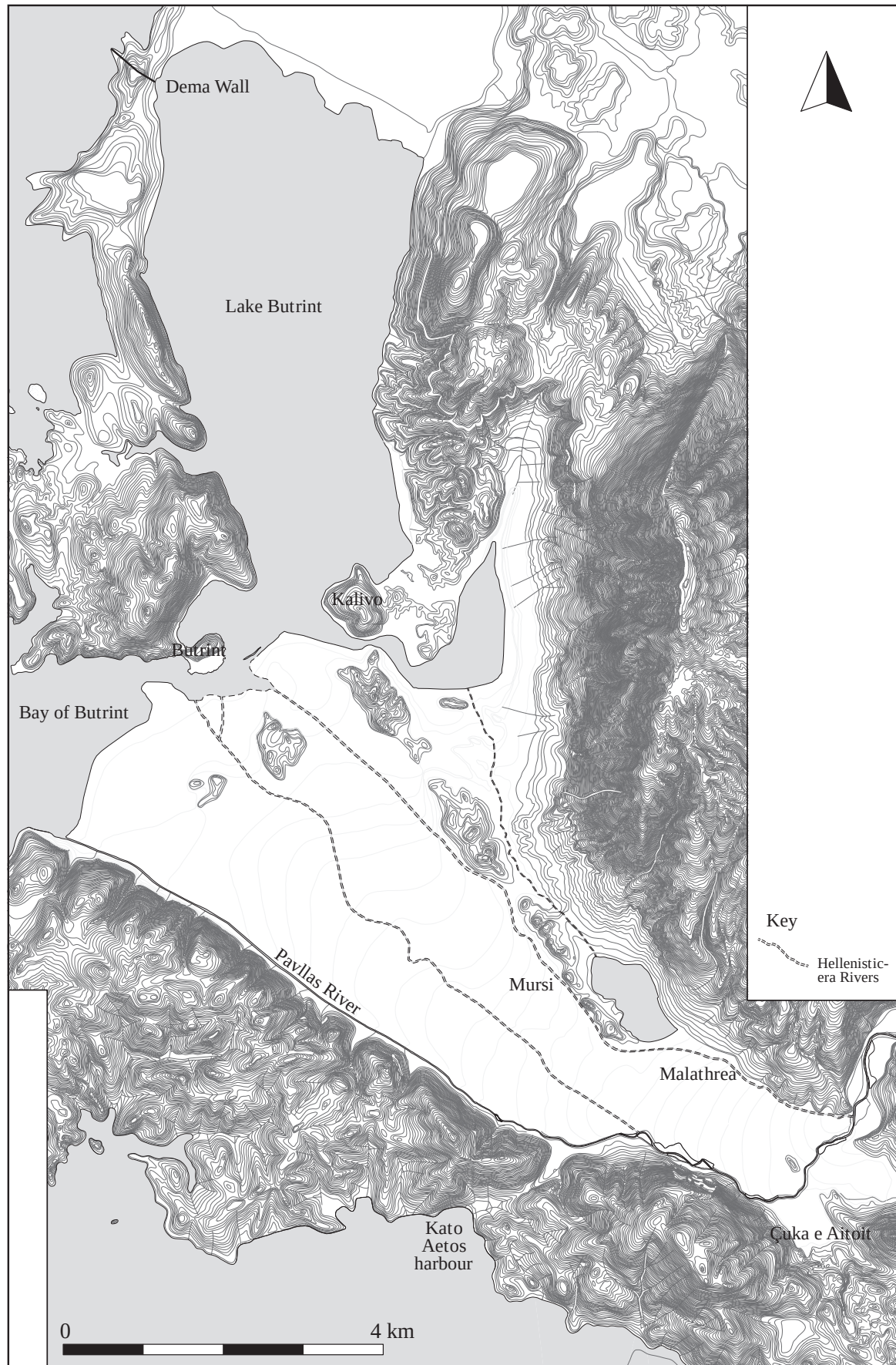


Figure 25.6. Butrint's defensive sites in the Pavllas River Valley during the Hellenistic period (Drawn by Sarah Leppard)



Figure 25.7. The Hellenistic and Roman fortified villa at Malathrea, 1920s, photographed by Luigi Maria Ugolini (BF archive)



Figure 25.8. Muzafer Korkuti (right) drawing the tower at Malathrea, with Damian Komata (left), c. 1959 (BF archive)

it is tempting to ascribe the principal investment at Çuka e Aitoit to the Epirote expansion under Pyrrhus in the early 3rd century BC.⁷³ The majority of the excavated material culture recovered by Islami (Chapter 11) dates to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, reinforcing the view that the site's principal phase occurred in the early Hellenistic period, after Epirus entered a phase of urban growth under Pyrrhus.

The fortification circuit included four offset-gates; three measuring c. 3.5 m wide and one 1.7 m wide. Islami's survey shows the existence of up to 40 Hellenistic buildings on the acropolis, most clustered on its western side which appears to represent the nucleus of the ancient settlement; only few remains were found at the centre and eastern end of the acropolis. A number of other dwellings were also identified outside the fortification walls. Three occupied a terrace on the western end of the hill; one of them in ashlar was substantial, the so-called 'Palace,' featuring an atrium, several rooms and corridors, among other domestic structures. However, while it was a settlement of some significance, it attracted little or no investment in monumental buildings, such as either a theatre or temples, unlike neighbouring urban sites. The fortifications were not built as part of a programme to create a city, with political, economic and public religious structures; they served instead to defend the property and lives of its local inhabitants in the event of war.⁷⁴ It is conceivable that the so-called 'Palace', as the most 'monumental' building at the site, could have served as a dwelling for the garrison commander who may have held this position on the lower eastern slope in order to facilitate communication with other defensive sites in the Pavllas River Valley.

The identification of Çuka e Aitoit as ancient Kestrine (Κεστρίνη), named after the only son of Helenus and Andromache, has attracted much interest and discussion since Hammond made the association.⁷⁵ Pliny refers to it as a town (*oppidum*) above the 'Thesprotian River Thyamis', which served as the traditional boundary separating Chaonia and Thesprotia.⁷⁶ The Thyamis may represent either the modern Pavllas River or more likely the Kalamas River. Kestrine was famous for its cattle, which presumably were brought to graze in the southern part of the Pavllas River Valley. Hammond observed that Stephanus of Byzantium, writing in the 6th century AD, referred to Kestrine in separate entries as part of Chaonia and part of Thesprotia.⁷⁷ In other words, Kestrine was situated on the border of these two powerful Epirote tribes and likely fell to the power of one or the other at times.

For Gitana and Phoinike, both inland sites, the principal value of Çuka e Aitoit lay in its proximity to the Ionian Sea, by offering access to Kerkyra and its maritime trading markets. In size, Çuka e Aitoit was significantly smaller than the Hellenistic tribal capitals of the Chaonians at Phoinike, 25 km to the north, and that of the Thesprotians at Gitana, 16 km to the south.⁷⁸ The settlement was connected to each by a north-south inland route. The town's name, Kestrine, reportedly derived from Butrint's Trojan founders, suggests that it was originally conceived as part

of the Chaonian territory of Butrint. If this is correct, then the fortifications of Çuka e Aitoit served primarily as a territorial marker and defence against Thesprotian Gitana. In the time of Pyrrhus, the Pavllas River Valley would then have been principally defended by Kalivo to the north and Çuka e Aitoit to the south, with forts stationed at the Dema wall to control access to the Ksamil Peninsula, at Malathrea to control access to the valley via the Bogazi Gorge, and at the harbour site of Kato Aetos to control the southern passage through Mt. Korafi opposite Mursi (Figs 25.6–8; see also Figs 20.43 and 20.44).

Roman intervention in the Balkans in the 2nd century BC radically altered Epirus. In 167 BC, following a *senatus consultum*, Aemilius Paullus plundered Molossia and other towns in Thesprotia and Kassopia that switched allegiance in the midst of the Third Macedonian War.⁷⁹ The Romans were thought to have enslaved 150,000 inhabitants and razed 70 towns (*oppida*).⁸⁰ Allied to Rome, Chaonia ascended in power in Epirus after the war, and with it, Butrint would have held firm control over Çuka e Aitoit in later Hellenistic times as the centre of the *koinon* of the *Prasaiboi*.⁸¹

This Hellenistic urban history may explain the character of the settlement pattern in the valley between Butrint and Çuka e Aitoit. Dispersed farms and other settlements in the valley are strikingly few compared, for example, to the Kokytos Valley in Thesprotia.⁸² The excavated villa at Diaporit (Chapter 19), well-built originally in ashlar masonry, and fortified dwelling at Malathrea (found beneath Roman remains),⁸³ as well as the ephemeral remains from Alinura Bay (Chapter 14) and possible villa at the Custom's House (Chapter 15), were comparable in style and scale by contemporary Roman standards with villas in Italy during the early Empire. Other farms doubtless existed and by the late Republic may have included the celebrated late Republican villa of Titus Pomponius Atticus. In sum, the archaeological evidence suggests that the Pavllas River Valley was a sparsely settled landscape up until the early Roman Empire, with an obvious emphasis upon nucleated communities near points of defence rather than dispersed villages and farms.

The Roman Period

Roman colonisation along the western Balkan coastline marked a major turning point in the urbanisation and administrative framework of Roman Epirus. The earliest colonies, which included Butrint, were spearheaded by Julius Caesar in 44 BC.⁸⁴ The colonists were civilians, consisting of Roman citizens and large numbers of freedmen, many of whom were clients of powerful senators and equestrians in Rome. These freedmen are well attested in the epigraphic record of Butrint.⁸⁵ After the battle of Actium, Augustus re-founded the colony of *Buthrotum*. The Augustan colonies were settled with veterans, probably shortly after 30 or 14 BC when large numbers of soldiers were retired.⁸⁶

Under the Empire, coastal cities thrived owing to their maritime disposition, which facilitated tax collection, trade, communications and their integration into the Empire.⁸⁷ Complex changes in the outlook of the local elite and civic benefaction arose under an imperial system that favored coastal sites and seaports in particular.⁸⁸ Rome's primary interests in Epirus were *tributum* (tribute), *dilectus* (levies) and *concordia* (civic order). The role of the Roman governor and the interests of *publicani* and *negotiatores* also gave coastal cities a decisive advantage for economic growth and political prosperity. Serving as the linchpins of the political and economic systems of the Empire, seaports were intimately connected to imperial patronage, tribute collection, trade and the imperial cult. The latter bolstered the image of the emperor and the imperial family within its centres of worship and offered local elites a path to imperial administration.⁸⁹

Susan Alcock considered Roman Epirus an outlier in the Mediterranean, believing that its substantial landholdings held by Italians emerged as a consequence of Paullus's destruction of southern Epirus in 167 BC.⁹⁰ A recent study has challenged this view, showing that Epirus is a representative example of the rise of Italian landownership throughout the provinces of the empire in the Late Republic.⁹¹ It would appear then that there was little correlation between the changing configurations of Lake Butrint and the intensification of agriculture at Butrint before the Roman colony.⁹² It is evident from archaeological excavations and landscape environmental studies that relative sea-level rise has been a long-term trend at Butrint since prehistoric times.⁹³ This led to the submergence of both the ancient urban centre and the Roman suburb on the Vrina Plain by the end of Late Antiquity. However, excavations in the Roman forum and elsewhere at Butrint reveal Roman surface levels and Roman-era trenches that suggest that a temporary drop in the water table occurred during the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods. This phenomenon likely bears some correlation to the availability of land for the construction of the Roman suburb on the Vrina Plain, as well as the position of the villa at Diaporit on the shoreline.

The origins of the *villa maritima* at Diaporit (Chapter 19), dating to the late 2nd century or early 1st century BC, shows profound Italian influence at Butrint and alterations in territorial use almost immediately after the inception of Roman rule. William Bowden astutely observes that the expansion of the fortified site of Malathrea with rooms built outside and around the Hellenistic perimeter walls in the 1st century BC reflects a 'reduction in the requirement for defence.' Given the relationship between landholding and political power at the municipal level, Italians operating in Epirus became leading members of the elite class in the major cities of the region, as is evident in the case of Butrint.⁹⁴ Let us look at this more closely.

Roman colonisation in Epirus brought the imposition of new land ownership and agrarian reconfigurations, particularly in the agriculturally productive lands

surrounding urban centres. The re-allocation of land served as the principal instrument of Roman imperialism in the governance and administration of the province. In line with this regional picture, Cicero (the intimate friend and family relation of Titus Pomponius Atticus) reports that the colonisation of Buthrotum involved the confiscation of land (*Buthrotium agrum proscriptum*).⁹⁵ Archaeological research beyond Butrint on the Vrina Plain has identified two phases of Roman centuriation laid out according to the Roman system of *actus* or *iugera* (1×2 *actus*).⁹⁶ One division was based on a 12×16 *actus* grid, which was the same employed during the founding of the contemporary colony of Corinth in 44 BC. The other land division at Butrint used a 20×20 *actus* grid, similar to the centuriation scheme of the Augustan foundations observed at Nikopolis, Patras and Arta.

The two cadastral divisions of land at Butrint would appear to belong to the establishment of the Caesarian and Augustan colonies. As elsewhere in Greece, as noted above, the investment in cities in Epirus was accompanied by a redistribution of lands and the formation of a new land-owning aristocracy that brought changes in municipal political leadership. This is especially evident in the epigraphic record of Butrint where virtually no prominent families under the Republic continued to hold offices into the imperial period (except for Atticus's family, the Pomponii/Caecilii, which was linked by marriage to the imperial family).⁹⁷

Recently discovered and well-dated Arctic ice core data demonstrate that an extreme cold period resulted from a massive eruption of Alaska's Okmok volcano in 43 BC.⁹⁸ Ancient sources attest to unusual climate, crop failures, famine, disease and unrest in the Mediterranean during this period. Some combination of these Mediterranean-wide environmental changes as well as intensification and clearances coinciding with the creation of the Vrina Plain suburb outside Butrint and an associated centuriated landscape may explain the 'increase in clastic input to the lake with a relative maximum at c. AD 550.'⁹⁹ Morellón and his colleagues also add:

'This stage also correlates with the end of the first synchronous accelerated phase of Pan-Mediterranean delta construction. A short-lived, strong decrease in arboreal pollen was also recorded at the same time. In contrast, and according to Hounslow and Chepstow-Lusty, the most intense period of siltation recorded in the Vrina Plain, occurred later than recorded in our sequence, from 450 to 1200 AD, with a marked increase in soil input. This discrepancy might be due to a different management of the Pavlas River catchment or to dating uncertainties related with archaeomagnetic dating.'¹⁰⁰

The pollen record shows the profound changes that arose in the Pavlas River Valley due to Roman colonisation.

Kalivo appears to have been abandoned in the 2nd century BC, judging from the recovered material evidence at the site. The fortified hilltop settlement of Çuka e Aitoit

displays only a small amount of evidence for Roman occupation and appears to have been largely depopulated by the Augustan period.¹⁰¹ So far, no trace of any settlement, for example, has been found around the foot of the hill. It is hard not to deduce that after the redistribution of some or all of its dependent territory among the Roman colonists of *Buthrotum*, the community dwindled away and was effectively abandoned by the 1st century AD.

How do we explain the demise of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit in respect to Epirote history? Under the new political and economic framework of the Roman Empire, the fortified defensive sites in the Pavllas River Valley became obsolete. Throughout Epirus, strongly fortified hilltop settlements, in particular, were less able to integrate into the systems of provincial administration and imperial trade. Many of the mighty cities that had prospered in Hellenistic times as tribal capitals, such as Amantia, Phoinike, Gitana, Elea and Kassope, together with many other smaller satellite settlements and fortresses, diminished rapidly in importance and prestige and received little investment under the Roman Empire. These cities were among the largest in Epirus, many with theatres and impressive public buildings. At the time when they were founded, they were well positioned in the landscape to defend the territorial boundaries of the Epirote tribal groups. In southern Epirus, the Nikopolis Project, for example, did not recover evidence for Roman-era habitation in highland areas.¹⁰² Mountainous areas and hilltops were abandoned.¹⁰³ Settlements were concentrated in coastal and lowland territory. By the Augustan period, the pastoral-centred tribal system of pre-Roman Epirus had become extinct all but in name.¹⁰⁴

Archaeological surveys of the Pavllas River Valley have discovered a very high proportion of Roman sites (59) in the territory of Buthrotum from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD, compared to few (9) dating to other periods.¹⁰⁵ The countryside was relatively densely occupied, and the greatest intensive agricultural exploitation of Butrint's territory occurred under the Roman Empire. On the evidence of the Butrint surveys, in the aftermath of the foundation of the colony, Butrint's hinterland, extending to Çuka e Aitoit, was occupied by several large and small villas and farms (large like those at Diaporit (Chapter 19), on the Vrina Plain (Chapter 17) and Malathrea (Chapter 20); small like those at Alinura Bay (Chapter 14) and the Customs House (Chapter 15)), mostly lasting into the early 3rd century AD. The major reconstruction of the *villa maritima* at Diaporit around the mid-1st century AD involved the reorientation of the entire complex to create a more impressive appearance for those arriving by boat. The fact that the principal approach to the villa was from the lake represents the entirely new maritime disposition of the Roman city. By the 2nd century AD, the villa featured a colossal bath comprised of more than 20 rooms, demonstrating not only the owner's wealth but also his knowledge of the latest architectural trends. The *villa maritima* was largely devoted to luxury, as yet showing no elements of productivity. The elite owner probably operated

a network of productive sites in the region. In its broader context, the villa at Diaporit is similar to Italian villas and notably different from the general attributes of villas found in Greece. In this way, the Roman colonial city of Butrint shows its attachment to the sea and the city's wider outlook beyond its shores to Italy.

The settlement history at the suburban bridgehead in front of Butrint on the Vrina Plain throws some light on the ever-changing landowning conditions. Here by the later 2nd century AD, a sprawling villa entirely occupied the old suburb.¹⁰⁶ This suggests that the colonial centuriation process was succeeded by an estate belonging to a sizeable extra-mural villa. It presumably managed its estate with a network of smaller associated farmsteads.¹⁰⁷ Importantly, this large Vrina Plain villa dates to the moment when the Roman (and earlier Hellenistic) villa at Diaporit was abandoned (Chapter 19). It remains to be seen if the other villas found in surveys of Butrint's catchment were also abandoned at this time.

In summary, the settlement pattern in this territory became increasingly more concentrated in the later part of the Roman period – or rather anchored on the suburban villa at Butrint – in contrast to, for example, the increasing diversity of sites from the Middle Roman period in the neighbouring Kokytos Valley in Thesprotia.¹⁰⁸ For the early Roman period, the discovery of the bronze statuette of Pan (Chapter 24) on Mount Mile, a god of shepherds, flocks and wild nature, serves as a tangible reminder of the intimate relationship between urban centre and the countryside in Roman Butrint.

Late Antiquity and Middle Ages

In the late 4th century AD, the Butrint headland experienced a sudden and substantial elevation change due to an earthquake.¹⁰⁹ The subsidence permanently submerged the Roman forum and much of the urban centre and appears to have brought an end to the *domus* on the Vrina Plain. It also perhaps contributed to the continued abandonment of the villa at Diaporit until the later 5th century AD.¹¹⁰ Judging from the survey data, the revival of Butrint as a commercial port in the late 5th and early 6th centuries AD was reflected in the short-term reoccupation of certain strategic ecological points in its immediate hinterland. Thanks to the excavations at Diaporit and Malathrea, it is clear that certain earlier villas were briefly reoccupied (Chapter 19). In the late 5th century AD, the old Roman *villa maritima* at Diaporit was rebuilt into a substantial Byzantine church, which probably served as a pilgrimage site. This revival appears to have lasted no more than a generation or two. With the sudden decline of the port in the later 6th and 7th centuries AD and the apparent refortification of Çuka e Aitoit as perhaps a refuge¹¹¹, the evidence of the field surveys suggests Butrint's hinterland was once again abandoned. Certainly, the striking density of Late Antique sites found in Attic Greece and the Kokytos Valley of Thesprotia, sometimes exceeding the survey



Figure 25.9. Vlach shepherds at Butrint, c. 1928 (Photo by Luigi Maria Ugolini/BF archive)

numbers of early Imperial sites, is not replicated in this territory.¹¹² As elsewhere in the central Mediterranean, rural settlements in the hinterland of Butrint between the 7th and 10th centuries have yet to be found, despite the distinctive material footprint of elite households at Butrint itself during this period.¹¹³

The survey data indicate that even with the Mid-Byzantine renewal of Butrint as a port in the later 10th and 11th centuries, when a new castle, new city walls and new urban elements were constructed,¹¹⁴ it was largely disengaged from its surrounding hinterland.¹¹⁵ Minimal evidence of Medieval rural settlements has been discovered, although, of course, post-Classical settlements were composed of clusters of households on hilltops such as at Çuka e Aitoit and Xarra – in the latter case, obfuscated by the later (modern) village – with small ephemeral footprints characterised by either post-built or small rubble-built stone structures like those excavated in the Triconch Palace area and on the acropolis of Butrint.¹¹⁶

It seems that Butrint's Mid- to Late Byzantine occupants, lacking the imperial Roman bridge leading southward over the Vivari Channel, and now presumably using boats to reach the Vrina Plain and beyond, had instead employed a less intensive mix of food procurement dependent upon herding

into the hills, and cultivating gardens within the fortified town and its immediate vicinity.¹¹⁷ The Butrint Foundation excavations on the Vrina Plain did show that some limited and short-lived religious activity arose at the site of the old abandoned *oikos* across from Butrint in the 11th or 12th century AD.¹¹⁸ In addition, the excavations at the old *villa suburbana* on the Vrina Plain (Chapter 17) revealed traces of a modest affluent household occupied sometime in the later 11th and 13th centuries. The recovery of a bronze pectoral cross from this period at the site suggests the existence of a nearby church or more likely a simple chapel.

In this Epirote town, then, a quintessential Mediterranean urban story was detachable from the history of exploitation of its landscape, but not from the environmental effects of its emergent wetlands.¹¹⁹ From the 11th century onwards, marshes extended significantly in the distal areas of the Vrina Plain.¹²⁰ Why there was this environmental change is not clear. It might have been the result of a naturally driven process due to rising relative sea levels or the continuous progradation of the Pavllas River delta, or a consequence of the adoption of different agricultural strategies, that are not as yet evident from the archaeological surveys, resulting in an increased sediment loading of inflowing rivers that tipped the environmental balance.¹²¹

Venetian, Ottoman and Modern Era

These environmental conditions and the small-scale settlement are depicted upon the first maps of the area made by the Venetians, British and French. The 16th- to 19th-century cartographic renderings reveal features associated with activities and settlement in the region, as well as those associated with the challenging conditions of the wetland environment.¹²² The homogeneity of the thick alluvial topsoil in the upper Pavllas River Valley shows that similar conditions prevailed on the plain since at least the 13th century, driven primarily by flooding and the ecological dynamics of the wetland. At times in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Vrina Plain was under cultivation, as historical maps and documents show. These instances depended most on political stability and human labour, that is, on the construction of drainage works on the Vrina Plain, the clearance of woods, the planting of seasonal crops and the implementation of measures to circumvent the wetland conditions and flooding episodes. This human-environmental dynamic was a vicious cycle; a diminution of human input made the region wilder and less habitable, while an increase in human efforts had the opposite effect.

The likely rediscovery of Zarópulo (Chapter 18) shows that this small settlement on the inland road from the Triangular Fortress at Butrint to Delvina may have had modest later Medieval origins, but was probably a seasonal settlement for Vlach shepherds and herders rather than a permanent village. After the abandonment of the hilltop of Mursi by the 1st century BC, no traces of activity were identified at the site until the Venetian and Ottoman periods.

The nature of this activity, however, remains obscure (Chapter 20), as no architectural remains of this date were identified at the site, although imported Venetian glazed wares and a fragment of Ottoman smoking pipe were found. Venetian finds were more substantial at Alinura Bay (Chapter 14), where the remains of a modest farm house were identified, similar in form to those excavated at the Roman forum.¹²³ Notwithstanding this limited activity, as of the later Middle Ages, Butrint's hinterland became the largely empty landscape that was the home of mobile Vlach pastoralists that S. S. Clarke (Chapter 1) and Luigi Maria Ugolini describe in the 1920s (Fig. 25.9).¹²⁴

Final Remarks

Butrint's earliest defences emerged beyond the city itself, with an aim to control the territory of the Pavllas River Valley. The strongly fortified site of Kalivo evidently served as the principal encampment and nexus of military installations stretching from the Dema wall to the north down to what may now be properly classified as a citadel at the top of Çuka e Aitoit to the south. These fortified sites, which have largely been misunderstood since Ugolini's discovery of the 'three ancient cities' in 1924, are a testament to the advanced militarisation of Epirus in the early Hellenistic period, particularly during the reign of Pyrrhus.¹²⁵

It seems probable now that the main discovery from research in the Pavllas River Valley over the past century is that from the Late Bronze Age to the early

Table 25.2. A summary of the settlement and environmental history in Butrint's hinterland

Period	Settlement characteristics	Environment characteristics
Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic	Seasonal occupation of caves and seaside hilltops	Embayment, sand dunes, <i>terra rossa</i>
Neolithic	Cave occupation (Konispol); few focused settlements (none in the Pavllas River Valley)	Smaller embayment
Late Bronze Age	Small fortified & open sites; territorial definition (Mursi as tribal frontier)	Emergence of lagoon
Archaic	Unfortified hilltop nuclei (small <i>polis</i>) at Butrint	Lagoon
Classical	Fortified hilltops at Butrint, Kalivo, Çuka e Aitoit	Lagoon; soil displacement
Hellenistic	Expansion of urban fortifications to the lower city; farms	Lagoon; alluviation
Early Roman	Butrint, villas, small farms; abandonment of Kalivo, Çuka e Aitoit and hilltop sites	Land reclamation
Middle Roman	Butrint, large suburban villa & farms	Reclamation
Late Antiquity	Butrint, monasteries, farms	Rise in relative sea levels (after earthquake)
Mid Byzantine 1: c. AD 600–800	Butrint towers; Çuka e Aitoit hilltop reoccupied?	Stable lagoon
Mid Byzantine 2: c. AD 800–1000	Vrina Plain archon's residence	Stable lagoon
Mid Byzantine 3: c. AD 1000–1200	New town at Butrint & small farms (?)	Rise in relative sea level [?] created by colluvium
Later Byzantine	Butrint; no farms	Stable lagoon
Venetian	Fortress Butrint & small seasonal pastoralist villages	Stable lagoon; land reclamation
Ottoman	Fortress Butrint & small seasonal pastoralist villages	Stable lagoon environment

modern period, it was a territory shaped episodically, on the one hand, by pastoralism and military defence (not only against neighbouring threats but also for or against foreign maritime powers) and, on the other hand, in response to environmental changes associated with the lagoon, the sea and Mediterranean climate (Table 25.2). There is one significant proviso to this conclusion. Only under the umbrella of the Roman Empire (beginning after the mid-2nd century BC and particularly with its reinvention as a Roman colony following the Battle of Actium in 31 BC), as a favoured provincial seaport, did Butrint seek to develop a pattern of agriculture with farms, ranches, systematic land plots and specialised stockbreeding of cattle. Previously, Butrint had prioritised herding and fishing. To facilitate this, a major road-bridge was constructed, connecting the isthmus of Butrint to its suburb on the Vrina Plain and the broader Pavllas River Valley.¹²⁶ Amidst this productivity, well-appointed maritime villas, with significant amenities, punctuated the landscape, overlooking Butrint Bay and Lake Butrint. Before and after this Roman investment in the hinterland of the port, until Communist times in the 1960s, the level of agricultural investment beyond Butrint was remarkably modest, perhaps aimed at meeting local demand alone, and much of it was pastoral and at times seasonal. Butrint, it can be concluded, was for most of its history a Mediterranean port inextricably tied to the sea with a narrow engagement with its hinterland.

Notes

- 1 Hekataios of Miletos *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 1 F105 = Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Xaovía*. Hammond 1967, 451, 474; Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, 343.
- 2 Ugolini 1937, 34.
- 3 Hodges 2014.
- 4 Ugolini 1937, 17.
- 5 For abandoned Butrint, see Hernandez 2019.
- 6 Hodges 2009.
- 7 Newby 1984, 133.
- 8 Ugolini 1937, 6, fig. 2, 40–42; Hernandez 2019, 371–72, 395. See also Hammond 1967, 82, map 4.
- 9 Lane 2004; Bescoby 2007, 2013; Bescoby, Barclay and Andrews 2008; Greenslade 2019b, 1–6.
- 10 Brown 1997, 17–33.
- 11 See also Lane 2004, 29–30; Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 119.
- 12 Francis and Gjipali 2005, 193; Francis and Vulpi 2005, 89–98, fig. 2.50; Skeates 2005, 5.
- 13 Mustilli 1941, 677–681; Francis 2005b, 186.
- 14 Mustilli 1941, 679; Francis and Vulpi 2005, 24–26; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 197.
- 15 Gjipali *et al.* 2015; Hauck *et al.* 2017.
- 16 Hauck *et al.* 2017, 167.
- 17 Schuldenrein 2001. See, for example, similar circumstances in neighbouring Thesprotia: Forsén 2011, 3–8.
- 18 Schuldenrein 2001. In the Thesprotia surveys of the Kokytos Valley, Forsén (2011, 5, fig. 3) found continuity between Neolithic and Bronze Age sites which has not been found in the hinterland of Butrint.
- 19 Forsén 2011, 3–8.
- 20 See Gjipali 2018.
- 21 Tartaron 2004, 174; similarly see Jeannette Forsén (2016) who describes the lack of well-known Greek pottery influences for the Bronze Age ceramics of Kokytos Valley sites in Thesprotia.
- 22 Tartaron 2017. Local imitations of Mycenaean kylikes and flint tools were found in an LBA apsidal house at Kyra near Ioannina: see Vasileiou 2011.
- 23 Lefe and Galaty 2009, 107–108.
- 24 Lane 2004, 43–45.
- 25 Schuldenrein 2001, 595.
- 26 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016, 149.
- 27 Lima 2013, 35–37.
- 28 Zheku 1963.
- 29 See Gjipali 2018, 36.
- 30 Lima 2013, 32–35.
- 31 See, for example, Forsén 2009; also Tzortzatou and Fatsiou 2009.
- 32 For Mycenaean cultural contact with Kerkyra (Corfu), see Sordinas 1969; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 11–13; with Italy and the eastern Adriatic coast, see Vagnetti 1982; Wardle 1993; Bejko 2002; Galaty 2007; Tomas 2010.
- 33 Hammond 1967, 325–331; Lefe and Galaty 2009, 107–108.
- 34 See Ugolini (Chapters 3, 5 and 7 in this volume); Hammond 1967, 94–98; Ceka 1976; 1988a; Karauskaj 2009, 49–50; Bogdani and Giorgi 2012, 249–252, 258–260; Suha 2016; Hernandez 2017a, 211 n.24, 238 n.135, 240, 249–250, 259. Hernandez 2017a.
- 35 For the Ionian-Sea style, see Barletta 1983; 1990, 46, 71.
- 36 Hernandez 2017a, 223–224.
- 37 Hernandez 2017a, 250.
- 38 Hernandez 2017a, 258. See Diodorus Siculus 21.4; Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 9.1.
- 40 For the theatre at Butrint, Gilkes 2003b.
- 41 Chang 1992, 80.
- 42 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016; Morellón, Sinopoli *et al.* 2016.
- 43 Vergil *Aeneid* 3.289–505.
- 44 Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.51.1.
- 45 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 260.
- 46 Lima 2013, 35–37, fig. 3.6.
- 47 Hernandez 2017a, 249–250; fig. 36. See also Giorgi and Lepore 2020, 171.
- 48 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 260.
- 49 Suha 2009, 125; 2016, 318, fn. 24.
- 50 Frederiksen 2011, 51.
- 51 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 169–172, 249–252; Giorgi and Lepore 2020, 154–163.
- 52 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004, 51–52, fig. 4.6.
- 53 Hesiod *Γυναικῶν Κατάλογος* (*Catalogue of Women*) 181.
- 54 Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.13.1.
- 55 Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.1.2, 2.2.1, 2.5.1, 2.5.10.
- 56 Eberle and Le Quéré 2017.
- 57 Caesar *Bellum Civile* 3.42.
- 58 Caesar *Bellum Civile* 3.48.
- 59 Ceka 2013, 50.
- 60 Hernandez 2017a, 245–253.
- 61 Thucydides 3.70–85. See also Price 2001, 6–78; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 124–129.
- 62 Hammond 1967, 504.
- 63 Frederiksen 2011, 21.
- 64 Hammond 1967, 572–588; Meyer 2013, 126–129. Plutarch

- Pyrrhus; Justin 25.5.3: 'There is general agreement among ancient authorities that no king, either of that or the former age, compares to Pyrrhus...' For the professionalization of Hellenistic armies, see Chaniotis 2005.
- 65 Hammond 1967, 586.
- 66 McCredie 1966, 2 (emphasis original).
- 67 McCredie 1966, 5.
- 68 Adams 2008, 94–97.
- 69 Frederiksen 2011, 8.
- 70 Giorgi and Lepore 2020, 176.
- 71 Hernandez 2017a, 240.
- 72 Suha 2009, 126, 129, concerning the gate and tower designs shared between Ayios Donatos and Çuka e Aitoit; Hernandez 2017a; Giorgi and Lepore 2020.
- 73 See also Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 250–251.
- 74 Bogdani 2007, 254.
- 75 Pausanias 1.11.1, 2.23.6. Hammond 1967, 661, 677–678; cf. Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 251–252.
- 76 Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.1. 4.
- 77 Hammond 1967, 677. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Τροία, Καμμανία, and Χαῦνοι.
- 78 For Gitana, see Kanta-Kitsou 2008; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 129–132, figs 18 and 19.
- 79 Polybius 30.15; Livy 43.21.4, 45.34.5; Strabo 7.7.3; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 3.39; Plutarch *Aemilius Paulus* 29.4.
- 80 Ziolkowski 1986.
- 81 Cf. Ceka 1976, 36–37; Cabanes, Drini and Hatzopoulos 2007, 242–248.
- 82 Forsén 2011, fig. 4.
- 83 Çondi 1984; Hodges *et al.* 2016, 6, fig. 12.
- 84 Rizakis 1997.
- 85 See Hernandez 2017b.
- 86 Keppie 1983, 73–86.
- 87 See Alcock 1993; 2002; Spawforth 2012.
- 88 Alcock 1993; 2002; Rizakis 1997; Revell 2009; Spawforth 2012.
- 89 Hernandez 2017b.
- 90 Alcock 1993, 75.
- 91 Eberle and Le Quéré 2017.
- 92 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016, 149.
- 93 Bescoby 2013, 26; Greenslade 2019a, 1–3, and studies cited there.
- 94 Alcock 1993, 75, 85–88; Rizakis 1997.
- 95 Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum* 16.16A.
- 96 Bescoby 2006; 2007, 113; 2013; 2019.
- 97 Hernandez 2017b.
- 98 McConnell *et al.* 2020.
- 99 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016, 149.
- 100 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016, 146.
- 101 Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, 251.
- 102 Stein 2001, 72.
- 103 Karatzeni 2001, 170.
- 104 Hammond 1967, 460.
- 105 Hodges *et al.* 2016.
- 106 Greenslade 2019a.
- 107 Greenslade and Hodges 2019a, 365–369.
- 108 Forsén 2011, fig. 8.
- 109 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 289–290; Bescoby 2013, 27–29.
- 110 Greenslade 2019e, 128–130.
- 111 See Bowden 2016, 238–239.
- 112 Cf. Sanders 2004, 163–168; Forsén 2011, fig. 8.
- 113 Hodges 2017b.
- 114 Hodges 2015.
- 115 In contrast to the Kokytos Valley in Thesprotia where Forsén (2011, 27) describes up to ten Medieval sites identified in surveys.
- 116 Cf. Bowden, Culwick *et al.* 2011, 119–144.
- 117 Hernandez 2019, 389.
- 118 Greenslade 2019f, 256.
- 119 Horden and Purcell 2000, 100–101.
- 120 Hernandez 2019, 376–378.
- 121 Morellón, Anselmetti *et al.* 2016; Morellón, Sinopoli *et al.* 2016; Bescoby *et al.* 2008; Bescoby 2013.
- 122 Hernandez 2019, 395–403.
- 123 Hernandez 2019, 378–389.
- 124 Ugolini 1937, 34.
- 125 Ugolini 1937, 18, fn.1.
- 126 Leppard 2013.

Appendix: Dhimosten Budina (1930–2004) – ‘Architect’ of the Butrint Archaeological Park

Oliver J. Gilkes and Richard Hodges

Dhimosten Budina was born in 1930 in Korçë, in southeast Albania.¹ During the Second World War his family joined the partisans, and Budina’s brother was a member of the band that worked with the British SOE’s Brigadier ‘Trotsky’

Davies.² Budina studied history at the higher state college (later the University) of Tirana. This led him, in 1952, to be selected to go to Moscow to study archaeology as part of one of the first group of students encouraged by the



Figure App. 1. Qerim Çukaj, Butrint’s post-war custodian (BF archive)



Figure App. 2. Dhimosten Budina at Butrint (BF archive)

senior Albanian archaeologists of the time, Hasan Ceka, Skender Anamali and Selim Islami.

Returning to Albania in 1956, Budina was assigned the study of Butrint as a doctoral thesis topic. The site now lay in a border zone that was off limits to most Albanians. After 1945, Butrint was put into the custodianship of an ex-partisan, Qerim Çukaj (Fig. App. 1), who provided tours for the occasional visitors who came to the archaeological site by boat.³ Skender Anamali, who before the Second World War had studied in Italy, was a key figure in the post-war development of Albanian archaeology and he was keen to encourage his younger colleague to take up where Luigi Maria Ugolini and the Italian archaeologists had left off. Ugolini’s published works were given to Budina, and Butrint and its surroundings became his main area of study for the rest of his career.

Budina was one of the principal figures behind the invitation to Professor Vladimir Dmitriyevich Blavatsky to head a Soviet Archaeological Mission to Albania in the late 1950s. He took part in the resulting programme of works, assisting at Apollonia and Çuka e Aitoit and directing with Blavatsky’s wife (Tatiana V. Blavatskaya) the excavations of the odeon at Oricum and Ripes.

Following the political schism with Moscow, Budina nonetheless became a major figure in the project to make an Archaeological Map of Albania. He extended Ugolini’s

excavations around Butrint’s theatre and at the same time mapped the finds from its hinterland as new state farms were created and the lands were systematically drained by new channels. Resources were limited, but the small archaeological team that had been created in Tirana worked in a spirit of cooperation, attending and staffing each other’s projects. Budina recounted how most of the equipment assembled by Ugolini had been stolen during the war, and he had to obtain the loan of two trucks from the bitumen mines at Selenica to run on the still-surviving Decauville railway laid down by the Italians.

Budina also pursued surveys further afield in the Delvina basin and the Drinos valley, overseeing the recording of individual monuments as well as noting other ancient sites.⁴ This major work remains the basis of our understanding of the ancient landscapes around Butrint, Phoinike, Delvina and Gjirokastra.

In this period, as part of Enver Hoxha’s imitation of the Chinese cultural revolution, the so-called Ideological and Cultural Revolution, Budina was instructed to design the first post-war elements of the park at Butrint.⁵ Working with the newly created Institute of Monuments, he erected the first fence and made paved paths through the site.

In the 1970s, with the creation of the local offices of the Institute of Archaeology, Dhimosten Budina became head of the Saranda office and the chief archaeologist at Butrint



Figure App. 3. Dhimosten Budina (third from left) and Kosta Lako (with cap) at Butrint, 1970 (BF archive)



Figure App. 4. Selim Islami (centre) on Lake Butrint, 1964 (BF archive)

(Fig. App. 2). In this period, he recruited Kosta Lako (Fig. App. 3), Astrit Nanaj and Dhimitër Çondi to work with him and encouraged each to develop their own project within Saranda's larger territory. Apart from new excavations at Butrint, excavations were launched at the major Hellenistic cities of Phoinike and Antigonea. In 1982, most members of Tirana's Institute of Archaeology recall his successful training school at Butrint, managed in collaboration with (the Saranda-born) Selim Islami (Fig. App. 4).

Following Enver Hoxha's death in 1985 and the period in which Ramiz Alia attempted a limited liberalisation, Budina enthusiastically engaged with the efforts to promote tourism to Butrint to raise hard currency for the state. As part of this initiative, in 1988, the museum in the castle was refurbished. From this difficult period also dates the first post-war mission to Butrint, led by the Greek archaeologist Kati Hadjis and a conference and its mimeographed proceedings entitled *Butroti*.⁶ Meanwhile, a new tourist restaurant serving fish and mussels from Butrint was created with concrete picnic tables and benches dispersed around it.

In 1992, Budina returned to Moscow and took Russian citizenship, remaining there for the rest of his life. During the 1990s, he became involved in Russian archaeology and was part of the team that carried out major excavations in Red Square.

Dhimosten Budina was a conscientious and capable archaeologist who provided a solid guardianship of Butrint. As an archaeologist, he acted as an important link between the Butrint of the 1940s and the 21st century. In addition, he helped to build the road to Butrint on the occasion of Khrushchev's visit in 1959⁷, and played an active role in the making of the present cable ferry across the Vivari Channel, as well as some of the tourist facilities, prefiguring Albania's first UNESCO world heritage site.

Like Luigi Maria Ugolini, he has an enduring place in the history of Butrint.

The following extracts have been edited and translated from about three hours of taped interviews carried out in June–July 2000 in Tirana, Apollonia, Butrint and on a trip to Dobra.⁸

How did you become an archaeologist?

'I was sent as a student to study in Moscow in 1952. I was amongst the first Albanian students to go there. I had wanted to study Illyrian archaeology and was very disappointed when I discovered that it was not on the curriculum! Instead, I worked on Classical Archaeology under Professor Vladimir Dmitriyevich Blavatsky. He had worked in the Crimea a lot, at Cherson and Kertch, but I was sent all over. Once, I went to Uzbekistan to work on a site; there was nothing, no water, no people, really in the middle of nowhere, just sand, scorpions and snakes.

Blavatsky was only interested in archaeology. In his flat in Moscow there was no television. He never read newspapers. There were just books. He was very rigorous, if you borrowed a book, for example, his wife would note it down in a book. She organised all sorts of things like that.

I lived in student residences in the city and saw a lot of Moscow. Once, in 1952 I think, I remember seeing Stalin on top of Lenin's mausoleum during the parade for May Day.'

What was archaeology like in Albania in those early days?

'Well, there were very few of us; Anamali, Islami and Hasan [Ceka] and the first group of students were few, so we all helped each other. The projects that went on over the year around the country would draw on all the archaeologists to go and help, even if it was not our speciality or region.

Ceka was the major figure and used to do a lot of teaching with the students; there were Frano Prendi, and yes Muzafer [Korkuti], Neritan [Ceka] and others. He used to hold meetings in the library in Tirana.

It was a good time, up until the Russians left. I helped to encourage my Professor [Blavatsky] to come to Albania with a mission where he worked with Ceka. I was there at Apollonia too, and I also got to work with his wife, Tatiana Blavatskaya, at a side project at Oricum where we discovered the theatre. She was an archaeologist too and ran many of the supporting excavations.

I remember the visit of Khrushchev as we were all mobilised to help. The original plan entailed a visit to Apollonia, but to get there the road needed repairs, in particular, a bridge (it is still there) to get vehicles over the last stream to Apollonia. Anyway, we were all sent

down to be there. The bridge had just been finished; it was built in a matter of days, and we are all standing to attention like soldiers! Then the message came that they had to cancel the visit and Khrushchev and Comrade Enver were going to go from Vlora to Saranda by sea. I remember we were all piled into trucks and cars, and we raced down by road to be there too.

How did you become involved with Butrint?

‘On returning from Moscow, I met Skender Anamali to talk about a doctoral study. He suggested to me that I should take up the study of Butrint; at that time nobody was dealing with it. So, I said yes.’

What was Butrint like on your first visit?

‘Very different. One had to come by boat. Also, it was all overgrown and the castle was all in ruins. The party had appointed a guardian, an old partisan called Qerim Çukaj. He had been wounded by the Germans and could not work, so he was sent here. His family lived, at first, in the tower of the castle, where Ugolini’s rooms were, and later, when a small museum was organised, moved to the small house.

Çukaj used to keep bees; he had several hives by the road up to the castle. These were burnt when Khrushchev visited as they were worried that he might be stung. He also had problems with the Vlachs shepherds. There were many then, all over the plain. The Vlachs used to use the museum to keep their animals, tying them to the statues standing there and the goats used to cause chaos in Butrint. Çukaj got them to stop and forbade the animals to enter. The Vlachs had a certain revenge. They gave him a kid, a young goat as a gift, and then when he tried to prevent them entering the site, they threatened to inform the party that he had been bribed!

Anyway, Çukaj used to hire the Vlach as labourers to help clear the vegetation that had grown up during the war.

He also acted as a guide to visitors. He knew nothing and was entirely uneducated. He would spend his days sleeping under the tree there [outside the castle gates], and I remember coming on him once fast asleep, but surrounded by snakes basking in the sun. Hasan Ceka wrote him a sheet of notes that he learnt by heart and he would tell all this to visitors. If anybody asked questions, he would say “for questions you must go to Tirana.”’

What were the regulations that governed passage to Butrint when you were working here?

‘The Dema wall was the border for us. We used to go up to there using a simple passport, but beyond that area (to go to Ksamili or Konispoli) we needed a special permission to pass through.

I remember once getting into trouble with the police at the head of the river. I had gone down to have dinner with them, but on returning, the police post at Butrint refused to let me land without a permit. By then, it

was late and I had drunk some raki and the thought of having to row all the way back to get a permit was awful. Anyway, eventually I argued it through with them.’

How was the main road built?

‘Originally, they wanted to build the road just above the main ruins of the city, but I didn’t let them do that by telling them that I was going to send a letter to Enver Hoxha complaining about this. They were afraid of what I said because Hoxha was very devoted to archaeology, and they didn’t want to any trouble. So, I suggested building the road from the other side, just above the marsh, which took much more effort to build, but it was better and worth it. I couldn’t let them destroy the city.’

So, the road ran to Ugolini’s old landing stage?

‘No, no, Ugolini’s landing place was inside the fence, just opposite the hut. We built the new road for the ferry.’

What about the ferry?

‘The Kestrine plain [Pavillas River Valley] was very rich in agricultural products and to transport them from Konispol to trade in Saranda took a long time having to go right round. I asked: “why can’t we pass them through this new road by building also a new bridge?” In the beginning, it was difficult to do so from a strategic point of view, but later on they took up the idea. In the beginning, the ferry was built and held by ropes, it had to be pulled across by hand, but later on we introduced the winch, which was at first petrol driven, before electricity came here, and later used electricity which exists also today.

The ferry was built about 1970. Beqir Balluku ordered the army to build it because during that time the army was involved in building the terraces in Ksamil.’

All this must have helped with the tourists; how many were there by this time?

‘The tourist numbers in Butrint at that time were 4,500 per year. This was also the reason representatives of the government thought to build a bar where people could have a drink. There used to be a small and rather mean bar just as you entered the site, on the left side where the columns are now. But I didn’t like that and fought against it because a lot of people used to get drunk there and started singing while we were working. But to tell the truth, I didn’t want a bar inside the archaeological area at all. This problem went right up to the ears of the government. After Enver Hoxha died, Ramiz Alia became president and the leader of the country and, in 1986, he came to visit Butrint. He was a very friendly person. We had a big discussion about Butrint’s future, not only from the archaeological point of view, but also about how to increase tourist activity like building a new big hotel in Ksamil with a special menu of Albanian seafood. I complained to him about the bar, also, and just one day after, the bar changed its location. A new

one was built outside the archaeological area known today as Vangjeli's bar.'

When did the tourists start visiting Butrint?

'The tourists have been visiting since the beginning. Once, there was a group of English specialists here to visit Medieval churches which came to visit Butrint. It was very difficult in that time to get permission to visit the churches in Albania, but I did my best for them to see Butrint, Konispol and Mesopotam churches. They were very happy as up until then they had seen only things of the new Albania!'

Did the tourists walk around Butrint as today?

'All the existing paths are since Ugolini's time. We built only a few ones like paved roads to indicate to people the different important monuments. There are not many discoveries made by us.'

This area we are in, just outside the walls of the city, was the cemetery?

'Yes, the graves were between the rocks all over this area. They were of two different types: cremation and inhumation. Sometimes we also found graves during the excavations to build the road. They were simple graves with everyday artefacts (like a vase of the Roman period). Graves can be identified especially during the winter when there is no vegetation.'

How often did you come to work in Butrint?

'We were not working like you, because we used to come to Butrint five or six times during the year to see and study a particular monument that I or someone else was researching. That was in the beginning, in the 1950s and 1960s. From the 1970s, this changed and we were sent out from Tirana to local offices and then we were here more permanently.'

So, you worked on a seasonal basis at first?

'During 1962-1990, every year excavations took place in Butrint and this was for two main reasons. Firstly, because I was interested in studying the Roman period and antiquity (for example, the theatre) and, secondly, to ensure that the site was not forgotten; that there are still archaeological excavations, particularly Albanian ones, proceeding in Butrint after the Second World War.'

When did Kosta Lako, Astrid Nanaj and Dhimitër Çondi become part of the archaeological team in Butrint?

'The first arrival was Kosta in the early 1970s and then Astrid with Çondi in 1978. We always picked up students from the history department in Tirana University to become archaeologists. The archaeological team in Butrint was composed of three archaeologists, one architect and the cleaning workers that were here. There were three archaeological sectors. Kosta worked

in the sector for the Late Antique period. I worked for the Hellenistic period and Astrid worked for prehistory. On the other hand, Çondi didn't have a proper sector to work in. In the beginning, I was the only archaeologist working and covering the entire area of Vjosa, Gjirokastra and Saranda; in other words, all of ancient Epirus. The Institute of Monuments separated from us and they used to do only the restoration here in Butrint.

My first excavations were in 1956, in the cemetery. Then, until about 1960, I tried to make good plans of monuments dug up already by Ugolini, and clear rubble and undergrowth.'

How did Ugolini excavate?

'I heard stories from the workers, some of whom were the sons of those who had worked for Ugolini, that they used dynamite to destroy the big pieces of rock that had buried the theatre for centuries. The problem was he did not have enough funding to pay enough workers to do it all by hand, but also the rocks were so large that they could not have done this in any other way.'

Do you think he was a good archaeologist?

'Well, he was a Count. He was, I think, a good dedicated archaeologist, who did a lot of good work.'

Were any of your workmen the same as his?

'We had some of their sons, but there was one old man who had actually worked for Ugolini. He was much too old to dig, so we appointed him to be the guide.

Anyway, from 1965, we began again to work near the theatre. I really wanted to make part of this huge area an Albanian excavation, up until then it had all been Italian. So, we started to clear away an area in sector B, to the west of the theatre, where there was a house.'

So, you focused on this building near the theatre, in sector B?

'Yes, this was originally the *prytanion* of the Hellenistic city; it went with the theatre. Later on it became converted into a simple sort of house in the Roman period. We called it the fisherman's house because we found many bronze fishhooks. Also, in that large pit, there was a layer, oh a metre to a metre and a half deep, all of fish bones. We thought this was the place where the fish was conserved and kept cool before cooking. Butrint was known also in the Venetian period as a developed city in fish trading.'

Did you also work in the theatre?

'We did cleaning excavations in order to find and see clearly Ugolini's excavations in Butrint. I did also a plan of the entire zone. Ugolini found the inscriptions of Butrint's theatre and we had the idea to publish them. But in the beginning, we had to copy them letter by letter, we had no way of taking impressions; they were lying in the water. It was I and Koco Bozhori doing this job; a

very good photographer, Mehmet Kallfa, helped us also.

Then we published the inscriptions, but as we were not specialists (and this was obvious), Pierre Cabanes took up the work and years later made his own publication upon the Butrint inscriptions. We also removed the wall there [in the eastern *parados*] to check for further inscriptions.’

How did you deal with the water level in the theatre?

‘We used to dry and clean the channel at the beginning of the tourist season in order to avoid the bad smell and to keep the water clean. There was a big pump installed here that could be used when we needed it.’

How many workers did you have working with you?

‘In the big expedition of 1982, we started excavations in Butrint with 200 workers, separated in different groups and sectors headed by Kosta and Selim Islami. During the excavations, they found a well similar to the one in the Lion gate, and the Institute of Monuments restored it.

My dream was to excavate here [beside the so-called shops to the east of the theatre] because I think the Roman city centre is underneath, but the main problem is the water.’

Why didn’t you carry on the excavations in 1983–1984?

‘We had a group of students from Tirana University who came to do a training course in archaeology in 1982. In later years there was no need to work with so many. The only archaeologists during that time [1982] here were Selim Islami, Skender Anamali and myself. A van was placed at our disposal after we finished our job in Butrint and to return to Saranda to have our lunch, shower and so on.’

What about the light railway system around the site, did you also use this?

‘The railway was built by Ugolini and the carriages passed on it to throw away the soil into the sea. I brought two further carriages from Tirana, actually from the bitumen mines near Vlora, to use for the excavations. The railway was destroyed only after the 1950s. We really only used it for one year. It was simpler to transport the soil with barrows rather than with the heavy trucks.’

You also dug at the ‘gymnasium’ in 1982?

‘We found some graves and a mosaic. Half of it was actually excavated by Ugolini, but we finished that all and finally we found a sculpture, the head of ‘Germanicus’ and part of a big torso. The head was found where the inscription is now for the moment.

Just beyond we found a tower and some inscriptions, but it was difficult to work under the water conditions. We were more interested to study the Hellenistic period, but because we found material from the Roman phases, then we decided to excavate and study all. We then

started looking at the fortification wall in order to show the different ambient inside this one.’

Where did you stay while working in Butrint?

‘During the first excavations in Butrint, I used to live in Ugolini’s house, the small one beyond the castle. In the beginning this was the habitation of the site guardian.’

So, you began the excavations here on the acropolis that were continued by the Greek team?

‘Yes, I started to work up here. In fact, Mustilli had dug here before me; he excavated some pits over there, behind the little house, oh, in 1941, but they were refilled. I dug up here in about 1980.

In 1982, Astrid continued with deep excavations. During these excavations, they moved layers and walls from the Medieval period in order to reach and study the archaic ones. This is the reason why you see now this confused situation here. I didn’t remove the latest walls even though it was very difficult to reach the archaic layer with those above it.

I always have a principle in my work. During the excavation, I always try to preserve everything, especially in a multi-layer excavation, even if I might not be interested to study all of it. The first and last case where we destroyed a piece of wall, was when we found the first statue of our excavation and this only because we were too excited about it.’

So, Domenico Mustilli also worked up here?

‘Domenico Mustilli wrote some articles for the Illyrian origin of Epirus. He came years later to Butrint to find the Corinthian pottery from his excavations here, vessels discovered by him years before. I accompanied him and helped him to try to find them, but he didn’t. So, in the future, you’ll have the chance to find Mustilli’s Corinthian vessels, about which he wrote his article.

Another point is, when you dig different trenches you’ll find inside Albanian coins, which is a sign that these trenches were dug before by Albanian archaeologists and covered again leaving inside them coins as a sign. I did the same thing also in Antigonea.’

You can also see the rear of the city wall clearly up here?

‘It’s quite clear. In the city wall you can distinguish all the archaeological periods from the archaic to the Turkish. Neritan Ceka thinks that the wall existed since the city was built (end of the 6th century, beginning of 5th century BC). The main entrance is dated to the 6th century BC. Ceka also developed the theory of the pre-citizen phase (7th–5th centuries BC). In the 5th century BC, the site became a true city. The Illyrian period starts from the 5th century BC till the 1st century BC, and then commences the Roman period. In the past, we haven’t done much excavation because the forest was so thick and was very hard to work in. But we have found parts of the Hellenistic period (especially fragment of walls)

and we think underneath here will be the ancient city of Butrint (4th-3rd centuries BC). In the Hellenistic period, the city changed its location, laying in the southern part, and then in the Roman period it grew and expanded, running until the border of the channel where another wall was constructed. Ancient Butrint was where the theatre is now together with the Agora.'

So, what was the monument on the summit of the acropolis, a church?

'Yes, it was a church that was constructed with blocks from the fortification wall. There are also some mosaics inside. Do you know what happened to these mosaics? Well, parts of them were removed by Ugolini to display them in the museum, but most parts from these mosaics were already badly damaged.'

Do you think that there might be the remains of a Hellenistic temple?

'Of course, yes, but we never found it; let's hope you will.'

The following are comments during a trip to Dobra.

When did you come for the first time to Malathrea?

'I don't remember the year, but the first information about this comes from Ugolini, who did visit it during the archaeological mission in Butrint. Then we continued the excavations, which revealed a similar situation of the villa above. There are different rooms, of which the more important are those used for economic purposes in the house. We didn't find columns, but there were lots of ceramics. Because of the fact that there were many rooms for economic purposes, we didn't call these buildings fortresses, but villas, and because Butrint was also a rich city of agricultural and animal products, people used to build these villas in areas around it.

Çuka, that you can see from here, was known as an archaeological site by all the archaeologists over the years, because of its archaeological remains on the surface, and there are also fragments of Medieval walls. During 1959, the Soviet-Albanian Archaeological Expedition came here after excavations done in Apollonia and decided to do an informative expedition in Butrint. The first team headed by Selim Islami and Blavatsky conducted excavations in the main entrance of Çuka. In other words, we advanced the excavations done by Ugolini. The other group with Blavatsky's wife and I undertook an informative expedition in the mountains towards Çameria. During the expedition, we were living in Butrint like you are doing now. The expedition lasted for two weeks and, in the end, we had results that the main gate of Çuka was the entrance of a big building, dated to around the 4th-3rd century BC. Later on,

Kosta also made studies of the Medieval fortification wall, and he determined different archaeological periods connected to this one.

Another problem with Çuka was the transfer of the gateway to the National Museum in Tirana; it's now in the garden there. There was really a very hot discussion between specialists and representatives of the government. In the end, they decided to transfer the main door into the museum, promising to replace it with a copy, but they never did. L Lazar Papajani was the man who worked for two months to transfer the door, doing measurements and keeping notes all the time.'

Were the Russians (Soviets) interested in southern Albania?

'No, they weren't really interested. It was the interest of Selim Islami, and for this he exploited the Russian presence in Albanian archaeology during that time.'

Did you have any difficulties in excavating here apart from the need for special permission?

'Not in this context. We had difficulties only finding funding. When this was secured, then we decided when and where to start the excavations.

There was one time when we were working for the archaeological map of southern Albania when we were doing field survey between Shalesi and Janar. I was carrying around the cameras we had been given for photographs; these were very unusual in those days, and we were in a frontier area. Anyway, one evening a policeman came to see me and said that as we were in a sensitive zone, could we be vigilant and look for a reported spy who was traveling around with a camera. Well, this was me, of course! I was very happy to put the matter right, as I had a permit.

In the same area, we were once staying in school in a village which was entirely Greek speaking, nobody spoke Albanian. We had a cook, but to let her know what we wanted each day we had to write it on the blackboard – "today we want spaghetti with meat" and so on.'

How did the site at Dobra first become known?

'Well, of course, Ugolini did some work here. But for our part, it was because of the fact that fields belonging to Konispoli needed water, it was decided to build a channel to bring the water from Bistrica river to here. When we saw the remains of a building, we decided to dig it up in order to keep it safe from the people, who sometimes used to take stone blocks to build their houses. In the beginning, we thought it was a store or magazine, but later on it became obvious that it was a villa. How this building is connected with the Hellenistic one on the top there [Vagalati], is something that you can find in the future. These bunkers were added later.'

Who gave the permission to build the bunkers?

'Well, because we were a Communist country, the

government decided to build bunkers all over the country with the excuse to protect the country from a ‘Capitalist’ invasion, and as you see all the bunkers in Butrint are facing Greece where the attack was expected.

In my opinion, we have a temple here and a villa as well. In the beginning was revealed only a small part of the fine Hellenistic wall by Ugolini. Then, we continued the excavations, especially Çondi after 1980. The villa is composed of a main garden with different rooms around it. For example, the rooms used for household activities, like the one where wine was produced and kept. You can see the tanks and fragments of storage pots. These rooms are common for the ancient period, composed by plaster walls. There are documents about this also in the archives.

During your work at Phoinike, did you ever think of creating a local museum similar to that at Butrint?

‘The villagers there found five heads of statues, and they gave them to the teacher of the village. But when I went to the teacher, he was not there to open the museum room. So, I opened the room myself (which I could do as the people had a certain trust in me) and I sent them to Tirana. After some years, in Konispol a teacher from Finiqi was telling the story of ‘the five heads stolen by a certain Dhimosten Budina, saying that we didn’t know what had become of them. I was worried that this “legend” might become fact and asked him: “Do you know this Dhimosten?”

“No” he said. Well, I said, “I’m him”. If you come with me to Tirana, you’ll find the ‘stolen heads. I also did get copies made of the heads and placed them in a small

museum. When I came to Butrint, I brought the original heads back from Tirana in order to be part of the museum that we had started to create, and two of them were stolen in 1992. In 1997, Moikom Zeqo wrote an article saying that one of these heads had been sold in Greece and is still there now.⁹ During the Communist period, the villagers without demanding any money freely gave the most of the archaeological objects to the archaeologists.

Notes

- 1 See also De Maria and Giorgi 2005; Korkuti 2005.
- 2 See Bailey 2008, 96–101.
- 3 Querim Cukaj’s son, Namik – the only person to be born in Butrint in modern times, told Oliver Gilkes that his father kept bees that Budina ordered to be destroyed when Khrushchev visited in 1959.
- 4 Budina 1971a; 1971b.
- 5 Ugolini created the archaeological site with a museum before his untimely death in 1936. This inheritance was protected until the 1960s when Budina was given the authority to develop this. He installed the elements of the park (a fence and paths) as well as refurbished, though did not essentially alter, the museum that Ugolini had made: Hodges and Paterlini 2013, 257; Hodges 2017b, 32. On Hoxha’s Ideological and Cultural Revolution, see Fischer 2013, 205–206.
- 6 Budina, Drini and Pollo 1988.
- 7 Hodges 2009.
- 8 Thanks to Etleva Nallbani who acted as translator during the interviews.
- 9 Several stolen Roman busts were returned to Butrint from Greece by Konstantinos L. Zachos on behalf of the Greek authorities.

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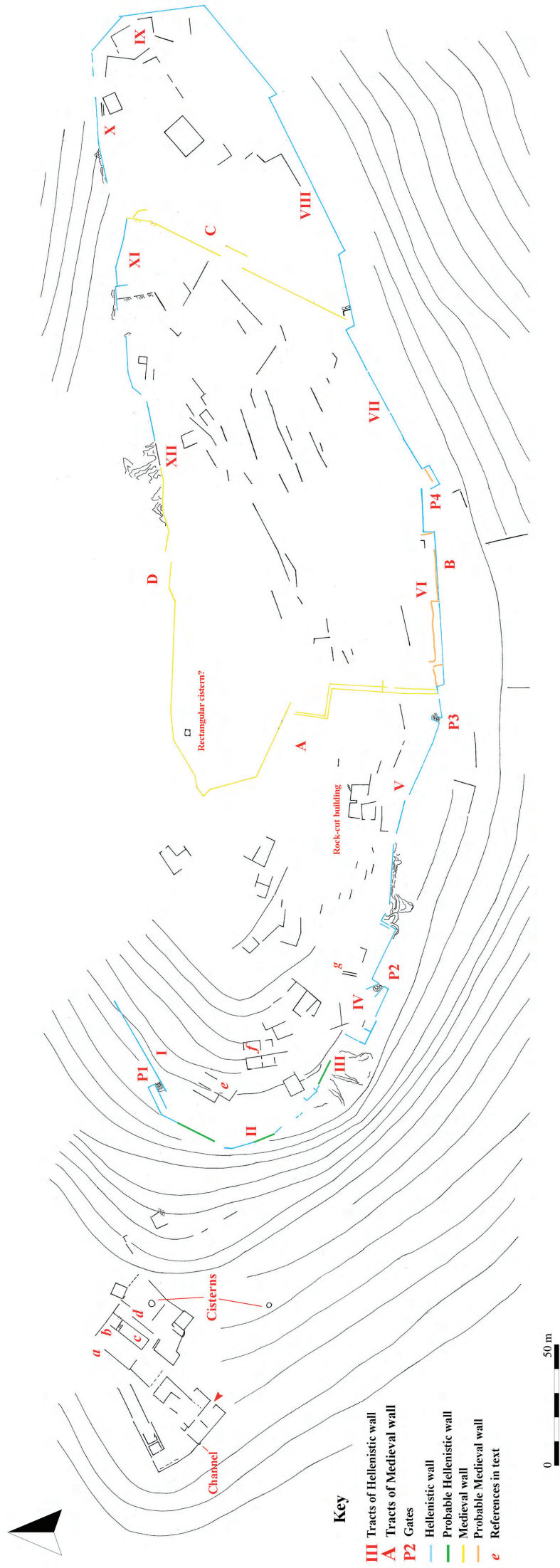


Plate 4.1. Survey of Çuka e Aitoit by the Italian Archaeological Mission, 1929 (After Selim Islami/BF archive)

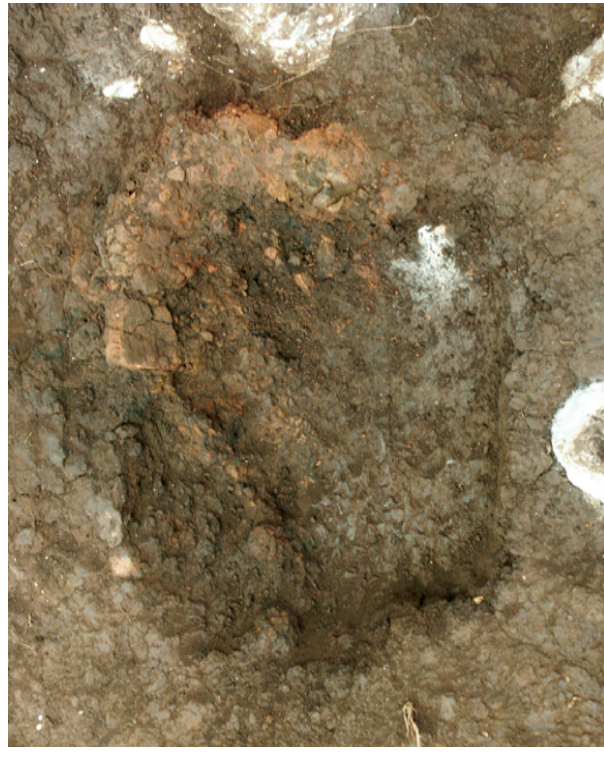
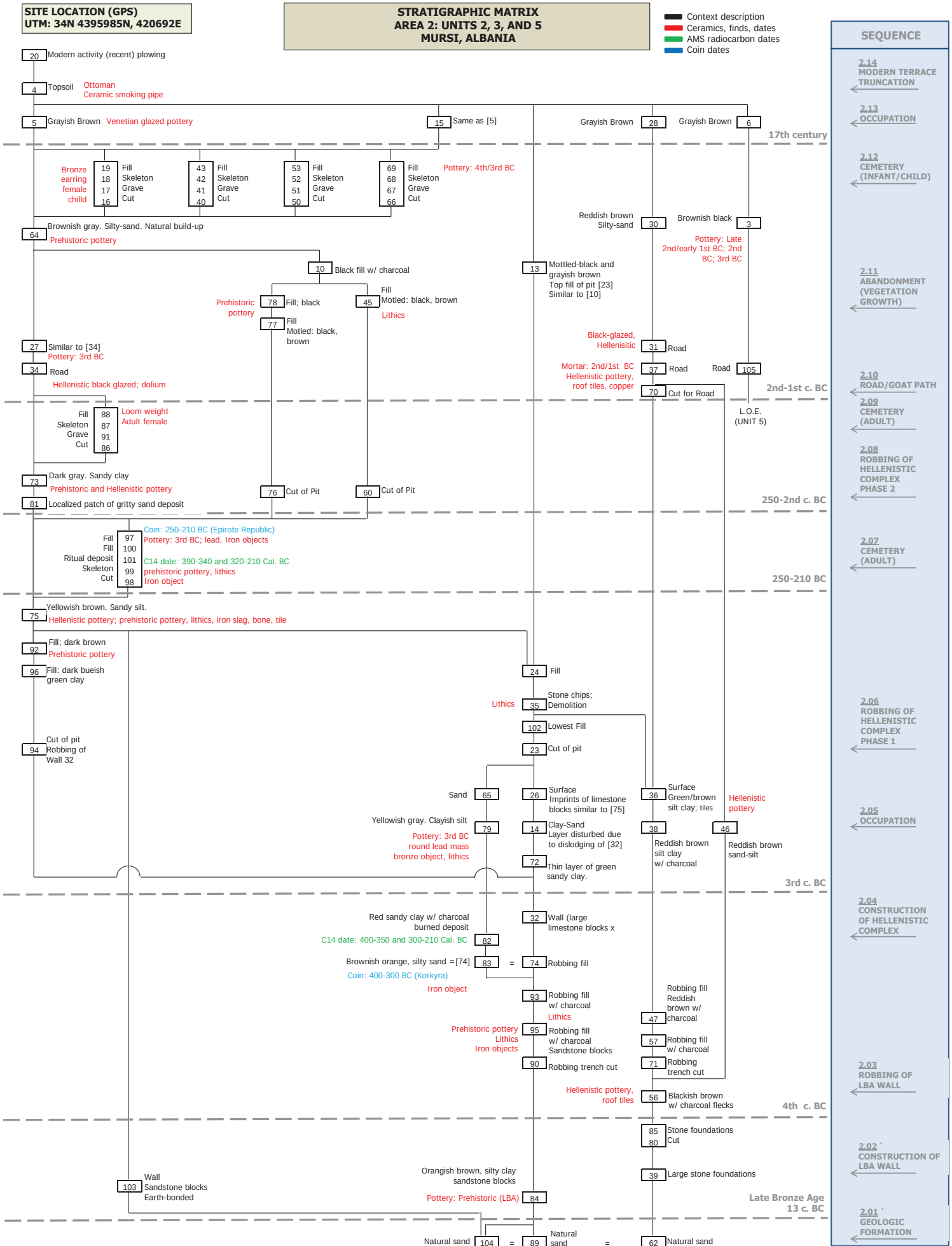


Plate 13.1. Kalivo: Clay-lined hearth at the head of the southern gate (BF archive)



SITE LOCATION (GPS)
UTM: 34N 4395985N, 420692E

STRATIGRAPHIC MATRIX
AREA 1: UNIT 1
AREA 3: UNIT 4
AREA 5: UNITS 6, 7, and 8
MURSI, ALBANIA

- Context description
- Ceramics, finds, dates
- AMS radiocarbon dates
- OSL, IRSL, TL dates



Plate 20.2. Mursi: Stratigraphic matrix of Units 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8 in Areas 1, 3 and 5 (David Hernandez)

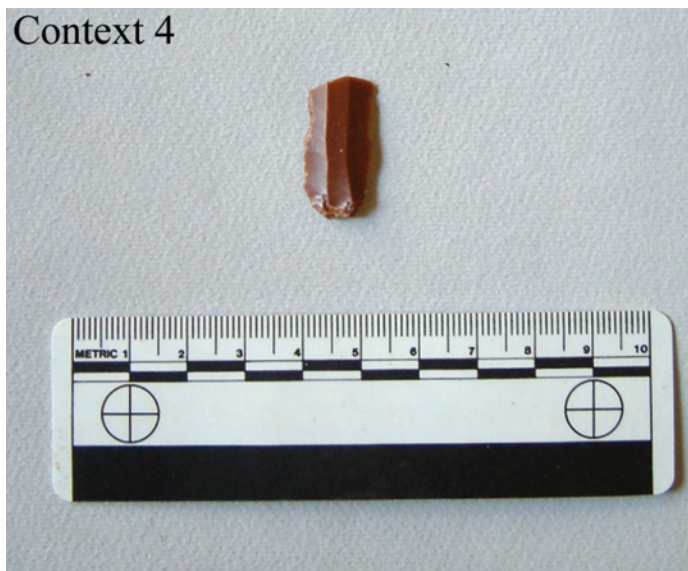


Plate 20.3. Mursi: Flints from Context 4 (Area 2, Unit 2), Context 54 (Area 3, Unit 4), and Context 101 (Area 2, Unit 3) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Plate 20.4. Mursi: Flints and obsidian scraper from used core (lower right) from Context 12 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Plate 20.5. Mursi: Flints from Context 44 (Area 1, Unit 1) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Plate 20.6. Mursi: North-facing section of Unit 2, showing robbing trench 71 (lower right) (Photo by David Hernandez)



Plate 20.7. Mursi: Detail of robbing trench 71 (Photo by David Hernandez)

Pavllas River Valley
Ceramic Categories

Burnished Black and
Gray Ware
40 sherds



Chalky Buff Ware
82 sherds



Powdery Orange Ware
47 sherds



Rough Red Ware
159 sherds



Soapy Brown Ware
469 sherds



Percentages of Pavllas River Valley
Ceramic Categories

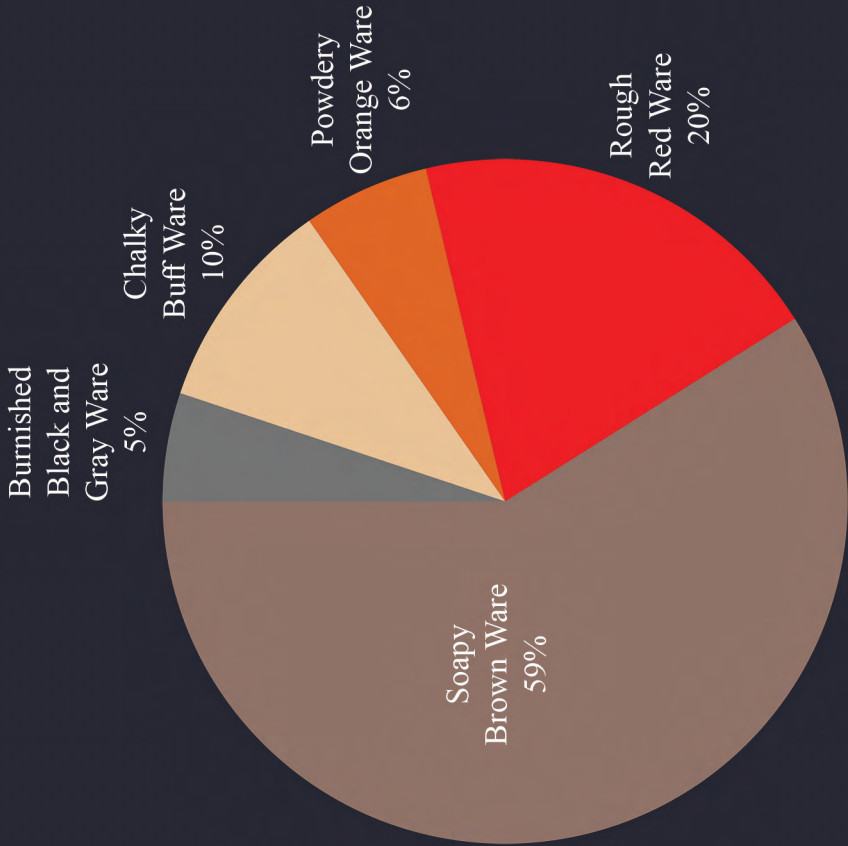


Plate 21.1. Percentages of Pavllas River Valley wares recovered from Unit 1 at Mursi (Drawn by Sarah Lima and Sarah Leppard)



Plate 21.2. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, exterior surface: Outturned, flat diagonal lip rim and bell (?) handle attachment zone on slightly carinated body in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (31 cm diam., 1.31 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (illustrated in Fig. 21.14) (Photo by Sarah Lima)



Plate 21.3. Mursi Cooking Pot 2, interior surface: Outturned, flat diagonal lip rim and bell (?) handle attachment zone on slightly carinated body in Pavllas River Valley Soapy Brown cooking ware (31 cm diam., 1.31 cm th.) from Mursi Unit 1, Context 12 (illustrated in Fig. 21.14) (Photo by Sarah Lima)

Pavllas River Valley Powdery Orange Ware

Found at Mursi,
made at Kalivo



Found at Kalivo,
made at Kalivo



Found at
Cape Stillo,
made at
Kalivo

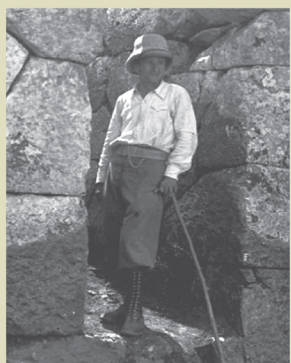
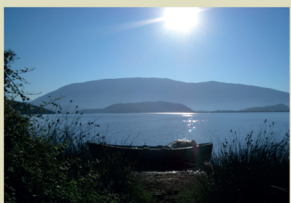
Found at
Cape Stillo,
made at
Cape Stillo



Plate 21.4. Comparison of Pavllas River Valley Powdery Orange wares by site and clay source (Drawn by Sarah Lima and Sarah Leppard)

BUTRINT 7

BEYOND BUTRINT



This volume brings together unpublished Italian and Albanian archaeological reports and new archaeological studies from recent fieldwork that throw new light on the archaeology and history of the Pavllas River Valley, the Mediterranean alluvial plain in the territory of Butrint, ancient *Buthrotum*, in southwestern Albania. It gives prominence for the first time to two important sites, Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit, which are here reinterpreted and shown to have played major roles in the early history of Butrint as it evolved in the later first millennium BC to emerge as the key city of Chaonia in Epirus. Butrint 7 also presents the full excavation report of the Late Bronze Age and Hellenistic fortified site of Mursi, in addition to other Butrint Foundation surveys and excavations in the hinterland of Butrint, including the Roman *villa maritima* at Diaporit, the *villa suburbana* on the Vrina Plain, and Roman sites on Alinura Bay and at the Customs House, as well as new surveys of the early modern Triangular Fortress and a survey to locate the lost Venetian village of Zarópulo. The volume also features a new study of the Hellenistic bronze statuette of Pan found on Mount Mile and of his sanctuary at Butrint. The volume concludes with a comprehensive reassessment of the Pavllas River Valley in relation to Butrint, from the Palaeolithic to the modern eras, examining how dominion, territory, environment and the ‘corrupting sea’ reshaped Butrint and its fluvial corridor diachronically and particularly brought profound territorial, economic and social alterations under the Roman Empire.

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